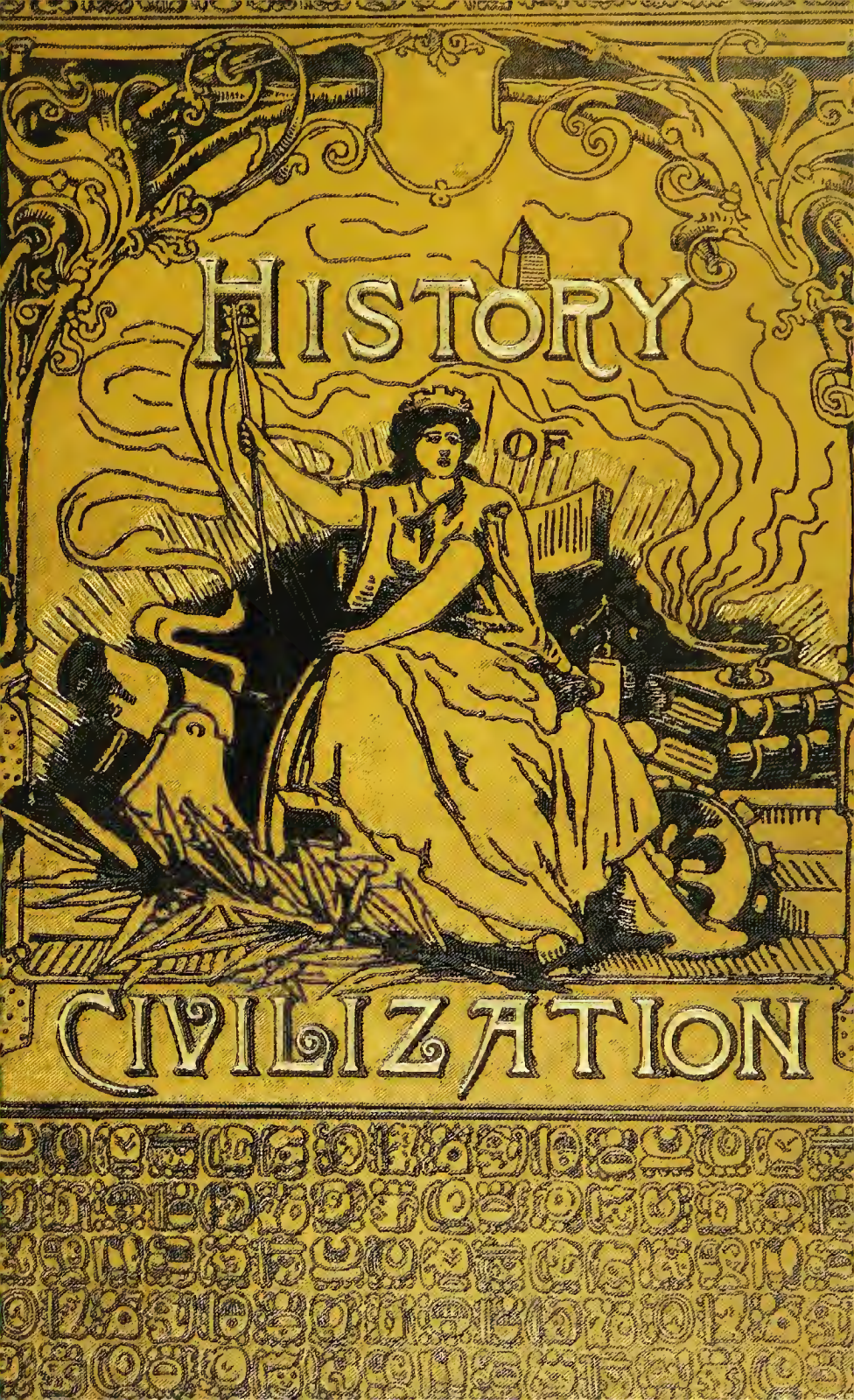


HISTORY

OF

CIVILIZATION



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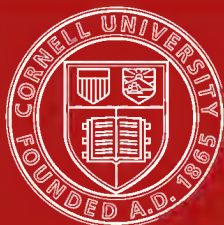
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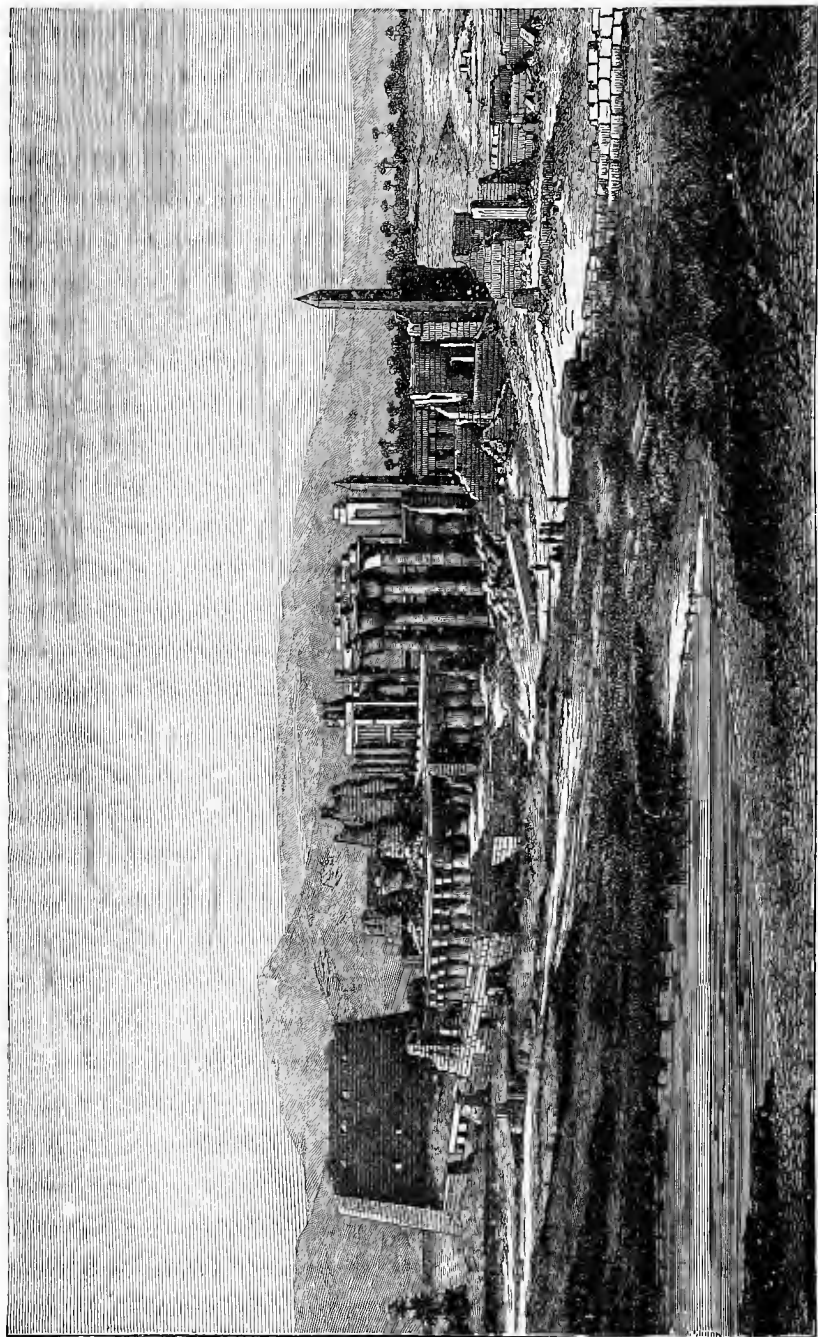


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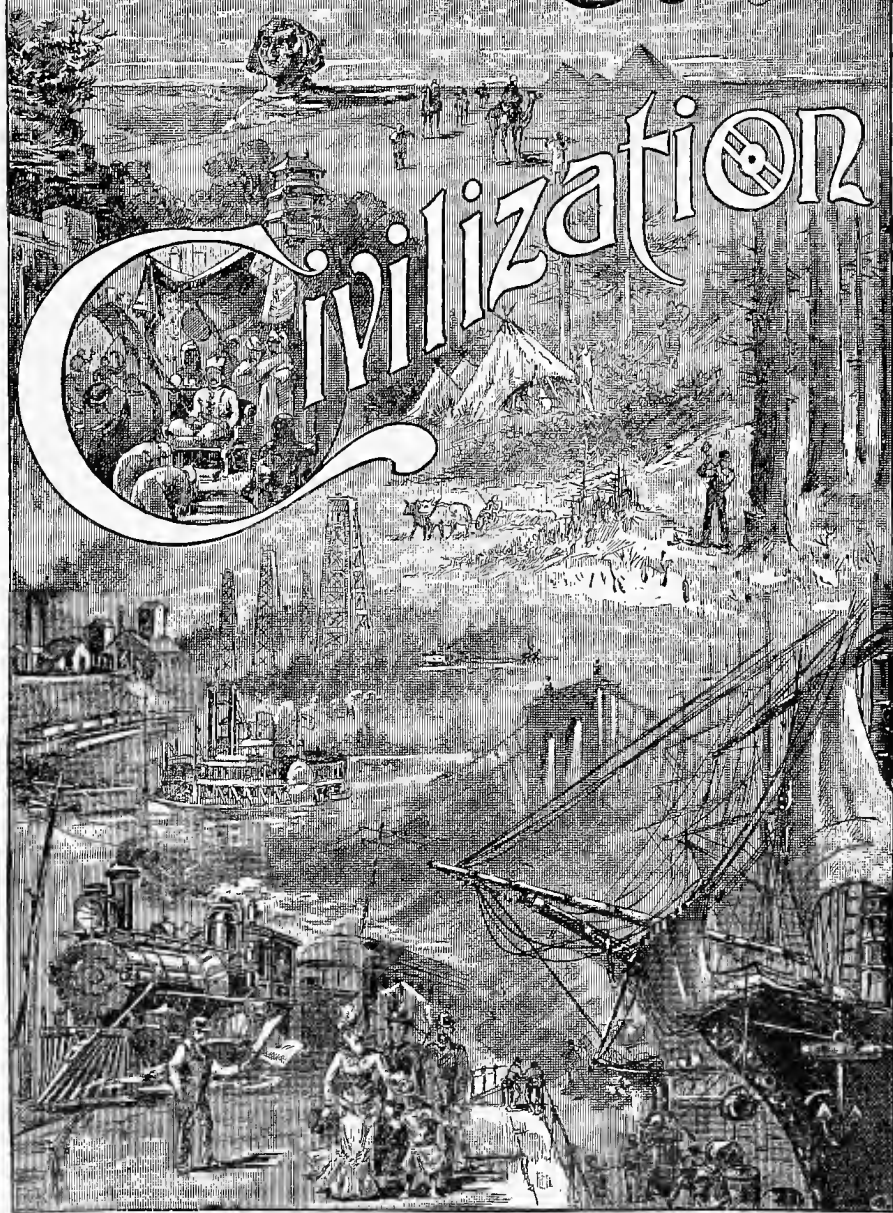


GENERAL VIEW OF THE RUINS AT KARNAC.

Frontispiece.

HISTORY of

Civilization



HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

VOL. II.

The Ancient World;

OR

Dawn of History,

BY

✧ E. A. ALLEN, ✧



CINCINNATI:
CENTRAL PUBLISHING HOUSE,
1889.



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→PREFACE.←



VOLUME is the second one of the series of four entitled THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION. We have found it necessary, in discussing the subjects here spoken of, to make two general divisions of the same. Many topics not usually considered by historical writers require a somewhat extensive examination at the hands of those who seek to investigate the rise and progress of Civilization. This extra work is not, however, of the nature of drudgery. The man of mature years takes a calm enjoyment in contemplating the advance from childhood's years. So there is enjoyment for the civilized man in surveying that long and wearisome road along which many generations of men have trodden, but which has led them from Savagism, through Barbarism, to Civilization.

When we allow ourselves to reflect on the events of the last few centuries, we quickly realize that within that time very great advance has been made in everything contributing to our physical well-being, and, indeed, in every department of human knowledge. Further reflection convinces us that what is true of recent times is true of the entire life of man on the earth. But since man has lived on the earth for a very extended time, indeed much longer than the few thousand years once supposed to cover this period, it follows that we may reasonably inquire as to the course of development of the several departments of culture, the whole of which constitutes that complex entity we call Civilization. We know of nothing which will more thoroughly impress on the investigator a

sense of the value of human life and its possibilities than the investigation here proposed.

Our efforts in this direction would be in vain if all men had advanced with equal rapidity and had made equal progress in the line of development. This, as is well known, is not the case. Some have halted at one stage of advancement, some at another. When an astronomer studies the starry heavens, he finds planetary and stellar worlds in all stages of development, from the scarcely luminous nebulous mass to the glowing sun that gives light and warmth to a train of attendant planets. So, if the student of human progress will but look around him, he finds people in nearly all stages of culture—from the lowest of existing savages to the most enlightened nations.

It is further evident that if we had before us a full account of all the various tribes and nations of men, we would be able to draw, by a careful analysis and comparison of the same, certain general conclusions as to the course of development of Civilization. This method has been pursued by some of the most eminent scholars of our times. At the present day, any work on Civilization deserving attention must take notice of these results and this method of work. In PART I. we have followed this method in treating of a few of the most prominent of the factors of Civilization; such as organization for social and governmental purposes, Primitive Culture and Primitive Religion.

Having thus laid the foundation for an understanding of the general course of development of Culture, in PART II. we take up the principal people in each of the great groups of races, and seek to determine their position in the scale and the part they took in advancing Civilization. Here we resume the thread of historical research of Volume I. We must bear in mind that for our purpose all that is required is an historical outline only. We are not concerned in writing a political history, and exact dates and full descriptions of campaigns are not so much required as is the connection between various people, and the degree of development each had reached in culture.

Here it is well to remark that the general division of our sub-

ject into Ancient, Medieval and Modern Worlds is not at all the same as the divisions of the same name made by many historical writers. We have reference solely to culture divisions. The difference will be at once noticed in the treatment of Greece and Rome. As far as mere antiquity is concerned, they belong to the Ancient World. But their culture is Aryan; and Aryan or European culture had almost nothing to do with the Ancient World in culture. We therefore pass them entirely by in this volume. It will be found, in the sequel, that the culture of the Ancient World is Asiatic, the foundation being laid by the Yellow Races, but carried to its greatest height by the Semitic Whites. The Ancient World, in history, ends with the fall of the Western Empire of Rome. The Ancient World, in culture, came to an end a thousand years before, when the Aryans overthrew the political power of the Semitic people in Western Asia.

"Diligence and accuracy," says GIBBON, "are the only merits which an historical writer may ascribe to himself." The author and his assistants feel that with due modesty they may lay claim to this merit. It has been our earnest endeavor to present the latest conclusions of our very best scholars on all questions here discussed. At the same time, we have not hesitated to show that the facts they state are in some instances best interpreted by conclusions other than those stated by them. We have freely given the sources of our information. At the present day, the people have the right to know on what authority statements are made.

- This volume must, of course, stand on its own merits; but a few words as to the preparation of it will not be out of place. In preparing the first volume, the manuscript of many of the chapters was submitted to a number of eminent scholars for final revision. Some defects attended that method; not the least being that the reviser of one chapter, knowing nothing of the contents of the others, was in darkness as to the connection, and so could not criticise as intelligently as he desired. This objection was felt still stronger in this volume. Some gentlemen with whom we corresponded thought it best to have one or more scholars revise the whole.

Arrangements were made with EMIL REICH, D. C. L., Vienna University, Vienna, Austria, well known to many as a lecturer on topics connected with Civilization, to not only assist with valuable suggestions and revision of manuscript, but to prepare the material for a number of chapters. Arrangements were also made with WILLIS BOUGHTON, B. A., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, to devote his entire time in preparing material for the work. We have to thank him for many valuable suggestions and much careful work in revision. In this volume, while Mr. ALLEN is responsible for the form in which the chapters occur, yet the main points in each were discussed by all the gentlemen now named. We therefore feel that the public can rely with confidence on the statements of facts here given, and trust the conclusions drawn from them will commend themselves to the good judgment of all readers.

Our sincere thanks are due to A. W. WHELPLEY, Librarian of the Cincinnati Public Library, and his corps of assistants. Every advantage that this large and well-appointed library could afford us in prosecuting our researches was given. The value of this assistance will be seen when we remark that on the shelves of this library there are over *thirteen thousand volumes* treating topics connected with History and Civilization, not to mention numerous pamphlets and scientific reports. Special facilities for investigating this large and valuable mass of material were given us.

In conclusion, we might remark that we have been much pleased with the favorable reception given our first volume. Of course, on such a topic as this, probably no two minds see things in quite the same light. We have, however, received words of encouragement from representative men of all classes and professions. We think the times are eminently fitted for a discussion of the many problems connected with the rise and progress of Culture, and we trust that our work will awaken in the minds of its readers a desire to continue the investigation here begun.

E. A. Allen

CINCINNATI, December 1, 1887.

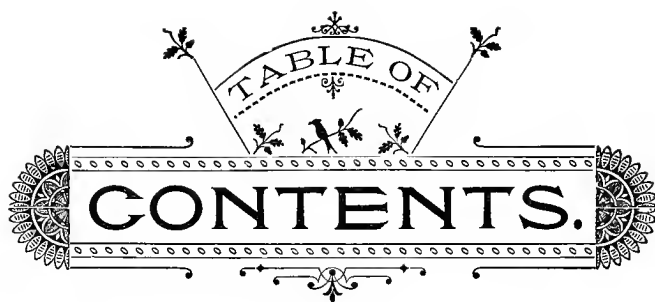


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PART I.

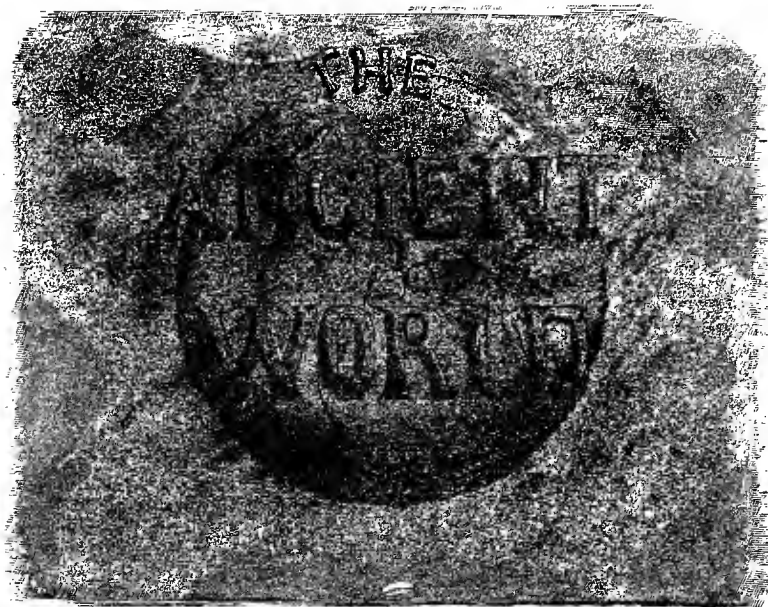
A Comparative
Study and Analysis of the
Attainments, Institutions and Be-
liefs of Primitive
Men.

Races of Men.
Ancient Society.
Primitive Culture.
Primitive Religion.

Ancient of days, who hast from the beginning
Reigned in majestic silence o'er the infant world,
Guarding in some secret Eden the cradle of mankind,
Broken is the magic spell that bound thy lips
For chiliads of years. And thy enchanting tales
Have caused the very rocks to break their silence,
And reveal the hidden records graved thereon.
The rock-hewn tombs give up their royal dead.
Their inmost halls resound with tales of bloody wars.
The mummy ope's his lips and speaks of ancient days.
The solemn sphinx hath e'en its tale to tell.
Temple halls, in lichen covered grandeur
Rising from the very verge of desert sands,
Upward hurl their great cyclopean walls,—
Mute testimonials of boundless wealth and power—
Whose great foundation stones give up their storied tablets.

Read, then, oh man, the story of the Ancient Past,
And meditate upon thy great Creator's ways.

WILLIS BOUGHTON.



CHAPTER I.

RACES OF MEN.

INTRODUCTION—Difficulties of classification—Color—Cranial measurements—Linguistic families—Relationships—Unity or diversity of species—Primitive type of man—Origination of races—Condition of life—Sexual selection—Time of origin of man—Original home of man—Primitive enlightenment—Degradation theory—Progression theory—The primitive race—Conclusions—Table of classification.



FROM a mountain peak we cast our eye over a wide, extended scope of country, it is only the more prominent features that impress themselves on our view. The lesser details, the waving field, the blossoming bush, which attract the observation of the immediate passer-by, are lost in the distance; but the range of forest-clad hills, the

winding river, the wide expanse of fertile plain, or the purpling peaks in the distance, determine the landscape and claim our attention. We are to-day surrounded with the civilization of the nineteenth century; let us from this height glance back along the line of human progress and note what we can of our journey hither. We can, at best, only hope to perceive the more prominent lines of advance. To carefully trace the growth in all departments would not only greatly exceed the limited space at our command, but would confuse us by the very multiplicity of subjects demanding attention.

In the dim distance the darkness of prehistoric times shuts out the vision. In the preceding volume¹ we have seen that that extended period of time preceding the dawn of history is by no means lost to us. We have learned many facts in reference to primeval man, and have observed that the life of man on the globe has been one of progress. We have stood in amaze before the long term of years that seemed demanded to account for all the facts laid before us. The evidence has everywhere been that primeval man, though possessed of all the attributes of humanity, started at the very foot of the ladder of human progress. When we come to the wavering line that everywhere separates the historic from the prehistoric period, which line, as we have seen, varies in different countries, we find that it discloses man in very different states of society, and in very different stages of social enlightenment. It seems best, therefore, to take a comprehensive view of the situation at the dawn of history, and to note how we find the different races of men disposed over the earth; and it seems to us there are many questions at which we must at least glance, in order

¹ "The Prehistoric World."

to clear up our thoughts, which might at first be considered foreign to our subject. It is known, however, that no branch of learning stands by itself; each demands some assistance from others; so these inquiries will be found of great help to a clear understanding of the somewhat complex subject of civilization, and will help us to understand some of the otherwise dark points in the history of human progress.

If we are to study civilization as a whole, it will not do for us to commence with the civilization of the inhabitants of ancient Chaldea and the Valley of the Nile. When the light of history fell on these people they were already far advanced. We have, first of all, to consider other questions. The preceding volume was wholly taken up with questions of that nature. Our object in this chapter is to combine the results there obtained with some general statements as to races of men, the constitution of ancient society, and the development of civilization, and thus place ourselves in position to intelligently understand the earliest civilization that history reveals to us. This labor has generally been omitted by historical writers,¹ but it is of the utmost value, since such questions must exercise, as Lenormant points out, a great influence on the facts and interpretation of history.

Let us therefore commence with the question of race and the classification of men. Now, on this question, eminent scholars have spent years of travel, study, and observation. A great many volumes have been written. Items of information that in any way throw light on the manners of life amongst the most diverse tribes of men

¹ As Buckle observes, "Among them (historical writers) a strange idea prevails that their business is merely to relate events, which they may occasionally enliven by such moral and political reflections as seem likely to be useful." (*"Hist. of Civ. in England,"* Vol. I, p. 3.)

have been put on record. The laws of plant and animal growth have been investigated to obtain what light we could from that source. Some of the keenest intellects of our day have given themselves to a consideration of the terms *species* and *race*, and have searched the entire realm of natural history for information on these topics. The science of language has been studied. In short, from all sources information has been gathered, in order, if possible, to come to a clear understanding of the various races of men and the degree of connection existing between them.

In spite of all this work, however, it must be admitted that a great diversity of opinion exists as to the question at issue. So true is this that, as to the number of races, good authority may be found for claiming almost any number from one to sixty-three;¹ and it is admitted that the classification of men is largely a matter of personal views,² and further increasing knowledge only makes it more plain that races of men are not separated from each other by exact differences, but that their peculiarities overlap and intermingle.³

Still, it is better for us to make an effort in this matter. A faulty classification would be better than none at all. We will therefore append to the end of this chapter a scheme showing the groupings of various races of men.

¹ Darwin: "Descent of Man," p. 174.

² "It must be confessed, however, that the circumscription of human races is a work which must be largely guided by the personal views of investigators." (Winchell: "Preadamites," p. 77.)

³ "The different races of men are not distinguished from each other. . . . The diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations." (Prichard.) "The races of men graduate into each other. . . . It is hardly possible to discover clear, distinctive characters between them." (Darwin.) As to racial distinctions, "Endless intermixtures have involved the study of details in confusion inextricable, and difficulties, perhaps, insurmountable," (Winchell.)

But it will be necessary to first take into account a great number of facts. With anthropologists, we will have to note the physical appearances of the different races of men. We will find it advisable to compare various measurements they have made. It also becomes necessary for us to learn what conclusion some of our scholars have come to in regard to the languages of men; that is to say, what languages, if any, can be grouped together in families, and whether the races speaking the languages thus grouped are found to bear any relation to the groupings we would form from a consideration of physical causes only.

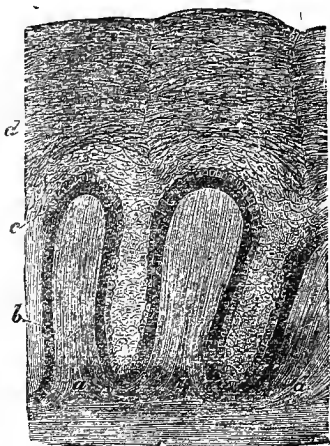
Every one knows that all men are not of the same color. Somewhere over the earth we find tribes of men showing the various shades of color, from a dark-blue black to the fairest blonde type. It might at first be thought this character could be used in classifying men, and, in fact, it is much in favor; but more extensive research shows that it will not do to place too great a reliance on it. Sometimes, in the same section of country, tribes separated in distance but a few miles, speaking, perhaps, dialects of the same stock language, will be found to vary considerably in color. The most we can say is that large groups of races can be made, such as black, yellow, etc., in which the prevailing color is that of the main division. The general conclusion is that color, though regarded as "a most excellent secondary character," is too feeble a character to found a classification upon.¹ In this connection we need only recall that the dark-skinned

¹ Quatrefages: "The Human Species," p. 359. Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 232. Topinard: "Anthropology," p. 349. Prichard: "Nat. Hist. of Man," p. 645. Perhaps they have gone too far in this matter; as Prof. Winchell is inclined to believe, "it (color) possesses more significance than its seemingly capricious distribution in some cases would permit us to suppose." ("Preadamites," p. 298.)

Hindoos are closely related to the fair-skinned inhabitants of Europe.

It is probably well known that the skin in all races is much the same. We have first the scarf-skin, the outer layer of which is being constantly worked off; then what is called the mucous layer, in which the coloring

matter is found, and then the skin proper. Now, the coloring matter in the mucous layer, which is the varying factor and the cause of the differences in color of the various races of men, depends on a great many circumstances. It is influenced by climate, but habits and mode of life regulate the force of this influence. Food has its share in the production of color, though in a subordinate degree. It makes a difference whether the



Much Magnified Section of Skin.

a True skin; b, c Mucous layer; d Scarf skin.

body is exposed to climatic influence, or protected from the same by clothing and houses; especially is this true where there are great alterations of temperature and sudden changes from wet to dry, and in hot and damp countries unprotected by forests.¹ To the above and similar causes we must primarily look for the difference in color of the various races of men. But, these differences once established, the great law of inheritance, by virtue of which the child resembles its parents, comes into full force, and descent has a great controlling influence over color.²

The color and form of the hair have also been care-

¹ Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 41., *et seq.*

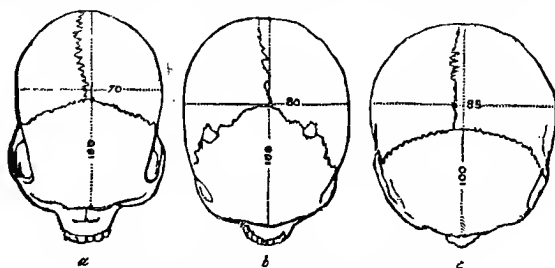
² *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 52.

fully studied. This apparently insignificant feature has been found to possess considerable importance, and some rely on it as the most suitable natural character on which to base a classification. In general, the color of the hair may be regarded as the result of the same set of causes that affects the color of the skin. It will be found that dark hair generally accompanies a dark skin, though this statement, like all others of a general nature, is subject to exceptions. In all races we occasionally find individuals with fair, or even red, hair.¹ The form of the hair is, perhaps, more important. Neighboring tribes are sometimes separated by a difference in this respect. The Papuans and Australians are both among the black races; but the former are widely distinguished by their great crown of woolly, matted hair from the Australian, with his comparatively straight hair. We know that straight, coarse black hair is characteristic of our Indian tribes. More extensive reading shows us that this kind of hair characterizes the Mongolian or yellow races generally. On the other hand we know that the negroes have short, black hair, so tightly curled that we call it woolly, though it is still true hair. Between these two extremes are the white or fair races. That this difference in hair is a persistent character is also well known, since a person having so small an amount of African blood in his veins that he does not betray it in color may still possess black, curly hair, though we would not call it woolly. The Hungarians still betray their Asiatic origin by the tint and shape of the hair, though otherwise scarcely distinguished from the neighboring Aryans. We must therefore keep these facts in mind in grouping the races of men.

The dimensions and general shape of the skull have

¹ Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 218.

also been carefully studied. Skulls from all parts of the earth have been gathered, measured and compared. It seems to be generally admitted that, like color, no measurements can be obtained which will give us a good basis of classification;¹ yet some general facts have been obtained of interest. Not to go into details, we may state that one such result is obtained by comparing the width of the skull with the length. In this cut we have a top view of three skulls, one from each of the main groups. The diameter from front to back is considered in each case



a Black race; b White race; c Yellow race.

as 100. The cross diameter, when compared with this, gives us the index. It will be found that in general terms the white races occupy a middle position between the black races on the one hand and the yellow races on the other.²

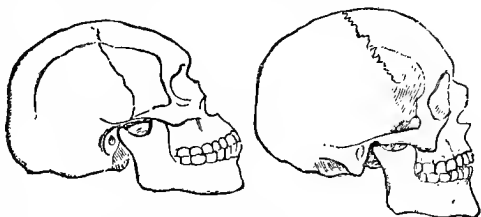
If the investigator were confronted with a collection of skulls which had been gathered from various sources over the surface of the earth, he would not be very far out of the way if he were to divide them as here indi-

¹ Quatrefages: "The Human Species," p. 375. Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 235.

² The ratio thus obtained is called the *cephalic index*. When this index falls below 74, the skull is said to be long-headed, or *dolichocephalic*; between 74 and 79, it is characterized as middle-headed, or *mesocephalic*; above 79, the skull is broad-headed, *brachycephalic*. Any good work on Anthropology contains tables of these ratios, and the general truth of this statement can be deduced from the same. (Quatrefages: "Human Species," pp. 372-4. Winchell: "Preadamites," pp. 68, 166-7. Topinard's "Anthropology," pp. 240-1.)

cated and confidently predict the groups to which they belonged. Yet we must bear in mind that numerous exceptions exist, and we are not yet prepared to state what value this character has in determining the place of a race in the scale of civilization. Thus, among the very lowest of the black races is to be placed the broad-headed Negritos; and amongst the yellow races must be classed the Eskimos, who are narrow-headed people. As for the white races, there are some exceptions both ways.

In this cut is presented another feature; that is, the forward projection of the lower portions of the face. The extremes are found in the black



Skulls of Members of Black and White Races.

and the white races. This feature is called prognathism. It is most pronounced among the black races, decreases somewhat among the yellow races, and is the least among the whites. Of course, in all races there are exceptions.¹

A great many other measurements have been made, to which we need not refer. As to the capacity of the skull and weight of the brain, there is probably no dispute as to the general statements that both increase from the black races to the whites. Still, we are not prepared to place a value on these facts; for behind the material element here mentioned lie other factors which we can not at present estimate, such as quality of the brain and functional energy.

We have thus far been considering physical features, and we have passed by many points that could be made the

¹ Tables of measurement can be found in the authorities already quoted.

subject of comparison, as we can only hope to sketch the main points, so to speak, of our subject. Let us glance at the subject of language. Probably all are aware of the brilliant results attending the comparative study of the language of Europe—how it has been satisfactorily proved that the people speaking them have wandered from the same primeval home, and that the Hindoos of India were co-dwellers with them there in a forgotten long-ago. We need not be surprised then to learn that scholars eagerly equipped themselves with this new weapon—that is, the comparative study of languages, or, as it is called, Philology—and have sought in this manner to solve the problem and present a satisfactory classification of the races of men. Let us inquire of them concerning some of the conclusions reached.

The great law of inheritance imposes upon children the likeness of their parents. They are born members of a certain race. In color they may be black, or yellow, or white. They can not, of their own volition, change their race type; nor will culture or years of continuous effort bring about this result. Not so with language. This does not pass with the blood. An infant of any race will learn the language of any people amongst whom he is brought up, or, in mature years, another language may be acquired. By persistent effort this may be accomplished so perfectly that a person will habitually speak and think in the language of his adoption rather than that of his infancy. This at once shows the difference between linguistic and ethnical traits. The latter pass with the blood and are beyond our control. The former is an acquisition. It is the result of mental efforts. A child as truly learns the language that he speaks as does the adult learn a foreign language.

What is true of language now always has been true. We can no more conceive primeval man being endowed with a language, rich in grammatical forms and possessing a plentiful store of words, than we can conceive of him endowed with a knowledge of mathematics. Language, as far as we know it now, is an invention of the human intellect, before which all other human inventions shrink to utter insignificance. The crowning glory of man is that he was endowed by the Creator with intellectual powers capable of achieving such a wonderful result. We all know that those vocal sounds we call words are the instruments wherewith language accomplishes its end. But a word, in and by itself, has no meaning at all. It is only the common consent of the people who employ it as the sign of an idea that gives it force. This consent, expressed by usage, may in time be withdrawn, and another word be employed to convey the idea, or the older word may, from the operation of several causes, become so changed in pronunciation as to be scarcely recognized. We expect, then, a language to slowly change, and the degree and rapidity of this change will depend on several causes.

Now, when we look around the world to-day, we quickly learn there are a great many different languages. In any of our large cities we can find people representing a dozen or so, and in books of travel we learn of numerous others. Our first effort is to try and arrange these into some systematic order; to see what languages, if any, have such common features that we are justified in considering them related—descended from a common ancestor; and to learn what are so diverse in structure that we can scarcely conceive of them as being in any way connected. All of this, of course, may have an important

bearing on our ideas of the connection existing between various races of men.

The thoughts are comparatively few which in any language can be expressed by a single word. To express thought we have to employ a number of words combined in what we call a sentence; therefore, it seems natural to take the sentence as the basis of classification of language. The isolating family of language represented by the Chinese and the nations in the south-eastern part of Asia keeps each separate idea in the sentence distinct. The Chinese is often spoken of as a monosyllabic language, which statement is again denied by others. It is, of course, true that in the written language each character represents a syllable; but in the spoken language it is just as true that several of these syllables are often combined to form a single word. Thus, if *wán* is "to paint letters" and *lì* is "strength," it seems quite natural that *wán-lì* should express an author's style; though in written language this expression would represent two words, yet in speaking it is certainly one word of two syllables. Neither are we to understand that it is a language destitute of grammar, as it is sometimes asserted. They distinguish, where necessary, person, number, gender, and case, and the same is true of other grammatical properties. But the distinguishing peculiarity of these languages is that each idea in a sentence is kept distinct. Such a language is called an isolating speech.

The agglutinating class of language shows us another way of sentence development. The ideas which make up the sentence, though still kept distinct and independent, are brought into mutual relations. Some of them are loosely joined together. Suppose a Turk, for instance, who speaks a language of this group, wishes to use a

sentence containing the verb *love*. The root of this word is *sev*. It is wonderful how many modifications of idea he can produce by adding on terminations to this root *sev*. With *sev*, meaning love, we have *sev-mek*, to love; or *sev-er*, loving; or *sev-dir-mek*, to cause to love; or *sev-ish-mek*, to love one another; and so on of a great number of other expressions, even to such a cumbersome length as to express in one word the idea of "not-able-to-be-brought-to-love-one-another." Here we at once see the great difference between this and the preceding class of languages. In Chinese, for instance, there is but one form of the verb given, and all the variations of tense or mode will have to be expressed by auxiliary words. In the agglutinating language these changes are expressed by adding on terminations.

The peculiarity of these combinations is that the people using them always see in them two or more words. We have in English grammar, for instance, such expressions as this: "He might have been gone." Suppose, in accordance with custom, we wrote the four words together, "might-have-been-gone," so as to make but one word; for a long while, at least, we could not help but see and feel in this new compound, "might-have-been-gone," the four words which compose it. This illustrates our remark. Each part of a compound word in agglutinating languages is felt as a separate word.

This principle is carried still further in what are known as the polysynthetic languages, of which examples occur among the Indian tribes of our own country. Here we have the exact opposite of the isolating languages. All the ideas in a sentence are here represented by root words, but all are fused and reunited into one huge polysyllabic word. Tribes speaking languages of this family

do not speak in words, but in sentences. It is well to notice how each of the three types of languages of which we have thus far spoken are but different ways of looking at a sentence. In the last example, all the ideas in the sentence are fused together to make one word of unwieldy proportions. In the agglutinating languages, the ideas, though separate, are brought into mutual relations and harmony, and largely by suffixes the grammatical relations are expressed. In the isolating languages, each idea is kept distinct. It is by their position and the mutual bearing each has on the other that we determine the meaning of the sentence. Now, let us glance at some other types of language.

What is known as the inflected family of languages is not very large; but, when we turn to history, we find that it mainly concerns the races speaking inflected languages. People who developed this form of language seem primarily to have hit on the expedient of symbolizing the relation existing between the different words in a sentence by changing the vowel in the words. For instance, in the Hebrew, an inflectional tongue, we have *melech*, meaning "king." The consonants, we notice, are *m-l-ch*. Now we express many different meanings by a simple change of vowels: *malach* is "he reigned;" *malachu*, "they reigned;" *yimloch*, "he shall reign." And thus in this way different grammatical properties are expressed. In the Aryan family of inflected languages, the relations seem, from an early date, however, to have been expressed by means of vowels or syllables added onto the root word, though it is generally thought that internal vowel change was the first stage.

We have described the principal types of language. We will not at present consider the polysynthetic lan-

guages, since they concern only the New World. This leaves us, then, the inflective, the agglutinative, and the isolating languages to consider. These three great communities of language divide between themselves the languages of the Old World. It is, of course, impossible to make any exact classification. All languages possess qualities tending to unite them with each of these classes. No language is perfectly isolating or otherwise. The English, an inflected language, in many points approaches the isolating Chinese. But, in the main, languages can be classified on the basis here pointed out, all depending, we see, on the peculiar development which a sentence underwent in their grammar.¹

We are now ready to continue the examination further and ask what languages are so closely connected that we have some reasonable ground for thinking that the people speaking them were once closely connected—constituted one people, in fact. In the inflected languages we find several closely-related families. The one most widely known is the Aryan or Indo-European family of languages. The civilization and culture of the world to-day are mainly Aryan. History, for the last two thousand years, has largely been taken up with a record of the doings of Aryan-speaking people. The nations of Europe, with a few exceptions, are all Aryan.² In Asia we find that the Persians, the Afghans, and the Hindoos of India, are all members of this same great family.

¹ On this subject, consult Max Müller: "Science of Language," first and second series, New York, 1868. Sayce: "Introduction to the Science of Language," London, 1880. Whitney: "Life and Growth of Language," New York, 1875. Douglass: "Language and Literature of China," London, 1875. Summers: "Rudiments of the Chinese Language," London, 1864.

² The Basques, Lapps, Finns, and some Turkish tribes in Russia, the Hungarians and Turks, with the Alarodian-speaking tribes in the Caucasus, are the exceptions.

That these various nations we have mentioned are closely connected—are, in fact, descended from a common ancestry—is considered established beyond all doubt. This is shown in the fact that the grammar in all the languages



Albanian Greek (Aryan).

is substantially the same. They furthermore possess great stores of common words. They are slightly changed in form, to be sure, to suit the genius of the people using them; that is to say, the word appears in different dress according as it is used by English-speaking people, or

German, or Russian, or the Indian Brahmins. But in all these cases the real part of the word, the root—the nucleus—can be quite easily traced from language to language. They have also a common mythology. Most surprising

results have attended the study of the languages in this group. We have been enabled in a measure to dispel the gloom of prehistoric times and become acquainted with the customs, social organizations, and degree of enlightenment of the far-away home tribe that afterwards split up into the people who in turn formed the principal nations of Europe, and firmly established themselves in India and Western Asia.

All the various languages of this group are, of course, inflected; but we must observe that the highest degree of inflection probably existed in the home tribe before it commenced to send out its great migrating bands, which, as Celts, commenced the invasion of Europe near the close of the Neolithic Age.¹ Certain it is that the languages of the various Aryan nations, as they have grown more modern in time, have departed more and more widely from the standard of pure inflections. In the English, indeed, we are presented with a language which is only partly an inflected language and in part isolating.

In physical features there will be found considerable diversity in color, the dark-colored Hindoos being at one extreme and the blonde Norwegians at the other. As only part of this diversity of color can be due to conditions of life, we shall have to allow some of it to be due to intermarriage with darker-colored aborigines with whom they came in contact.²

Another great family of inflected languages to which the world owes much is known as the Semitic family. It includes the languages of those ancient people, the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Phoenicians and Hebrews, and

¹ Vol. I, p. 213.

² See remarks by Dr. Winchell in "Preadamites," p. 79; also, Dawkins' "Early Man in Britain," p. 320, *et seq.*

the Syrian in the north; and the languages of Arabia in the south, which have made considerable progress in Africa. The Semitic languages form a compact group. In them the principle of inflections—that is, internal vowel changes—has remained in full force. We have already noticed one instance of it. We noticed in that instance that three consonants—*m-l-ch*—formed the internal skeleton, which was variously built upon to express different ideas. They constitute what is called a Semitic root. Nearly all roots in Semitic speech consist of three consonants. Thus, *k-t-l* are the consonants forming a root from which, by vowels, a number of words are formed, all expressive of some idea of killing; as, *kotel*, killing; *katala*, he killed; *kutula*, he was killed; *katl*, murderer, etc.

The parent speech from which the various Semitic tongues have been derived is unknown. Some of them are sister languages, showing evidence of a common growth after separation from the parent speech. Such are the Assyrian and Babylonian. In Palestine we found another group, which differed but slightly from each other. These were the various Canaanite tribes, of which Hebrew constituted a local dialect—destined, however, to become a very important one. The Phœnician and the Moabite belonged also to this group. The Syrian proper must have separated itself from the northern branch at an early day. The Semitic-speaking people played a very important part in the civilization and culture of the ancient world.

There is enough resemblance in physical features of the people speaking the Semitic language to classify them all in the same family;¹ but here, also, considerable diversity exists in regard to color. There are Semitic tribes in

¹ See table at end of chapter.

Africa as black as the blackest negro tribes. While some of this diversity in color may be due to conditions of life, the principal part must be ascribed to intermarriage.

As we have already remarked, these two inflected languages include in their ranks nations that have had most to do with civilization and history. Is it possible to trace any relations between them? Can we derive from a study of their languages any evidence that in some early time the pre-Aryans and the Semitics dwelt together as one people? We may be sure that most persevering research has been given to this subject. So far, all evidence tending to show any connection between these two people has been sought in vain.¹ Indeed, as far as we are able to judge from philology, such contact has never taken place. The primary idea of inflection seems to be different in the two families—the Semitic forming their inflection largely by means of internal vowel change; the Aryan basing theirs on terminations. In the Semitic languages, the roots consist almost invariably of three consonant letters. Illustrations have already been given. In the Aryan family, the great majority of roots are one-syllable words, such as *spas*, to see; *ard*, to hurt; *da*, to give.²

Such faint, indistinct light as history has to throw on this subject seems to show that they were separated widely and at a very early period. If we are justified in assigning any home to the pre-Aryan people, it was

¹ "The attempt to derive the Aryan and Semitic families from a common source must be pronounced scientifically worthless." (Sayce.) To the same effect, see Whitney's "Life and Growth of Language," p. 253. Prof. Max Müller shows from his point of view they could have been in contact only in the monosyllabic stage of their language, but fails to find any proof of such contact even then. ("Stratification of Language," p. 253.) It is, however, far from proved that they were ever in a monosyllabic stage.

² Müller's "Science of Language," First Series, p. 262.

to the east of the Caspian Sea. That of the pre-Semitic people seems to have been in Arabia.¹ To the west of the pre-Aryans was a considerable expanse of inland water, since it is probable that the Aral, Caspian and Black Seas were united.² To the south of them was the desert expanse of Persia. Had they crossed this and climbed the Zagros mountain range, they would not then have been in contact with the Semitic; for, occupying the fertile Tigris and Euphrates Valley, was probably a Turanian people, known as the Accadian race.³ Thus, in the twilight preceding the dawn of history, we behold these two families of inflected language almost as widely separated as though inhabiting separate continents.

We must now turn our attention to a third family of inflected languages. This is the Hamitic. It includes the language of ancient Egypt; the Coptic of the Nile; a considerable group south and west of Abyssinia, with the Galla as a principal representative; the Libyan or Berber of North Africa; and the Haussa, south of the Sahara. This family is, however, much less clearly defined than either of the others. The ancient Egyptian is the principal language of this group. This comes before us as a language of great simplicity, but a step removed from the Chinese. Its roots are also its words. Neither noun nor verb, nor any part of speech, has a characteristic form. The same word may be used as one of several parts of speech. Thus, *seki* may mean to write, something written, or a writer. If a word is used as a noun, an article is generally prefixed to it. Pronouns added to a verb designate the person; mode and tense are indicated by auxiliary words. The personal ending

¹ Sayce: L. C., Vol. II, p. 167.

² Ibid., p. 124.

³ Ibid., p. 189.

to the verb, of which we have just made mention, may be used to denote possession. Thus, *ran-i* means "my name," or, "I name," just as the sense requires.

It is evident from the foregoing that the Hamitic group falls considerably below the Aryan or Semitic families. Like them, however, it distinguishes gender. The value of this grammatical feature has been greatly overrated.¹ It has quite often been asserted that the Hamitic languages are intimately connected, and by some they are classed with the Semitic.² The strongest points of resemblance between the two languages is in the pronouns; but when we consider the exceeding difference between the languages in other respects, we can but doubt whether pronominal resemblances are sufficient to justify an assertion of connection.³ Mr. Sayce thinks that, on the whole, we are certainly justified in asserting that a relationship of some kind existed between them.⁴ But we are, at all events, safe in saying that this contact must have been, if at all, in very early times.

We have now described the most important families of inflected languages. Before passing to the agglutinative tongues, let us glance at some other families of inflected speech. In the extreme south of Africa we find a family of tongues which seem to belong to the inflected group. These are the Hottentot dialects. By some, this language has been considered as belonging to the Hamitic family, but it seems sufficient to say that they are probably inflected, and we leave the question of relationship one for further study. The inflections here take the form of suffixes, differing from the agglutinative compounds in that the suffixes are frequently merely classificatory or

¹ Whitney: "Life and Growth of Language," p. 285.

² Müller: L. C., p. 282. ³ Whitney: L. C., p. 343. ⁴ L. C., Vol. II, p. 178.

even meaningless. They have the same **conception of gender** that the Aryan has. In the neighborhood of Lake Van, in Western Asia, are found a great many inscriptions written in an inflected language. It is thought it will ultimately be found to be connected with the languages spoken in the Caucasus, known as the Alarodian, family, which has not, as yet, been connected with other families of inflected languages;¹ still, other families of inflected languages have probably passed away.

In the agglutinating class of languages, we will find by far the larger number of languages now spoken. We must remember the peculiarities of this class of languages given a few pages back. There may be several kinds of agglutination. The modifying elements may follow the stem, as in the example we gave on page 31. This will be found to be the case in the Turanian family; or they might precede the stem, as is true of some African families. In one large family of this group, the Malayo-Polynesian, we will discover that they have failed to develop a true verb. The most important family of this class of language, as far as history is concerned, is the one that we will call the Turanian, though it also goes by other names.²

This family is not only widely extended now, but we have good reason to suppose it was much more widely extended in prehistoric times. The Aryans probably found Europe in full possession of the Turanian tribes.³ At the present day, tribes speaking languages of this family are found scattered from the eastern coast of Siberia to Scandinavia. As Mongols, Tartars, Tunguses,

¹ Whitney: "Study of Language," p. 354. Sayce: L. C., p. 184.

² Called also Ural-Altaic, or simply Altaic. Uralian, Mongolian, Tartaric, or Scythian are also applied to it.

³ Vol. I, p. 212.

etc., they occupy nearly all of Asia north of India and China. As Osmanli Turks, they are found in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Turkey in Europe. As Lapps, Finns, and Esths, they are found in Northern Russia and Scandinavia. As Magyars, they formed the ancient kingdom of Hungary, now constituting the larger part of Austria. Finally, we would remark that there are good reasons for concluding that in early times the population of Media, Susiana, Elam, and Chaldea all spoke languages which must be connected with this wide-spread Turanian family.

As in the case of the Aryan and Semitic families, we seem justified in concluding that the widely scattered people whom we have just named had a common home and common ancestry. The parent language has disappeared. The common home seems to have been north of the center of Asia, as near as we can now decide. The following features may be named as possessed by the languages of this family in common: The agglutinated words are suffixed to the stem. In most cases each part of the compound retains an independent meaning. In some cases, however, in Finnic and Hungarian dialects, the compound has become so close that it is difficult to distinguish the primary words. In such cases there seems to be but little to separate them from an inflected language like the Aryan. Close study, however, shows that the two languages have traveled by different routes to nearly the same result.

The parts of the agglutinated compound have to observe what is called the law of vocalic harmony. An illustration will make this plain. The vowels are divided into two classes—the strong (*a, o, u*, etc.) and weak (*e, i, ü*, etc.). If the stem has strong vowels, then the vowel in each suffixed part must be strong also. Thus, *baba*

(strong vowels) means father; its plural form is *baba-lar*. But *dedeh* (weak vowels) is grandfather; its plural form, then, is *dede-ler*. Here we see the vowel of the suffixed part changes to agree with the vowel of the stem, and this law holds good no matter how many terminations we annex.

We can but barely mention some of the other families of agglutinating languages. The Dravidian languages in India form a most interesting group; indeed, their languages come very near the inflected form. They employ affixes instead of suffixes, as in the Turanian group. The Malayo-Polynesian is a very extensive group of languages. It is the language showing every sign of age; yet, strange to say, it is destitute of true verbs. The Dyak, for instance, can not say, "Your boat is beautiful," but must content himself with some such expression as this, "Your boat very-its-beauty." Tribes speaking agglutinating languages are found in Australia and Central and Southern Africa. No family resemblances are known to exist between them.

We have spent some time now in studying the general subject of language. We have gone as far as our present purpose requires. We come very far, indeed, from presenting even a full outline; but we believe we shall now be able to see in what directions, and how far, language will prove of assistance to us in classifying the races of men. One class of scholars is, perhaps, inclined to rely too much on linguistic traits; another, perhaps, goes too far the other extreme, and does not give to evidence derived from the study of language its due weight. In the Aryan family of languages, we have no hesitation in classing as members of one race people of considerable diversity of physical features. In this instance, we

feel confident that the physical differences must be due to conditions of life and sexual selection.

We will find that we apply the same reasoning to all families of languages—such as the Aryan, the Semitic, the Turanian, and, as far as it is worthy the name of a family, to the Hamitic. We feel confident that any classification of races must not separate, for instance, the Turanian people, and so of each of the others. Can we go any farther, and say, for instance, that no classification of races must be allowed to separate the inflected languages? When we reflect that the Hottentot and Aryan are both inflected, we at once see that we can indeed separate people speaking inflected languages into different races, provided physical characters call for such separation.

The eminent scholar Waitz¹ remarks that “it probably would never have occurred to a zoölogist to group the Indo-Germanic, Semitic, and other tribes in the same family.” It seems to us that only zoölogical reasons justify this grouping. Philology gives us no warrant for grouping them together which would not justify us in uniting with them the Hottentots of South Africa. Indeed, Peschel² uses the following language: “No one who has studied the subject any longer doubts that the so-called Indo-European, the Semitics, the Bantu nations of South Africa, all derive the rudiments of their language from intercourse in a common home where they used a common vocabulary.” On the contrary, we doubt whether there is any good reason for making such an assertion. In other words, inflection simply marks a stage of language development to which different races may have attained, and may have arrived at this result by following different lines of progress.

¹ “Anthropology,” p. 238.

² “Races of Men,” p. 130.

Here, then, we see ethnology separating what philology might unite; but, on the other hand, in the Mongolian races, ethnology readily makes a group that includes in its members not only the principal bulk of the Asiatic tribes, but extends far out in Polynesia, and takes in all of the New World, or rather the New World as it was at the time of its discovery. Yet in this group of races we find the isolating monosyllabic languages of Eastern Asia, which, though very similar as regards character, show "a great and astonishing diversity of material," and "only scanty correspondence of form and meaning are found in their vocabularies."¹ We find also a great number of agglutinating languages, which, as yet, are not shown to be related. We have not only the Turanian family, but the Dravidian and the Malayo-Polynesian, and any reasoning which would unite all those tongues in one family would also bring in such agglutinating tongues as the Australian and some African.

So, without extending the comparison further, we conclude that the terms isolating, agglutinating and inflecting simply denote stages of development, and can be of no great assistance in helping us to classify the races of men. The case is different, we have seen, as regards linguistic families. But here a caution is necessary. There is no family of languages of which the boundaries are exactly known. Further study is required in every case. It is only lately that the Celtic language has been satisfactorily shown to be Aryan. The standing of the Albanian language may be still a question.² The Hamitic people have become so mixed up with the aboriginal inhabitants of Northern Africa that not only in features,

¹ Whitney: "Science of Language," p. 331.

² Whitney: *L. C.*, 290.

but in language, it is difficult to show a dividing line between the two. The boundary of what we call the Turanian family is in considerable dispute. Professor Müller¹ puts all the languages of Asia (except the isolating Chinese and neighboring dialects) into the Turanian family, dividing them into a



Hungarian Girl (Turanian).

northern and southern branch. Other scholars warn us against such a sweeping classification, and limit the word

¹ "Science of Language," First Series, p. 289.

Turanian to Professor Müller's northern branch, which is the limit we give it in this chapter.¹ The fact is, an immense amount of work is yet to be done in the science of language. We have described the Hottentot as an inflected language, and we have most excellent authority for so doing.² Nevertheless, there are not wanting those who deny it is an inflected language,³ and so in a great many respects. Hence, we see with how much caution we must proceed.

At the best, when we come to reflect on the nature of language being an invention of the human intellect, we would expect it to change much more rapidly than race types. In the long lapse of years since man has been on the globe, but few race types have been developed. But languages are very numerous. Even in a very limited locality, among tribes incontestably belonging to the same race, languages have so widely diverged that we can not reduce them to the same stock. There is not a spoken language on the globe which is not in a process of change. In some cases this change proceeds at so rapid a rate that but few generations pass before dialects are formed widely differing. In short, we are to use the linguistic differences in the classification of men just as we do other points of comparison.

Another point which has not been very much considered we think capable of yielding considerable light on this vexed question. We refer to the system of relationship employed by various tribes of men. This might seem, at first thought, to be a trifling matter. An American scholar, Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, spent many years

¹ Farrar's "Families of Speech," pp. 148-49. Whitney: "Science of Language," p. 325.

² Lepsius, Bleek, Whitney.

³ Friedrich Müller.

of his life in collecting information on this subject.¹ As we expect to examine this point at considerable length in a subsequent chapter,² we will not dwell on it at present. The general conclusions to which Mr. Morgan's investigations tend are of no little interest, and some of them may be here noticed. He shows that there is a striking similarity between what we term the Turanian people³ and the Aryan and Semitic people. They all employ the descriptive method in describing relationship—in this respect standing apart from the other nations of the world, who employ the classificatory method.

When we learn that these two methods, the descriptive and the classificatory, are radically distinct, and demand distinct social customs in reference to marriage to explain them, we can not help being struck with the connection here indicated. We must not forget that the descriptive system of relationship would almost necessarily arise when monogamy, or marriage between single pairs, came into vogue. But what influence was it that caused the Semitic, Aryan, and Turanian nations alone, of all the nations, to adopt monogamy as a form of marriage?

Another interesting inference can be drawn from Mr. Morgan's work in reference to the people of India. In India we have not only the Dravidian-speaking people in Southern Hindoostan, but tribes speaking the Guara language in Northern India. These latter people are usually considered as Aryans. A large per cent. of their words is undoubtedly drawn from Sanscritic sources. Their grammar, however, is not Aryan. Mr. Morgan shows us

¹ "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity." "Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge," No. xvii

² Chapter ii.

³ He designates them the Uralian.

that their system of relationship is certainly not Aryan or Sanscrit. Its features are such as to class it with the classificatory system; but it also shows the result of a conflict between this and the Aryan method. It makes it all the more plain to us that a great mixture of people has taken place in India. The Aryans were strong enough to force their words into common use, but they were not strong enough to change the grammar of the people or to greatly change their system of relationship.

So, also, of what he calls the Malayan system of relationship, which we think ought to be called the Africo-Polynesian. This system exists not only among the Kafirs in Southern Africa, and hence presumptively among the African people generally, except where modified by Semitic or Hamitic blood, but is found widely extended throughout Polynesia. Is there not in this fact strong confirmative evidence of the theory that a primitive negro population—the Papuan—in short, was once widely spread over these same islands? Migration of Malay people may have greatly changed the type of people, but the old customs in reference to relationship still continue. In short, systems of relationship are another element for us to bear in mind when arranging a classification of the races of men.

We have noticed some of the difficulties of classifying the various races of men. That differences do exist is plain and patent to all; and, when we contrast the extreme types, which are the black and white races, this difference becomes quite marked. We must examine one question which has caused a great deal of discussion in past years; that is to say, have these variously constituted races of men all descended from common ancestors, or were they created thus differently constituted “in the beginning?”

Now, this is a question for science alone to deal with. Some have unwisely sought to solve it by an appeal to the Bible. We have, however, long since learned that the statements in the Bible are always of a general nature, and are always found in accord with true science, and more than one rash investigator has been rebuked for losing sight of this fact.

Let us, then, examine this question in a candid way. Let us consider man just as we would an animal, and see what can be said on both sides of the question. We have learned that the various races of men differ in color of the skin, the texture of the hair, in form and capacity of skull, in position of facial bones, in weight of brain; and we need only examine the authorities to learn of a great many other differences, such as the relative proportions of different parts of the body. Volumes could be written on these minute points. We would learn of difference in constitution and temperament. They differ in liability to take certain diseases. Some are light-hearted and cheerful, some morose and taciturn. They differ, also, in mental powers, some being much more intellectual than others. We thus learn that races of men differ on many points, and that some of them are of considerable importance.

We further learn that the principal types of men have remained apparently unaltered for some thousands of years. In referring to the monumental remains of ancient Egypt, we find depicted on the same representations of the principal races that would serve equally well to define them to-day.¹

We find further that man is very widely distributed over the globe—much more so, in fact, than any other

¹ Nott and Gliddon: "Indigenous Races;" "Types of Mankind."

mammalian species we are acquainted with; but races of men seem well fitted for the region they occupy. On further comparing the geographical range of man with animal, we can not help noticing how some of these so-called races accord in distribution with the range of some undoubtedly distinct species of animals. This view appealed very strongly to the eminent naturalist Agassiz.¹

Examining the subject further, we find some excellent authorities claiming that the whole question is settled, because they have observed that the various races of men are fertile between themselves, and this they regard as conclusive of a common descent; yet others advise us not to place too much reliance on this fact, giving us good ground for concluding that it is indeed "an important, but not a decisive, mark of distinction between species and race,"² and, in fact, that that definition of species which persists in claiming that the members of a species have necessarily descended from common parents³ is assuming too much.⁴

From the foregoing, we might be justified in classifying them as separate species. Other writers, however, remind us that the various races do not keep distinct when inhabiting the same country. Numerous examples of the truth of this recur to every one. We find the inhabitants of all Spanish-American States to be largely

¹ See his division into zoölogical realms, in "Types of Mankind." Mr. Darwin remarks that "Mr. Wallace has plainly shown that the Papuan and Malays are separated by nearly the same line which divides the Malay and Australian zoölogical provinces." ("Descent of Man," London, 1874, p. 169.)

² Waitz: "Anthropology," London, 1863, p. 32.

³ Cuvier, Prichard, Quatrefages.

⁴ Further, on this point, "Man, in many respects, may be compared with those animals which have been long domesticated, and a large body of evidence can be advanced in favor of the Pallasian doctrine that domestication tends to eliminate the sterility which is so general a result of the crossing of species in a state of nature." (Darwin: "Descent of Man," London, 1879, p. 169.)

mixed breeds. We see the same influence at work in other parts of the world. The yellow race of Malays have become largely mixed with the Oceanic negroes, giving rise on the one hand to the Polynesians, and perhaps on the other to the Negritos. The whole of Northern Africa has been profoundly influenced by admixture with Hamitic and Semitic people. We should scarcely expect such results if the races of men were of different species. Then, again, we learn that the distinctive characters of all races, weak though they are, are highly variable in the race. "Thus, the Aryan or Indo-European family of nations is of one origin; yet they include physical types as diverse as the dark Hindoo, the blonde Norwegian, the classic Greek, and the Irish. Color, size, feature, and shape of the head are all exceedingly different in these various types."¹

These race characteristics, such as they are, we have seen graduate one into the other by such insensible degrees that we can not form an exact classification. This last argument is used with very great effect by Blumenbach, who shows that if the same laws determine the variability of type in animals as in man the latter necessarily constitutes but one species, since animals of the same species exhibit, as regards color, hair, size, cranial forms, no greater differences produced by climate, food, etc., than are presented by human beings.²

Turning to authorities to see what their individual conclusions have been, we do not find them all agreed. Blumenbach concludes as follows: "No doubt can any longer remain but that we are, with great probability,

¹ Brace's "Races of the Old World," p. 469.

² Waitz: "Anthropology," London, 1863; but see "Life and Works of Blumenbach," London, 1865, article on "The Natural Variety of Mankind;" also see Quatrefages' "Human Species," New York, 1879, p. 47, *et seq.*

right in referring all, and, singular, as many varieties of men as are at present known to exist, to one and the same species."¹ To the same effect are the conclusions of a large number of eminent scholars.² But there is not uniformity by any means.³ Topinard,⁴ after a long discussion on the subject, finally decides in favor of diversity of species. Waitz,⁵ who certainly seems to present both sides, shows, after much discussion, that we are not yet able to answer this question, inasmuch as a great amount of observation must be made on many different points before we can arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Finally, we will remark that the writings of Mr. Darwin tend to simplify this question, since all who believe in any form of the doctrine of evolution will at once admit that all the diverse races of men have originated from common ancestors.

On this point the study of language gives us no aid. We must not lose sight of the fact that language is not a race mark, but only a culture mark. If we admit that it is an invention, then there might have been some time, at least, when man was destitute of language,⁶ and during this period the race may have wandered forth to the various regions of the world. Therefore, if the study of language finally leaves us with a knowledge of several

¹ Op. cit., p. 276.

² Linnaeus, Cuvier, Lawrence, Camper, Buffon, Lamarck, Darwin, Geoffroy, Quatrefages, Humboldt, Prichard, Morton, Pickering.

³ Agassiz, Nott, Gliddon.

⁴ "Anthropology," London, 1878, p. 511.

⁵ "Anthropology," London, 1863, p. 33.

⁶ "Language, in short, was not created until the several types of race had been fully fixed and determined." (Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II, p. 318.) To the same effect, see Whitney: "Life and Growth of Language," p. 270. There seems to be a very respectable body of evidence tending to show that gesture-language must have preceded sound-language. See Tyler: "Early History of Mankind," chaps. i, iii, and iv, especially p. 275, *et seq.*; also, same author: "Primitive Culture," Vol. I, p. 164.

families, between which we can trace no connection,¹ we can only say that this result would naturally follow from the statement just made. On the other hand, should we finally decide that all languages had a common origin (which idea is about given up by all), this would not demonstrate the unity of mankind, since one race only may have been sufficiently advanced to develop a language and to have imparted this knowledge to other races. So, in either case, the problem remains as before.²

Attempts have been made to reconcile the views of our scholars on this important question. Men of great learning take opposite ground, and we may be sure that they have good reasons for so doing. Mr. Wallace³ thinks he can reconcile the two schools. After passing in review the main arguments on both sides, he gives in detail his reason for thinking that man was originally of one species. But this could only be true of him for a very limited time, and while he was certainly very low in the scale, and living "what might be called a mere animal existence." During such a period he would be as much subject to natural selection (conditions of life) as any animal; but at this early time "he must have been even then a dominant race, spreading widely over the warmer regions of the earth as it then existed, and, in agreement of what we see in the case of other dominant species, gradually becoming modified in accordance with local conditions. As he ranged farther from his original home, and became exposed to greater extremes of climate, to greater changes of food, and had to contend with new

¹ At present there are about seventy-five families of languages between which no connection has as yet been proved. Future study, instead of reducing this number, will probably increase it. (Sayce : L. C., p. 325.)

² Müller: "Science of Language," New York, 1866, p. 326.

³ "Anthropological Review," London, 1864, p. 158, *et seq.*

enemies, organic and inorganic, useful variations in his constitution would be selected and rendered permanent. Thus arose those striking characteristics and especial modifications which still distinguish the chief races of mankind;" such as the variously colored skin, the diversity of hair, and the many little points of comparison.

But man was endowed by his Creator with a brain and the capacity of improvement; and, therefore, while the changes we have just mentioned were being produced, "his mental development had correspondingly advanced, and had now reached that condition in which it began powerfully to influence his existence." By its use he provides himself with clothing and weapons, and with fire wherewith to cook his food. He originates the social state, language becomes a more perfect instrument, the weak are assisted by the strong, the sick are cared for, and thus, in the power of natural selection (condition of life), is weakened, and virtually ceases to act as regards his physical features. In this way would Mr. Wallace admit the primary unity of man, also the development of the principal race types; but, as by his intellect man was enabled to overcome, in a large measure, the operation of the laws of natural selection, he can also account for that wonderful persistence of mere physical characters which appeals with strong force to those who advocate diversity of origin.

We thus reach the conclusion that, as far as our present knowledge extends, we are justified in concluding that the various races of men are the descendants of common parents. This conclusion at once suggests some other points. How did these differences arise? What was the primitive type of men? When and where did they make their first appearance? We must resort to speculation to some extent; yet this is a perfectly safe way of doing if

we will only not lose sight of facts. If the conclusion just reached in regard to the unity of man be a sound one, then man must have commenced his existence in limited numbers in some one locality. However low he may have been in the scale of civilization, we are safe in assuming that he was moved by much the same feelings, desires, and passions that work upon savage tribes to-day. As time passed on and population increased, migratory bands would go out from the original home. Now, however uniform in appearance we may suppose these primitive men to have been, which was doubtless considerable, owing to the fact that they were exposed to the same climatic influence, partook of the same food, and intermarried for many years, yet no sooner would migrations begin than differences in external form and appearances would commence to arise, for the conditions of life would begin to vary. By conditions of life we mean every circumstance which has an influence on the growth of an individual.

In this connection, we need only recall what surprising changes have been produced, for instance, in the vegetable world by cultivation. The same laws hold good in the animal world. From the very earliest stage of existence to the close of life, the organism is subject to the influences of what we call conditions of life.¹ It seems that a difference in nutrition alone is sufficient to cause a larva which would have developed into a worker bee to change and become a queen instead.² Sheep, when transported to a very warm country, only retain their fleeces on condition of being regularly shorn; if left to themselves, the wool is replaced by hair.³ Similarly situated, European oxen

¹ The milieu of French writers; the natural selections of evolutionists.

² Kirby and Spence.

³ Quatrefages: "Human Species," p. 248.

tend to lose their hair and become naked.¹ Man is able, as no other animal is, to protect himself from the influences here mentioned. But he can not escape them altogether.² If clans from the same tribe separate, and one goes to the highlands and the other chooses low-lying plains as a place of residence, but few generations will pass before a change will appear.³ If at the present day, with all the resources of civilization, man is unable to escape altogether from the influence of condition of life, still less are savages able to escape; and the lower in the scale they are, the truer is this remark. Climate, whether it be warm or cold, wet or dry, healthy or unhealthy, exercises an influence on man. The physical geography of his land also molds his character, whether it be plateau or lowland, mountain or plain, continent or island, fertile or sterile—a region abounding in food or the reverse; although the influence from any one of these factors may be small, yet, in the aggregate, the result is not inconsiderable.⁴

And yet we must call into account the action of another force. We all know about the law of descent or heredity by virtue of which the child resembles his

¹ Ibid.

² On this point, we think Mr. Wallace's arguments are scarcely sound. See Lubbock's criticism of same: "Prehistoric Times," New York, 1872, p. 591.

³ This is true of the Aryan tribes in India; also, of the Semitic in Abyssinia; also, compare the highlanders and lowlanders of Scotland. Of the first two cases mentioned, we must allow considerable, perhaps most, of the changes noticed to be due to intermarriage with darker aboriginal tribes.

⁴ This matter is very thoroughly discussed by Waitz. Some of the older school of anthropologists evidently go too far, and maintain that each continent is only fitted to support its particular type. It is generally admitted, for instance, that the western continent has given rise to a type somewhat different from the Aryans in Europe. Some of this result must be due to the great intercrossing of various nationalities, but considerable is due to changed conditions of life. There is, however, no evidence that this change will continue until the people in America approach the Indian type; yet this is what Knox would have us believe,

parents. Now, when variations in type for any causes begin, these variations tend to be transmitted to the offspring. Thus, the change will go on from generation to generation, until finally the individual comes into full harmony with all his surroundings; then the conditions of life tend only to perpetuate and more firmly establish the changes already made.

We have, in the foregoing, given in a very condensed form some general statements upon the changes which would inevitably take place amongst the primitive people as soon as they commenced to spread themselves abroad over the earth. Probably there is no dispute amongst scholars that such changes would result; but there is a question,



Nubian.

however, as to the permanency of any and all changes wrought by changing conditions of life. Thus, Topinard concludes, after a long discussion: "We have no proof . . . there has ever been produced an important and

hereditary change of a physical character under the influence of external circumstances."¹ Messrs. Nott and Gliddon insist in the strongest manner on the permanence of type, and show from the pictorial remains of ancient Egypt that the negro type has remained unchanged for some thousands of years, at least.² But, perhaps, a sufficient answer to this argument may be found in the fact that in this case the conditions of life have also remained unchanged;³ or, we may deny it altogether and bring many statements to show "how valueless is that asserted fixity of the negro type," and claim that, "taken generally, it rests upon fancy."⁴ In fact, the student who proposes to read on both sides of this question will cordially conclude with Mr. Darwin that "this is a most perplexing subject."

To illustrate some of the difficulties in our way, we need only recall some facts. The Eskimos live exclusively on animal food; they are clothed in thick fur, and are exposed to intense cold; their conditions of life have not greatly changed for a very long period of time; as cave-dwellers they probably hunted the reindeer in the valley of the Vezère, while yet considerable portions of Europe were incased in glacier ice; and in America we have found probable proof of their presence along the front of the great glacier of the Glacial Age.⁵ The condition of life, then, has probably made what change it could in their characteristics, such as color, features, stature, hair, etc. What shall we say, then, when we learn that in no extreme degree do they differ from the inhabitants of Southern China, who, for certainly a very long

¹ "Anthropology," p. 388.

² "Types of Mankind," p. 271

³ Waitz: "Anthropology," p. 29. Quatrefages: "Human Species," p. 257.

⁴ Waitz: *Op. cit.*, p. 213,

⁵ Vol. I, pp. 113, 300.

time, have been exposed to conditions of life very different indeed, inasmuch as they live almost entirely on vegetable food, and are exposed almost naked to a hot, glaring climate.

In the instance just given, then, we have seen that widely different conditions of life fail to greatly change the type. On the other hand, tribes living in the tropical regions of the western continent, such as the Botocudos of Brazil, are exposed to very similar conditions as regards climate, and follow much the same mode of life as the various negro tribes of Africa. In both places, they have probably inhabited their respective countries for certainly a long time, but no striking resemblances in features and other characteristics are noticed. They are described as being "wholly different."¹

It appears, then, that, though our best scholars are willing to admit that there is but one species of man, a question at once arises which as yet they have failed of solving. Mr. Darwin proposes, as a partial solution, one clearing up many difficulties—the theory of sexual selection. He points out that "the differences between the races of man, as in color, hairiness, forms of features, etc., are of a kind" which might be expected to arise as a result of sexual selection. He furthermore passes in review the whole animal kingdom, to show what surprising changes have probably been brought about in the course of time in the external appearances of animals by the action of this mode of selection, and remarks that "it would be an inexplicable fact if man had not been modified by this agency, which appears to have acted powerfully on innumerable animals." He particularly remarks that his theory will not account for all differences between races,

¹ Darwin: "Descent of Man," p. 197.

but that we still remain in ignorance of many points.

Let us now consider when and where man first appeared. The former question has been so carefully treated¹ that we have nothing to add to what has already been said. It may be well to repeat some of the conclusions already given. In the first place, then, we need only say that the probable existence of man on this globe goes back to a former geological age. We detect faint traces of his presence in the Miocene Age, and more decided proofs of his existence in the Pliocene.² It is no longer a question that he was living before the advent of the Glacial Age. When we ask for the result in years, we have seen how nearly impossible it is to answer that question. The probable date of the Glacial Age was fully considered,³ and we have seen what an important bearing that has on the whole question. Aside from that, all the evidence simply serves to emphasize the fact that it was indeed long ago when man first arrived on the scene. No petty term, embracing a few thousand years, will suffice. We must rather conceive of the flight of unnumbered chiliads.

On this question the study of language can not fail to be of great help. Of course, it gives no hint as to the length of time when language was forming; but if we consider any family of languages, we can not shut our eyes to the fact that a great lapse of time is required to explain the facts before us. Mr. Sayce thus impressively states the argument as regards the Semitic family: "When we consider that the grammar of the Assyrian language, as found in inscriptions earlier than B. C. 2000, is in many respects less archaic and conservative than that of the languages spoken to-day by the tribes of Central Arabia—when we

¹ Vol. I.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 58.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. v.

consider further that the parent language which gave birth to Assyrian, Arabic, and other Semitic dialects must have passed through long periods of growth and decay, and that in all probability it was a sister of the parent tongues of old Egyptian and Libyan, springing in their turn from a common mother speech—we may gain some idea of the extreme antiquity to which we must refer the earliest form we can discover of a single family of speech; and behind this form must have lain unnumbered ages of progress and development. . . . The length of time required by the process will be most easily conceived if we remember how stationary the Arabic of illiterate Nomads has been during the last four thousand years, and that the language revealed by the oldest monuments of Egypt is already decrepit and outworn, already past the bloom of creative youth.” Similar remarks could be made in reference to all of the great families of language.

Another question which we may profitably consider is the question of the original home of the human race. It is doubtful if this question can be settled with any degree of assurance. We can, however, clear up our thoughts on this subject. It seems necessary, in the first place, to assume some warm, tropical region as his birthplace. This is so because, as far as his physical constitution is concerned, primeval man must have been poorly qualified to contend with even a moderate degree of cold. The force of this reasoning is admitted by nearly all scholars of note.¹ In the next place, it is generally admitted that the primeval home of man was on a present existing continent, or near regions now occupied by continents.² Of Oceanic Islands proper, a large number were found by

¹ Winchell: “Preadamites,” p. 356. Lubbock: “Prehistoric Times,” p. 43.

² Peschel: “The Races of Men,” p. 26. Darwin: “Descent of Man,” p. 169.

early navigators to be uninhabited; and, in the case of others, we can generally prove that their inhabitants have been derived from other sources, as in the case of *Polynesia*.¹

We are, therefore, to provisionally decide in favor of the tropical regions of some continental expanse of land. Here, again, other lines of evidence compel the rejection of the western continent. Geologists have no trouble in showing that from the very earliest times² the eastern continent has taken the lead in animal life. The western continent has, so to speak, lagged behind the eastern continent in the value and number of its animal forms.³ The mammalian fauna of the eastern continent has always been, and is at present, the richest in those forms that make the nearest approximation to the type of man.⁴ All this points with no little force to the conclusion that the original home of man was on the eastern continent.⁵

We are further to reflect that we are to take into account the geography of the Tertiary Age, for we have just stated that man probably dates from some portion of the widely extended time known as the Tertiary Age. It is, of course, extremely difficult to give exact details of the geography of the Tertiary Age. It was doubtless greatly different from the geography of to-day. Examining scholars to obtain their views, we learn that until middle Tertiary times Africa probably existed as an immense island,

¹ Quatrefages: "Human Species," pp. 188-198.

² Paleozoic. See outline, p. 41, Vol. I.

³ Prof. Dana: "Proc. Amer. Assoc.," 1855, Inaugural Address.

⁴ See table of distribution of Primates and Carnivora in Dr. Winchell's "Preadamites," p. 358.

⁵ This is entirely independent of any belief in the doctrine of evolution. Since all are willing to admit that man is the highest of created animals, it is eminently fitting that, primarily, he should have been placed in the same region of country where the higher animals were first placed,

much like Australia of to-day, and probably possessed a very poor mammalian fauna.¹ Furthermore, in the earlier portions of this age,² a large portion of both Europe and Asia was submerged.³ Indeed, Europe existed as an archipelago;⁴ much the same state of affairs obtained in what is now Asia, for we read that probably Hindoostan was an island, that a large portion of the plains of Thibet was beneath the waves, and that a wide arm of the sea extended from the Caspian north to the Arctic, submerging most of Northern Asia.⁵ How long this condition of things lasted is not easy to decide. Speaking generally, both Europe and Asia were undergoing a process of elevation throughout all of Tertiary time, and the result must have shown itself in the formation of large land areas. Prof. Dana tells us that after the Eocene Age Europe was mostly dry land, its sea-coast being characterized by "numerous indentations and winding estuaries;"⁶ and Mr. Wallace speaks of Europe, Northern Africa, and at least parts of Asia, as composing a continent in Miocene times, characterized as possessing a very rich mammalian fauna.⁷

There are also excellent reasons for concluding that at this time the eastern and south-eastern coast of Asia extended considerably farther than at present, stretching in a winding line from the Japanese Islands, taking in the Philippines and the islands of the Malay Archipelago;⁸ and probably the main portion of what is now the Indian Ocean was occupied by islands, not widely separated, extending in a chain from Madagascar to Hindoostan,⁹ or, as some think, a veritable continent existed in

¹ Wallace: "Island Life," p. 390. ² The Eocene. See outline, p. 41, Vol. I.

³ Dana: "Manual of Geography," p. 53. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ "Island Life," p. 185.

⁶ "Manual of Geology," p. 533. ⁷ "Island Life," p. 390. ⁸ Ibid., p. 509.

⁹ Wallace. These last statements are not by any means "guess work." They are based on the present distribution of animals. Mr. Wallace spent many years

this region.¹ Probably, then, it was in some portion of this strangely-featured continent—with its indented shore, extending in its greatest length from north-west and south-east, with Southern Africa as a great island to the south-west, with large islands dotting the Indian Ocean—that in the fullness of time man appeared.²

Another question before us is the primitive state of man. Every one knows that the world of to-day is inhabited by tribes in very different stages of social enlightenment. There have been two theories to account for this fact. For convenience, they may be called the “progression” and the “degradation” theories. Those who hold to the progression theory think that the life of man on the globe has been one of progress. They think that primitive man started at the very foot of the ladder of human progress, and by the exercise of those powers implanted in him, by virtue of which he is a MAN, and not a brute, he has gradually risen from a state of abject savagism,

in study, travel, and observation on this question. His views are set forth with a wealth of learning in his works entitled “Geographical Distribution of Animals” and “Island Life.”

¹ Winchell.

² We question, however, if, in accordance with the views presented on page 51, Vol. I, we must not separate, at least, the western portions of Europe from this continent. We wish, also, to remark that in several places in Vol. I, notably page 24, we speak of a submerged Pacific continent. A more guarded reference is also made on pages 276 and 278, and an opinion is expressed that there might have been the primeval home of man. The existence of this hypothetical continent seems questioned. (P. 155 of same volume.) We think now there never was a continental expanse of land in the Pacific. Here seems to be a good place to speak of “Lemuria.” A number of writers have thought there were good reasons to conclude that a continental expanse of land formerly existed in what is now the Indian Ocean, and have not hesitated to express the opinion that there was the original home of man. Dr. Winchell gives a summary of this evidence and authorities in “Preadamites.” (Pp. 359-363.) Mr. Wallace, however, is not willing to admit there was, properly speaking, a continent there. He insists the land areas were simply islands, not widely separated. (“Island Life,” pp. 394-399.) We submit that, as far as the primeval home of man is concerned, there is not much difference between these views.

through barbarism, to that enlightened state we call civilization. The degradation theory assumes, on the contrary, that primitive man was possessed of a certain degree of enlightenment, from which plane of primitive enlightenment some races have gone on to higher stages of civilization, while others have fallen away and have become the savage, uncivilized races of to-day.

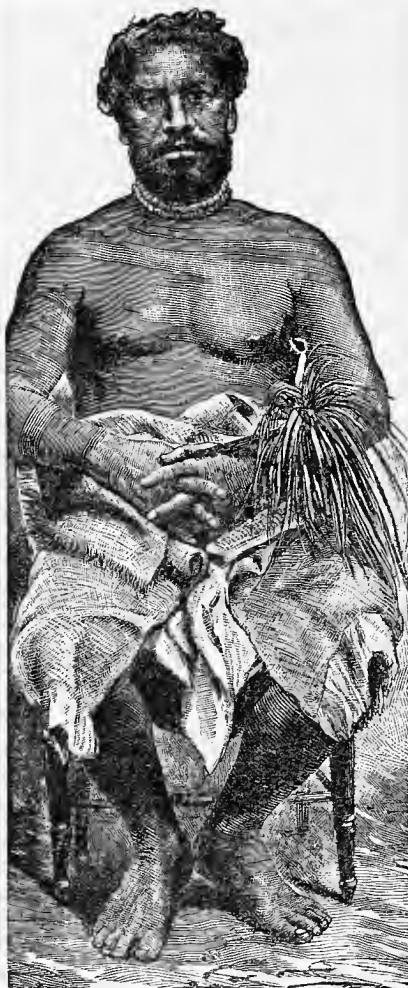
There is a lack of precision in the statement of both of these theories, and yet we have tried to state each as fairly as we could. It is not yet settled what was the condition of man in "abject savagism;" and, on the other hand, the holders of the degradation theory are by no means settled among themselves, and have nowhere defined the stage of enlightenment of which their theory supposes that primitive man was possessed. Two writers of recent date are much quoted as champions of the degradation theory. Archbishop Whately, in his somewhat celebrated lecture on the origin of civilization,¹ founds part of his argument on error. He asserts that "all experience proves that man, . . . in the lowest degree of barbarism, . . . never did and never can raise himself into a higher condition." But many writers have clearly proved that existing savages have certainly raised themselves a few steps in the scale. Thus, if the evidence of language be of any value at all, it shows that, in family relations, many savage tribes of to-day have advanced from the communal family to the group family, and many still further to the pairing family; and this advance has, at times, taken place where we can not suppose any aid from outside sources was given.² As for

¹ "Miscellaneous Lectures and Reviews," London, 1861.

² See Howitt's memoir on the Kurnai, a South Australian tribe, in "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880.

mechanical arts, it seems clearly established that advance has taken place.

The remainder of this writer's argument fully illus-



Polynesian Chief.

trates what we had to say as to the indefiniteness of this theory. He expressly warns us that "the earliest generations of mankind were in a condition far short of what can be called 'high civilization,'" and points out that "he had received only very limited, and what may be called elementary, instructions—enough merely to enable him to make further advances afterwards by the exercise of his natural powers;" but he neglects to tell us in what these instructions consisted, and gives us no idea of what amount of "elementary instruction" was sufficient to render further advance, by the exercise of man's natural powers, possible.

Later, the Duke of Argyll writes in support of the degradation theory.¹ He abandons, as of no account, the arguments of Whately in reference to the inability of

¹ "Primeval Man," London, 1871.

savage tribes to advance. He admits the great antiquity of man, going back to the Glacial Age. We look in vain for any statement as to the probable condition of primitive man. We are told that, as regards knowledge, his condition "may have been one of mere childhood." He admits that "it probably is true that all nations, in the progress of the arts, have passed through the stages of using stone for implements before they were acquainted with the use of metals." But he insists that along with this childhood in knowledge (if we admit it to be true) there may have been clear conceptions of God and duty.

It is clear enough, however, that the duke believes that primitive man was possessed of a certain degree of civilization, though we can not, from his writings, determine what degree. He

accounts for the existence of savage tribes by arguing that they are simply outcasts from society. He believes that man commenced his career in "some one or more of



Polynesian Chief's Wife.

those portions of the earth which are genial in climate, rich in natural fruits, and capable of yielding the most abundant return to the very simplest arts." Population would, under such circumstances rapidly increase, and soon migrations would begin; but he says "it would always be the weaker tribes who would be driven forth from the ground which had become overstocked, and, as the lands to which they went forth were less and less hospitable in climate and productions, the struggle for life would be always harder. And so it always happens, in the natural and necessary course of things, that the races which were driven farthest would be the rudest—the most engrossed in the pursuits of mere animal existence."

The duke's theory, however, fails in a number of points. It is not true that migrating bands are composed of the weaker tribes. As Lubbock argues, "the gradual extension of the human race has been effected, not by forces acting on any given race from without, but by internal necessity, and the pressure of population; by peaceful, not by hostile, force; and by prosperity, not by misfortune. . . . Of old, as now, founders of new colonies were men of energy and enterprise, animated by hope and courage, not by fear and despair."¹ Neither is it true that the lowest races are found at the outskirts of continents. The Botocudoes, inhabiting the finest position of Brazil, are as low in the scale as the miserable Fuegians of Patagonia. The Eskimos are one of these "outskirt" races, and the struggle for existence is certainly severe with them, yet they seem to have been quite as enlightened as some Indian tribes much farther south. We have seen that there is considerable evidence to show

¹ "Primitive Man," New York, 1871, p. 342.

that the Eskimos once inhabited the interior of what is now the United States.¹ It may be that the early Norse Sea kings found them on the eastern sea-coast. We need only add that as far as the evidence of the Sagas goes it shows that the Eskimos then were quite as low in the scale as now, though occupying quite a different country.

In short, this view seems to be but a restatement of the effect produced by a change in conditions of life. We have seen that condition of life, though exercising considerable influence, is not able to explain the differences in races as far as physical appearances are concerned.² So, also, we may observe that, though condition of life doubtless exercises some influence on the degree of enlightenment of a people, it is totally inadequate to explain all; in fact, the argument is capable of another reading. These tribes, being low in the scale of civilization, were driven out of the fairer regions of the world. We submit that this view is more in accordance with all the known facts in the case than to suppose they became degraded in consequence of such expulsion. Language, as far as it goes, is of some help to us in this matter. Thus, the Aryan races must have possessed a common home and a common parentage. They were living there at a time at least three thousand years before Christ, and had attained considerable civilization, as is shown by the evidence of language. We have no evidence of any tribe wandering off from this home and losing the civilization there attained. On the other hand, their descendants have progressed until they include in their ranks the most enlightened nations of the world. It is quite true that in India we find some degraded tribes, who

¹ Vol. I, p. 302.

² Page 55.

speak a language allied to the Aryan; especially is this the case with the Veddahs of Ceylon, but it is well known that the Veddahs are, in the main, descendants from the indigenous non-Aryan tribes of Hindoostan.¹

When we come to ask the history of these two theories, we find that the degradation theory is the one which early finds expression in the beliefs of civilized nations. It, therefore, comes to us invested with that peculiar sanction which age ever gives to beliefs, even though founded on error. Whatever reason we may give, the fact certainly remains that both the Aryan and Semitic nations, or such as achieved civilization, held, in substance, this theory. As from the Semitic Hebrews Christianity was given to the world, it is, perhaps, not strange that this theory was held in mind in explaining and interpreting many passages of Scripture; and thus it is that the advocates of this theory sometimes claim for it the sanction of religion. Sir Henry Maine, in a most interesting way,² shows how this theory passed from the philosophers of Greece to the jurists of Rome, and was considered as the natural foundation of the law of nations. Hence, we can readily see how, before science arose, this theory was the most acceptable one, and we see, also, the foundation of its power to-day; and we can understand how it is that, though it has no standing before the scientific knowledge of the present, yet it retains a considerable hold in popular belief.

¹ Tyler's "Primitive Culture," Boston, 1874, Vol. I, p. 51. The case of the Veddahs is one of the facts relied on by Rawlinson to sustain his position, that there are "grounds for believing broadly that savagery and civilization, the two opposite poles of our condition, are states between which men oscillate freely, passing from either to the other with almost equal ease, according to the external circumstances wherewith they are surrounded." ("Origin of Nations," New York, 1881, p. 8.) We can not see how the condition of the Veddahs tends to prove any such statement.

² "Ancient Law," New York, 1864, p. 52.

The progression theory is the child of modern study. Many lines of research unite in affirming this result. The social life, the manners and customs of savage and barbarous tribes all over the world have been collected and compared, and with them civilization has been passed in review. Our plan of government, our laws, the whole fabric of our social life, our marriage customs, our systems of consanguinity and affinity, our inventions and discoveries, which make civilization a delight, are found to be but the matured fruits, the fair flowers, growing on the vine of progress. But as the germ and the plant precede the flower, so we can detect the germ of modern civilization in the social organization and plan of life of savage tribes, and the growth can be observed in the customs and manners of barbarous nations.

Having thus examined this question as much as our limited space will allow, let us sum up the conclusion. We believe that our scholars are becoming more and more unanimous in the belief that, as regards primitive man, his starting point was the zero point of humanity; and, speaking broadly, his career through all the vast stretch of years that have elapsed since his appearance has been one of progress. This by no means denies the fact that instances of degradation have occurred. Nations may and probably have, at times, fallen away in civilization. Some tribes, having to contend with new conditions of life much less favorable than those to which they had been accustomed, may and probably have retrograded. We are to regard such instances as simply exceptions, to which nearly every general rule is subject. In no instance do such retrogressions become race-wide. We therefore conclude with Mr. Tyler that the history of civilization has "not been the history of a course of

degeneration, or even of equal oscillations to and fro, but of a movement which, in spite of frequent stops and relapses, has on the whole been forward; that there has been from age to age a growth in man's power over nature, which no degrading influence has been able permanently to check."¹

Have we any evidence which of the great types of races was the primitive type? Did the first men belong to the white, or the black, or the yellow races? It is doubtful whether we have the necessary data from which to draw a conclusion; but let us see if we have any solid ground on which to venture. We probably will not reflect on this question long before we will decide that the white races must be left out of account. The rank they hold in the scale of civilization seems to show this. We have just seen that the first men were probably very low in the scale of civilization. While we would not be understood as saying that the white races were not once in a savage state, yet, if they were the primitive men, we would scarcely expect them to leave their descendants behind in the process of development. Further, the white races seem to be traced back to Western Asia. From here, they seem to have spread over the world. Wherever they went, they seem to have found other people ahead of them. In India, the Aryans found the Dravidians; in Europe, the Turanians. The tribes speaking the Semitic languages found the Turanians in Mesopotamia. That branch of them which, under the name of the Hamitics, went west to Egypt nearly lost their distinctive characters by their extensive mingling with the blacks.

Now, although we can not claim that these considerations are of such a character as to necessarily show that

¹ "Early History of Mankind," p. 191.

primitive men were not members of the white races, yet they certainly are of some weight. We must not lose sight of the fact that what we call the divisions of the white races—that is, Aryan, Semitic, and Hamitic—may be, and probably are, modern divisions, and that the type itself may, and probably does, go back much farther than the languages which they now speak. Perhaps we can yet trace it where, at present, we are in doubt. M. Quatrefages¹ thinks he has shown that the Malays are a mixed race, and that they are a mixture of white with other races. Still another scholar² extends this observation, and thinks he can show that the Polynesians properly belong to the same race. Should these views be accepted, we should have to extend our views in regard to the origin and antiquity of this race type. Yet, we would still have to give due weight to the fact that the white races, so far as we know them, are above the others in civilization; and, therefore, the probability remains that primitive man was not of this type.

We have still before us the yellow and the black races. M. Quatrefages gives the weight of his great authority in favor of the yellow races.³ Two facts seem to influence him greatly in this conclusion; one is that the color yellow is present as an element of color in all races. On this point we might remark that a great diversity of color exists among the so-called black races; that it is only one among a group of characters by which we make our classification. It, therefore, seems to us not safe to base far-reaching conclusions on this character. His second fact is derived from the study of language. He thinks that isolating, one-syllable languages, such as are spoken

¹ "Human Species," New York, 1879, p. 433.

² Kean; "Nature," Vol. XXIII.

³ "Human Species," p. 242.

by some yellow races, mark the infantile stage of all languages. This conclusion, though supported by scholars of great ability, is far from proved. One needs only to read the literature on the subject to discover that there is equally as good authority for thinking that the stage of language development to which we have just referred has really nothing to do with other stages, as the agglutinating or inflecting, and therefore can not be used to show that the yellow races preceded the others in time.

For our part, we think the probabilities are that the black races were represented in the primeval race of men. This, of course, leaves the degree of color unsettled. It leaves unsettled the amount of prognathism; also, the character of the hair. Our reasons are based almost solely on the stage of enlightenment generally prevalent among the black races. Their social institutions are of the rudest and most archaic type. Some writers think that the Australians are the lowest in civilization of any.¹ Professor Owen would lay this distinction on the Andaman Islanders, and Professor Flowers² thinks it is not unlikely that these latter people are "representatives of the primitive negro type, which has been since altered in various points as it spread over its wide district of the world."³

The various African tribes are quite a ways from being savages, but it seems that they have derived almost everything that improves their condition from outside sources. Peschel tells us: "The negro possesses, in a high degree, both the power and the inclination to adopt the benefits of foreign civilization, but they are extremely deficient in inventions of their own. . . . Had this

¹ Tyler's "Primitive Culture," Vol. I, p. 27.

² "Nature," 1879.

³ Tyler's "Anthropology," p. 89.

race made its appearance, in Australia, they would scarcely, by their own strength, have risen above the state of the Australian nations." We search in vain for



Kurile Islanders.

any evidence of the rise of any black races to be a source of culture and enlightenment to surrounding nations. It may be true that some Mongoloid tribes of men are, at

present, lower in the scale than the African generally; but China comes before us as an instance of the rise to quite a high degree of civilization of a Mongoloid people at a very early day, which continued for ages to be a source of enlightenment to surrounding people. It may be that in ancient times Western Asia had its China in Mesopotamia. Probably few will take exceptions to the general statement that, taken as a whole, the black races represent a lower, a more primitive, state of society than the yellow races.

We need not assert that the present low condition of the black races is a proof that their intellectual endowment is of such a nature that they are incapable of achieving civilization. In this, as in a great many other questions, we must be cautious in forming conclusions. It is a simple historical fact that the negro race in Africa has had a national existence for at least five thousand years. During that time, they have accomplished nothing of importance in developing native civilization.¹ We can not explain this by laying it to unfavorable surroundings. We have learned, of late years, that the interior of Africa is a very favorably situated country, for the possession of which the principal European nations are now vigorously contending. Nor can we conclude that "they are young in the immense period necessary for the historical development of races,"² for the probability is that they are very old. Waitz considers the following proved: "The various degrees of culture in various people depend in a much greater degree on the mode of life, the historical events, and other elements, than on their original mental

¹ Winchell: "Preadamites," pp. 256, 257. Hunt, on the Negro: "Anthropological Review," Dec., 1863. Pim, on the Negro: same journal, Feb., 1866.

² Brace's "Races of the Old World," New York, 1868, p. 312.

endowment.”¹ He does not deny the influence of mental endowment, but thinks it not possible to demonstrate it. It certainly seems difficult to explain the generally low condition of the black races, unless you take into account the difference in mental capacity.

Now, let us see how our general subject is advanced by the inquiries of this chapter. We have divided the various tribes of men into groups, and are thus enabled to take a more comprehensive view of the inhabitants of the world in general. Further reflection will show us that, except for the purpose of illustrating the very earliest, and therefore rudest, states of society, we will have but little to do with the black races. The same remark is, in a measure, true of the yellow races. The exception will come in in the case of China. As before remarked, China was a source of culture to surrounding nations at a very early day. Our pages will be mainly concerned with the white races, for they only were enabled to achieve civilization. We shall further discover that the civilization and culture of the world are largely Aryan. This division of the white race seems to have been the first to cast off the constitution of ancient society—that is, tribal society—and founded political society in its stead; and to this fact is probably due the high position they assumed and held in the history of civilization. They were, of course, greatly influenced in their development by the culture of Egypt and Assyria; but to assume that all our civilization dates from those two countries is to ignore a large body of facts.

How do the facts set forth in this chapter agree with the general conclusions of the first volume? We think exceedingly well. They give added interest to the question of the racial connections of the River-Drift men.²

¹ “Anthropology,” p. 381.

² Vol. I, p. 93.

Perhaps the Paleolithic tribes, that spread over the world before the decline in temperature that brought about the Glacial Age began, were ethnically connected with the tribes now found in Australia. In thus tracing them to the black races, is there not added significance to the statement that they appeared not to have made appreciable advance during the long term of years known as the Paleolithic Age?¹ We saw further that, after the Glacial Age had passed away, Neolithic man appeared in Europe. It was furthermore rendered probable that Neolithic man in Europe belonged to the yellow (Turanian) race.² We at once perceived that we were dealing with more advanced people. This accords well with the actual facts of the case. The yellow races, in the main, are certainly more advanced than the black races. We may not be able to detect what it was that started them forward on the road to civilization. For a long time, at least, they were the ruling races in the ancient world. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the black races were driven out of Asia by them, and so are now found only in Africa and Australia, with adjacent islands. They reached their highest level in China, and not a few think that the inhabitants of ancient Chaldea were of the Turanian race; and to them they would trace the rudiments of the civilization that afterwards underwent so great a development in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

We must never forget, in thinking over these and similar questions, that the unknown is still a vastly greater quantity than the known. We are to hold our views subject to further information. With the most painstaking efforts, we are not yet in position to speak with any degree of assurance—we can only say that such and such

¹ Vol. I, p. 88.

² *Ibid*, pp. 212, 213.

results are in keeping with present knowledge; but, even when imbued with this spirit, we allow ourselves to dwell on the probable condition of man during the infancy of his life on this globe, how strange the scene! If we can no longer think of a stage of enlightened innocence, we can see a primeval race making their first conquest over nature, entering on that stage of progress whose end is yet far off. The whole earth was, in truth, of one blood and one speech. We need not be sure we know when, nor where, nor how, the various race types arose, nor the order in which this occurred, nor all the stages in the growth and development of language, nor of all the steps leading up to our present civilization.

We may be reasonably sure that all this took a great many ages to accomplish. Families of languages were developed and passed away. Races doubtless arose, flourished, and became extinct. Incipient culture, perhaps, originated here and there, only to be lost again; but, with all, the movement was forward. The forms of ancient society were developed, and proved sufficient to conduct man from savagery to the confines of civilization. We shall find, therefore, that it will be necessary to study, to some extent, Ancient Society, which will form the subject of the next chapter.

CLASSIFICATION OF MEN.

In the absence of any well marked characters which could serve as a basis of classification, we would naturally expect that different individuals would adopt different schemes. M. Quatrefages recognizes three main stocks, the same as here given, with numerous branches. ("Human Species.") Dr. Winchell gives the same classification, excepting what we call the yellow races he calls the brown. ("Preadamites.") One of the earliest divisions made was almost exactly the same as this, save that the yellow races were in that scheme called red. ("Life and Works of Blumenbach," London, 1865, p. 264.) Linnæus divides mankind into four groups, separating the red, or American, group from the yellow. Blumenbach gives three principal groups, as here stated, but also gives two transitional groups—the American and the Malay—thus making five in all. Kant took one dark-brown race as the primitive stock, from which subsequently arose the red, black, and olive-colored races. Cuvier assumed three principal races, the same, substantially, as here given, but he names them the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Ethiopian; he leaves undecided the ethnic standing of the Oceanic negroes.

I. BLACK RACES.—1. **WOOLLY HAired.** This division includes the various negro races in Africa; also, the inhabitants of a chain of islands extending from Tasmania eastward to Fiji, north to New Guinea, not including Australia; also, the Negritos, or the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, the peninsula of Malacca and the Philippine Islands.¹

2. **STRAIGHT HAired.** This division includes the inhabitants of Australia, and we will also include it in the aboriginal inhabitants of India.²

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The prevailing color is black, or dark brown. The Bushmen of Africa are yellow, and the Hottentots are sometimes described as being copper-colored. The heads of nearly all the members of this group are narrow as compared with their

¹ The ethnical standing of the Negritos is still in doubt. Prof. Flowers asserts ("Nature," July, 1879) that they form a race apart by themselves. Winchell quotes from recent investigators to show that they are, at the bottom, Papuans, mixed with Malay blood. ("Preadamites," p. 77.)

² Huxley, Broca, Topinard, and Tyler are some of the authorities for this last statement. Peschel does not unite these two people, yet his description of the physical characteristics of one fit well the other. Winchell classifies them separately, but shows the several points of resemblance between them. Flowers ("Nature") does not think there are cranial resemblances sufficiently strong to justify classing them together. There is no question but there has been very great intermixture of blood in India. Pritchard shows that white, yellow, and black races have here commingled. Their color and development of the pilous system separate them from the yellow races, and we think justify this classification.

length. The Negritos are an exception, and so are some of the negro tribes in Africa. In all, the lower parts of the face project forward (prognathism) more than in the other two groups. The capacity of the skull and weight of brain are also less. Their institutions and state of society are of the rudest and most archaic types. The languages are mainly agglutinating. Some of the South African approach inflection, and some are said to be isolating. (Sayce.) Their system of relationship is the most primitive.

II. YELLOW RACES.—This division includes probably the majority of the world's inhabitants. It is difficult to make satisfactory subdivisions. The following may be considered as a convenient grouping:

1. **TURANIANS.** This division includes the various tribes in Northern Asia, extending over into Europe. They constitute a linguistic family, though not one so closely connected as the Aryans. Their system of relationship is the same as the Aryans. This family has the following subdivisions: Tungus, true Mongols; Turks, Finns, and Samoyedes. Each of these latter could be still further divided. The Japanese and Koreans are closely related to the Turanians, and by some their language is classed with the Tungus. (Sayce.)

2. **ASIATICS.** It is difficult to find a name for this group. It includes the Chinese, the inhabitants of Thibet and the southern slopes of the Himalayas, the Burmese, Siamese, and South-eastern Asia generally. The language of this group is isolating. (Sayce.) Little is known of their system of relationship.

3. **MALAYO-POLYNESIAN.** This division includes the inhabitants of Oceania generally. It is largely a mixed race. A black race, represented by the Papuans, appears to have been the foundation. Relationship, still allied to the Kafirs of Africa. Languages, agglutinative.

4. **BEHRING'S FAMILY.** This "includes a number of North Asiatic and American tribes, which, for the most part, inhabit the shores of Behring's Strait, or have migrated, like the Eskimos, from its shores to Greenland." (Peschel.) It includes the Eskimos, Thlinkits, and Aleutians, of America; the Itelmes, Koriaks, and Namalls, of Asia. Language, polysynthetic.

5. **AMERICAN FAMILY.** This includes the numerous tribes of North and South America at the time of their discovery. Language, polysynthetic; some tribes in Mexico said to have been in the isolating state. (Sayce.) Relationship, allied to the Dravidian.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Color of all the Old World families, yellow, leather yellow, or yellowish brown. The Behring family has "brownish, dark-colored skin." The American family varies from "a slight darkness to copper red." Very little hair on the body; hair of the head, black, coarse and straight; prominent cheek bones; eyes, oblique; heads, broad, as compared with the length—to this last the Eskimos are an exception.

III. WHITE RACES.—1. **THE ARYANS.** This includes the inhabitants of Europe generally, and the great bulk of the immigrant people in the New World. In Asia, the Brahmins of India, the Persians, Kurds, Armenians, and Afghans. Language, inflected. Relationship, descriptive.

2. **THE SEMITES.** The Abyssinians and many tribes in Eastern Africa; the Hebrews, Phoenicians, Syrians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Babylonians, and Arabs. Language, inflected. Relationship, descriptive.

3. **THE HAMITES.** The Berbers and several tribes in Africa; the Copts and the ancient Egyptians. Language, inflected, though weakly so. Relationship, unknown; probably descriptive.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Color, fair; lightest in the Aryans, darkest in the Hamites. Dimensions and weight of the brain, greatest among the white races. In shape of the head, they occupy an intermediate position between the black and the yellow races. They have the smallest degree of prognathism. They are the historic races. The culture and civilization of the ancient world was Hamitic and Semitic; that of the modern world is Aryan.



ANCIENT ARYAN



N BURIAL.

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT SOCIETY.

Difficulty in understanding ancient society—Different forms of government—Tribal organization—The communal band—Group marriage—Systems of relationship—The Turanian system—The Indo-American system—The classificatory system—The customs in Australia—The class divisions of the tribes—Explanations of the Indo-American system—Africo-Polynesian system—Proves the communal band—Origin of the Australian classes—The Kamilaroi tribes in Australia—The classes the origin of the phratries—The origin of gentes—The tribes explained—Phratry explained—Gens explained—General prevalence of tribal society—Change of descent—Tribal organizations of the Hebrews—Among the Persians—The Hindoos—The Joint-family—The Celts—The Germanic tribes—The Slavonians—Joint-family among the Slavs—The ancient Greeks—Spartans—Change to political society among the Athenians—The Romans—Conclusions.



A PERSON who has been blind from his birth can form no conception of color. He may hear most eloquent descriptions of the glorious color that flecks the sky when Summer's sun is setting, but the words convey no proper meaning to his mind. He may enjoy the perfume of the rose, but the exquisite painting that nature has bestowed on corolla and calyx exists not for him. Similarly, if nature has denied to him the gift of hearing, it is impossible for him to conceive of sound. He may enjoy the plumage of birds, and admire their power of flight; but their caroled songs

are not only not heard by him, but he can form no idea of what they are like. This world is very large, and its surface presents a great diversity of features. Many people, exhibiting a great variety of social life, live at different places. He who has never traveled, and at the same time is not given to reading and reflection, has but very crude ideas of other lands and people. If well read and thoughtful, he has formed mental conceptions of the same, but the probabilities are that they are far from being exact.

It is well-nigh impossible for the people of one nationality to thoroughly understand the thoughts and feelings of foreign nations. We fail to take into account national thought and feeling. Especially is this true when we have under consideration people of a different race and living in a different stage of social enlightenment. We are altogether too apt to assume that their manner of thought is the same as ours. We weigh their actions, customs, and manners by our standard. Hence it is that we meet with so many beliefs, social customs, habits of life, in the lower races of men, which seem to us to be foolish in the extreme. They may, indeed, be very foolish as viewed from our stand-point; but mankind, the world over, including even the lowest savages, as a rule, have good reasons for the course they pursue. We may see that they are foolish and childish reasons, but they never seem that way to savages.

We know that in all probability man was simply endowed with intellectual powers, which enabled him to progress. They could, therefore, no more commence their career with well-organized systems of government than they could supply those governments with the resources of modern science. In every department of human activ-

ity, in every thing which raises us above the brutes, we may be sure that mankind occupies its present vantage ground only as a result of experience gained by painful efforts. Nature took her feeble children by the hand and conducted their tottering footsteps along the road of progress. So we may be sure that no custom exists without some reason for its existence. It becomes, therefore, necessary to pass in review the savage or but partially civilized tribes, and examine their customs and manners, and see if we can determine what relation they sustain to the habits of civilized people.

And first in regard to government. It seems to us perfectly natural that bodies of men, finding themselves associated together, should at once proceed to organize themselves as a body politic. If we could conceive of one thousand Europeans of various nationalities suddenly finding themselves in possession of a large island, and cut off from communication with the rest of the world, we feel confident that some plan of organized government would appear among them before the lapse of any great length of time. And yet what seems to us as perfectly natural, is not so because of any instinctive feelings; it simply follows as a result of education and previous habits of life. Primitive man had to feel his way up to organized society.

The truth of this statement is probably not seriously questioned by any one at all conversant with the result of recent researches into primitive life and times. We are all familiar with political organizations of the most enlightened states at the present. This kind of government is territorial, and not personal; the state is in possession of a certain definite territory; in most cases its boundary is well defined; its code of laws takes effect in

that territory; all persons residing therein are under its sway, and are equally entitled to its protection; this territory is generally subdivided for the purpose of local government into smaller areas, such as counties, parishes, cantons, communes, etc.; but here again local government is simply a question of territory.

This seems to us perfectly simple and natural; yet ages passed before any people hit on this expedient. The Aryans were the first people to institute a state. The struggle of ancient Greece to throw off tribal society, and adopt modern political society, extended over some centuries of time, and forms one of the most interesting chapters in its history. The same is true of Rome. A state, in the modern significance of the term, first appeared in Greece, as a result of the legislation of Cleisthenes, B. C. 509. Before that time, there were but different forms of tribal society. This form of social organization had been able to accomplish considerable. It built up, at an early day, a wonderful civilization in Egypt; also, in Babylonia and Assyria. To this day more people are living under what is essentially a tribal organization than the other. They have not been able to grasp the idea of a state, or perhaps we had better say they have not felt the necessity of the same.

It is necessary, therefore, to define what we mean by tribal organization. This does not present an invariable form. Two people may both possess governments based on tribal organization, yet differ greatly in details. The specialization of the different departments of government may be much more forward in one than in another. This remark probably needs no illustration, but we might refer to the league of the Iroquois. This organization was worthy of admiration, but it was not the equal of the

Aztec confederacy in Mexico. Still, we can not suppose that even the simplest, the rudest, form of tribal organization was so simple that primitive man at once adopted it. It must necessarily be a growth out of some pre-existing state of society; it must have originated because it met some felt want.

The commencement of tribal organization is lost in the very night of time. In its more primitive form, it is probably seen in some of the more savage tribes of to-day. In its higher forms, it is to be found among the nomadic tribes of Asia. In its highest form, we will need to search the histories of ancient Greece and Rome to obtain clear ideas of the same. It was unable to meet the wants of a rich and varied civilization. Thus it is that at the dawn of history we perceive the principal Aryan nations engaged in the solution of a most difficult social problem. It was nothing less than the substitution of modern society for the ancient form under which mankind had lived from time immemorial.

It is doubtful if we appreciate the magnitude of this problem. At the present day, our most enlightened nations—our own country and Europe—find looming up before them most grave social problems. It remains to be seen whether our present civilization will successfully solve this problem. No one knows what changes may be in store for us. The people of ancient Greece and Rome had to consider much the same condition of things. At both Athens and Rome a state of affairs had gradually arisen that imperatively called for some change in government. But how were the rulers to form any conception of a government different from that they already had? There was no model for them to copy. To the reflective citizen of ancient Greece, the future must have

seemed full of most gloomy forebodings. His people were about to abandon the only form of social organization for governmental purposes he knew anything about, to enter on new and untried methods. No wonder it took some centuries of time and a succession of gifted men to make the adjustments. We must express our admiration that they were enabled to make this change without blasting their already high civilization. Let us hope their descendants of a later day may be equally as fortunate in dealing with their social problems.

We come, then, to the conclusion that in ancient times tribal organization for governmental purposes was the only form of government known. But this does not present an unvariable form. It varied according to the degree of enlightenment of the people—according to the advance they had made in other respects. It is, therefore, a developed organization, and consequently its growth is a question for study. We are at liberty to consider the probable origin of the same, and can study its probable archaic form among the ruder, less developed tribes of to-day. Its origin is, indeed, lost in the prehistoric ages, and we must resort to theory, which is allowable if we will only square our theory with ascertained facts. We will find that the investigation here proposed opens up a most interesting chapter in the history of man, and throws light on a great many primeval customs, some of which still influence us at the present day, though we have lost all knowledge of their origin.

Like a good many institutions, we have general ideas of what is meant by a tribe, but it is rather of a hard matter to express this meaning in words. It is not every wandering body of savages that constitutes a tribe. It is often quite a complex organization, and it need not sur-

prise us to know that it is only within the last few years that we have learned of its constituent parts. Older writers, and travelers generally, often used the word *tribe* where *gens* or *phratry* should have been used, and in this way some wrong conclusions were reached. Perhaps we can best understand the organization of a tribe, and the constituent parts of which it is composed, by considering its probable origin.

We do not want to keep dwelling on the low condition of primitive man, and yet we are in constant danger of reasoning, in regard to his probable actions during his primeval life, as if he were in possession of a large amount of information, which he could have gained only by experience. The only safe way is to assume that he started at the zero point of humanity, and in this way we must conceive of his primitive social organization. There is, of course, reasonable ground to differ as to what would be considered the primitive social organization. We may safely assume that man was always a sociable being. We may assume further that his passions were always active, and that he was always courageous, and was always ready to fight for his real or supposed rights; always ready to risk his life in defense of the band with whom he was associated.

But what were the relations of the members of this band to each other? That is the very point at issue. As even the very lowest of existing savage tribes have undoubtedly been able to make considerable advance, we need not expect to find any examples of a band organized on the same basis as were probably the men of primeval times. Scholars have differed considerably in their final conclusions in this matter. We will state what we think the relation was, give the lines of reasoning which conduct

to this conclusion, and examine authorities to see how we are sustained.

We will state, then, that at first the division could only have been made along the line of sex. Supposing we conceive of a band of these savages landing on a hitherto uninhabited island. We will suppose them to be of about the same age, and that the number of men and women was about the same. We must conceive of the entire absence of marriage, as we understand the term. None the less, however, did this relation exist; but it was what is called the communal marriage—every man, for instance, being, theoretically, the husband of every woman. As time passed on, the second generation would reach the stage of manhood and womanhood. Here, again, communal marriage would exist. Every male of this generation, for instance, being, theoretically, husband to every female. As marriage was in the group, so was relationship in the group. Between these two generations, or two groups, existed the relation of parent and child.

Theoretically, every male in the first group was father to every individual in the second group. Similarly, every female was mother to every individual in the second. Or, taken collectively, the first group was parent to the second group. The second group was not only husband and wife to each other, but they were brothers and sisters as well. In like manner, the third generation would form a brother and sister-group, and a marriage group as well. The first, or original, group would be grandparents to the third. The same relations would exist between the second and third groups as between the first and second. Thus would each generation form, by itself, a brother and sister-group, which

was also a marriage group, and it would stand in some direct lineal relationship to all the preceding and following groups. Practically, there would be but few of these groups living at the same time. Terms to express five groups only need be employed. Any individual group would recognize as preceding it a parent and a grand-parent-group; as following it, a child and grandchild-group.

We have thus briefly sketched what we regard as the social organization of the primitive tribes, and are ready to discuss the position here assumed. But, in the first place, in regard to the name. Morgan calls such a state of society the "consanguine family."¹ Lubbock uses the term "betairism," or the phrase "communal marriage," to designate this social state.² Bachofen³ and McLennan⁴ use the same language. Powell⁵ styles it the "communal family." Howitt⁶ expresses this state of society by the phrase "undivided commune." Here we have certainly a variety to choose from, but we make free to adopt one differing from any here given. We will call it the *communal band*. We will have to admit that no known example of a band organized just in this way exists. The organization of tribes among the lowest of existing savages has been studied in many parts of the world. Though we have thus learned many curious facts, yet we have come across no example of a communal band; nor do we find any instance of such a band in the pages of ancient history. It is true that Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, and others mention instances of this kind,⁷ but in all such

¹ "Ancient Society," New York, 1878, p. 401, *et seq.*

² "Primitive Man," New York, 1871, pp. 67-70.

³ "Das Mutterrecht." ⁴ "Studies in Ancient History," p. 130.

⁵ "Third Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology," p. 17.

⁶ "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880, p. 364.

⁷ See paper by Charnock in "Anthropologia," London, 1873, p. 165; also, Morgan: "Ancient Society," p. 501.

cases it is extremely probable that the writers did not have a clear understanding of the facts of the case. It is, then, necessary to present quite a body of facts, bearing on this question, which shall present strong evidence in favor of the social organization here proposed, before we accept it as probably true. But let us pause right here to notice one objection that may be brought forward. Some might think that, instinctively, mankind would revolt from such a relationship as this. Peschel¹ remarks that "the hypothesis that at a remote age marriage was unknown to the human race is hardly credible," and, he remarks, "that even among animals we sometimes find strict pairing," and refers to examples which are more or less familiar to all. Darwin,² judging from the principle of jealousy in the animal world, doubts the community of wives at an extremely early time. Both these writers' remarks, however, are aimed at a state of society that some suppose to lie back of even the communal band. Into that field we do not follow them. We are concerned only with the first organized society.³

Our ideas, as to what constitutes propriety in the matrimonial state, depend almost entirely on usage and custom. Civilized man revolts at certain states of society amongst rude tribes—not from instinctive feeling, but because their usages contravene his ideas of propriety, which have been fostered by the education and refinement of civilized lands. Nature does not teach that polygamy is wrong, since we find it almost universally practiced amongst the lower races. The question of monogamy seems to some people a scandalous practice—"just like

¹ "Races of Men," New York, 1876, p. 229.

² "Descent of Man," London, 1879, p. 591.

³ "Ancient Society," p. 418.

the monkeys," they exclaim.¹ The custom of one woman marrying several husbands² is thought by McLennan to have been almost universal once.³ He gives a formidable list of people practicing it. We think, however, that many of his instances are really examples of communal marriage.⁴

The first missionaries to the Sandwich Islands were greatly shocked at what they found there, which was nothing more nor less than the survival, to a limited degree, of group marriage. Such a survival, as we will soon see, extends over a wide range of country. As far as any instinctive feeling was concerned, these natives were living in quite as proper a manner as the excellent missionaries themselves. In almost all of the lower races which have individual marriages, the strength of the tie is very feeble. Of some it is stated that the parties separate, "as a matter of course," when the child is weaned.⁵ Generally speaking, divorce is at the pleasure of the parties. In short, we will find the most diverse customs in vogue in regard to marriage, and if we once set out to investigate them, we will soon come to the conclusion that as far as natural feelings are concerned in this matter, they revolt only at what is, to the individual, strange.

There is, then, no natural reason to object to group marriage. On the other hand, some customs of savage people seem to pave the way to a belief in group marriage. Is it not a group of persons that holds and inherits land? Where an office goes by inheritance, the right is to the group, and not the individual. It is a group that is

¹ Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," New York, 1878, p. 449.

² "Polyandria." ³ "Studies in Ancient History," p. 143.

⁴ Lubbock: "Primitive Man," p. 100. Fison: "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880, p. 144.

⁵ Andaman Islanders. ("Primitive Man," p. 60.)

responsible to another group for the wrong-doings of one of its members. It is a group that demands that this wrong be righted. In short, a group is always the social unit in savage life. We ask, then, with Mr. Fison, "What difficulty is there in the way of our accepting the fact that it is the group which marries and is given in marriage?"¹

But now we must address ourselves to questions of proof. It is not sufficient to show that there are no natural objections to the theory; or even that, for some reasons, we would naturally expect to find traces of such an organization among the lower races. Let us, then, see if this theoretical state of society will explain the probable origin of any of the institutions still existing among some of the ruder tribes. We will find that it does explain, in a very full and satisfactory manner, the strange system of relationship which we will call the Africo-Polynesian. Indeed, it seems difficult to otherwise account for this system. We will examine the general subject of relationships, and see wherein the peculiarities of the last named system consists.

It would seem, at first glance, as if a system of relationship was not only a dry and uninteresting subject, but of what avail would a knowledge of the same be in helping us to a clear understanding of the condition of society in early times? But investigation soon shows that we are laboring under wrong impressions in both cases. It not only proves a most interesting field of research, and sheds a flood of light on a vast number of savage and barbarian customs, but speaks as well, in no uncertain terms, of a condition of society which, happily, long since disappeared from the earth. Therefore, we

¹ "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880, p. 158.

think it best to spend some time in trying to make clear the salient points of several systems of relationships, believing that the reader will find in the same much of profit.

Under the system of social life prevalent among ourselves and the Aryan nations generally, any individual, in general, readily recognizes that he stands in much closer relationship to some persons than to others. The primary, and what are, under our system of marriage (*i. e.*, monogamy), the natural, relationships are recognized by all Aryan nations. The same is true of other ethnic stocks, such as the Semitic and Turanian¹ people, who are essentially monogamous. These primary relationships are such as father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter. But, aside from expressing these primary relationships, it is necessary in social life to distinguish many more. The individual, besides seeing and expressing the relationship to his father and mother, wishes to express also his relationship to the brothers and sisters of his parents.

How shall we do this? We all know we use general terms—uncle and aunt—but not all of the Aryan people have such general terms, and, from a variety of reasonings, we conclude that there was a time when they were not generally used. To describe them, then, it was necessary to compound some of the primary terms and use such expressions as “father’s brother” or “mother’s sister.” We can see, also, that by simply using several of these primary terms we could describe any individual to whom we were at all related—such, for instance, as “father’s brother’s son” (*i. e.*, cousin), or “father’s father’s father’s son’s son’s son” (*i. e.*, third

¹ Remember, this stock is variously named. See p. 40.

cousin). Such a method as this is called the descriptive system, and is the system of the Aryan, Turanian, and Semitic people, but not, as far as we know, of other ethnic stocks.

But we can also readily see that such a system would tend to break down, by its own weight, when we have to use such a roundabout way as we have described to express the relationship of third cousin; we would naturally expect some general expression to appear and take the place of the several words; and, in effect, this is just what happened, though several nations remained true to the descriptive method, and none departed very widely therefrom.¹ The Erse and Gaelic retained the descriptive method. In most cases, however, general terms appeared for the near relations.

The table which we give fully illustrates the entire matter. It will be observed we have taken only near relatives in each case, and have given the designation of the same in ten of the principal families in the stocks named. The Erse, it will be noticed, remains descriptive throughout; but the others show a number of variations. We have uncles and aunts on the side of each of our parents. You will notice that while, in each example here given, aside from the Erse, general terms are employed to express this relation, yet considerable difference exists as to the degree of generalization expressed by the term. In the relation of uncle and aunt, the English, the French, and the Germans make no distinction of the uncles and aunts on father or mother's side. The Romans, the Greeks, and the Finns put each one in a class by itself. The Hebrew falls back on the descriptive

¹ Tables of the relationship of thirty-nine nations of the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian (Uralian) people are given in "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity."

ARYAN RELATIONSHIPS.

FAMILIES.	NEPHEW AND NIECE GROUP.				UNCLE AND AUNT GROUP.				COUSIN GROUP.			
	BROTHER'S SON.	BROTHER'S DAUGHTER.	SISTER'S SON.	SISTER'S DAUGHTER.	FATHER'S BROTHER.	FATHER'S SISTER.	MOTHER'S BROTHER.	MOTHER'S SISTER.	FATHER'S BROTHER'S SON.	FATHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER.	MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON.	MOTHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER.
5 ENGLISH 5-1 FRENCH	Nephew	Niece	Nephew	Niece	Uncle	Aunt	Uncle	Aunt	Cousin	Cousin	Cousin	Cousin
	Mon neven	Ma niece	Mon neven	Ma niece	Mon oncle	Ma tante	Mon oncle	Ma tante	Mon cousin	Ma cousine	Mon cousin	Ma cousine
5 GERMAN	Neffe	Nichte	Neffe	Nichte	Onkel	Muhme	Onkel	Muhme	Vetter	Base	Vetter	Base
	Fratris filius	Fratris filia	Sorosis filius	Sorosis filia	Patruus	Amita	Patruus	Amita	Patruus filius	Amitae filia	Avunculi filius	Avunculi filia
5 GREEK	3-4 Adelpheidos	3-4 Adelpheide	3 Adelpheidos	3 Adelpheide	3 Patros	3 Patridelphé	3 metros	3 métradelphé	3 Anepsios	3 Anepsia	3 Anepsios	3 Anepsia
	Mac drifbar	Ineean drifbar	Mac drifbar	Ineean drifbar	Drihar m ahar	Drihar m aliar	Drihar m ahar	Drihar m aliar	Mac drifbar mahar	Ineean drifbar mahar	Mac drifbar mahar	Ineean drifbar mahar
2 ERSE	2 Bēn akhi	2 Bāth akhi	2 Bēn akhi	2 Bāth akhi	5 Dōdhi	5-3 Dōdhi-thi	2 khōthi	2 khōthi	2 Bēn dōdhi	2 Bāth dōdhi	2 Bēn dōdhi	2 Bāth dōdhi
	2 Bēn akhi	2 Bāth akhi	2 Bēn akhi	2 Bāth akhi	5 Ammi	5 Ammetti	5 Khālī	5 Khālī	2 Bēn ammi	2 Bāth ammi	2 Bēn ammi	2 Bāth ammi
1 TURK	1 Yēvén	1 Yēvén	4 Yēvén	4 Yēvén	5-3 Ammi	5-3 Ammi	5-3 Ammi	5-3 Ammi	2 Bēn ammi	2 Bāth ammi	2 Bēn ammi	2 Bāth ammi
	3-2 Vējen	3-2 Vējen	3-2 Sīvén	3-2 Sīvén	5 Setānī	5 Tātānī	5 Enōnī	5 Tātī	5-3 Sēku-ni	5-3 Sēku-ni	5-3 Sēku-ni	5-3 Sēku-ni
FINNS	3-2 Vējen	3-2 Vējen	3-2 Sīvén	3-2 Sīvén	5 Setānī	5 Tātānī	5 Enōnī	5 Tātī	5-3 Sēku-ni	5-3 Sēku-ni	5-3 Sēku-ni	5-3 Sēku-ni
	3-2 Vējen	3-2 Vējen	3-2 Sīvén	3-2 Sīvén	5 Setānī	5 Tātānī	5 Enōnī	5 Tātī	5-3 Sēku-ni	5-3 Sēku-ni	5-3 Sēku-ni	5-3 Sēku-ni

1. The pronoun *my* used. 2. Descriptive. 3. Other term or terms also used. This is the preferred one. 4. Male speaking. A female would describe this same relative differently. 5. Not descriptive. 6. The alternative word here is *consobrinus*, whence comes our word *cousin*. It is interesting to note how we have extended the meaning of this special term to the whole class. It is significant that the term on the mother's side survived.

method for the relation on the mother's side. The Arabic makes one class of these relatives on each parent's side (the only distinction being one of gender). The Turks assign different words to the relatives on the father's side, but one word, differing in gender, suffices for these relatives on the mother's side. So, if we examine the cousin groups, we observe that the English, the Greeks, and the Finns are the only examples given which make one general class for cousins. The French separate out the cousins on the father's brother's side. The Germans have a class of male and female cousins. The Hebrews, Arabs, Romans, and Turks fall back on the descriptive method. We see, from this table, that the system of relationship is plainly descriptive in the families we are considering; such general expressions as have come into use to avoid the inconvenient length of the descriptive phrases are but few, and always include natural groups.

Now let us see what conclusions seem strengthened by the facts already brought out. We will probably admit that some system of expressing relationship is a necessity amongst all races of men wherever organized society exists, and in consequence there are definitely established relations between the sexes; some individuals, or classes of individuals, would perceive that they stood in closer relationship or connection to other individuals than to mankind in general. They would as surely have words to express this state of things. When once such a system is established, it would be very slow indeed to change; nothing but universal consent could change it, and this consent would certainly be withheld unless some universal change in the social relations should occur, and even then this change would not necessarily register

itself in a change of the system. Within the last thousand years, no change of any importance has taken place in the Aryan system, and probably will not in a thousand years to come, unless the family itself should change.

The Roman lawyers had occasion to draw up a scheme showing the relationship existing in Rome many centuries ago. They could have done nothing more than to put in formal shape and language what was the ordinary custom of the times. The scheme, as it appears, is a perfect *expose* of the Aryan system in general; slight changes have, of course, occurred. They have no general word for cousin, yet our word cousin comes from a Latin word, *consobrinus*. Our word nephew comes from their word *nepos*, meaning grandson. Such changes as these are unimportant; they do not concern the substance of the system. Language may change—may come to be entirely different—but, unless the state of society changes, the system itself will remain unchanged.

In regard to the descriptive system in general, we want to observe that it is a perfectly natural system if we will only start with the assumption of marriage between single pairs. The primary relationships would then stand out very plainly—father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter; such individuals would certainly be perceived; terms to express such relationship would certainly spring up. Further, at an early day, before the invention of general terms, an individual who wished to express the relation of uncle could do so in no other way than by saying “father’s brother” or “mother’s brother,” which is the descriptive method. It is enough for our purpose to point out that this system of describing relations is a perfectly natural one given the mono-

gamian family. It would not be natural under any other state of society that we could imagine.

In the descriptive system, general terms to express relationship will not appear with that ease which we would naturally suppose they would. The table already given amply illustrates this point. When the various Aryan nations first commenced their wanderings, they undoubtedly had much the same family (monogamian) as now; yet it is a significant fact that they had not originated any general terms. These terms are not derived from some common word. Each nation had to originate them for itself. The Erse and Gaelic of the Celtic race, one of the first Aryan nations to commence its wanderings, remained true to this system. They kept faithfully the system as given them. What would be more convenient than to possess some common word to signify the same as my "brothers and sisters?" Yet no language has been able to coin such a word and give it general currency. We conclude, then, that systems of relationships can not be adopted, or modified, or laid aside at pleasure; that in their origin, at least, they must have correctly expressed the natural relations to which the social organization then in vogue would give rise; that when once established, they have a remarkable vitality, and resist any attempted change with great strength. We have decided further that the descriptive system is a natural result of the monogamian family; so much so that when informed of the presence of one of these institutions among any people, we are reasonably safe in presuming the presence of the other. We will now consider some other systems of relationship.

We have learned that all the lower races of men are extremely reluctant to enlighten travelers as to their social

customs. Even those who have lived among them for many years are seldom favored with this information; and when it is imparted, it is only under the most solemn promises of secrecy. After some centuries of contact with our Indian tribes, it was discovered that we knew nothing of the organization of the tribes, or of their system of relationship. Hence it is that we must receive with so many grains of allowance those highly-colored accounts of society, etc., among the Mexicans and Peruvians with which the early explorers satisfied the curiosity of Europe, and which, even at this day, charm so many. Educated missionaries who have lived among rude tribes long enough to learn their language thoroughly, so as to speak it fluently, have frequently learned, to their surprise, when their attention was turned to the subject, that they knew really nothing of much that was essential to a clear knowledge of the social customs of the people among whom they lived. Passing travelers, even those who are cautious in their statements, are seldom qualified to speak understandingly on these subjects.

From the foregoing, we see we need not be surprised to learn that it is only of late years that the existence of another and different system of relationship, implying greatly different social customs, has become known, nor need we feel surprised that a certain class of scholars are still loth to receive the same with all its necessary corollaries, but modern researches seem to be fast demonstrating the truth of this statement. Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, an adopted member of the Seneca-Iroquois Indian tribe, had his attention called to the singular system of describing relationship among the tribe of which he was a member. He subsequently found that this same method was in use among the Iroquois generally. Struck by its singularity,

and supposing it to be peculiar to these Indians, he gave an account of it in a work published as early as 1851.¹

It was not until some years later, when he found himself among the Ojibway Indians, south of Lake Superior, speaking a different stock language than the Iroquois, that he made the discovery that they, too, had this same system. This suggested the possibility of its still greater extension. It suffices to say that Mr. Morgan was able in the course of a few years to show that it prevailed generally among the Indian tribes of the New World, excepting the Eskimos. To give his investigations a world-wide scope, a very extensive correspondence was opened with men in different parts of the globe who were qualified to give information. The good offices of the government were obtained and consuls were asked to get the customs of the people among whom they lived, in this respect. The various missionary societies were asked to allow their representatives to obtain the filling out of the schedules sent them. In this way, a great mass of information was obtained. The results were finally published with the assistance of the Smithsonian Institute.

We have been thus full in describing the source of our information, simply because the results following from it are too momentous to be based on anything but the best of evidence. We will present another table and then see what conclusions we can draw from it.

In this table we have taken two people, speaking entirely different languages, separated by many thousand miles of land and water. The first, the Seneca-Iroquois, is typical of Indian relations in general; but few variations from this standard occur. The second, the Tamil, is typical of the Dravidian tribes in India. The position of the

¹ "League of the Iroquois."

INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS.

DESCRIPTION OF PERSON.	RELATION IN SENECA.	TRANSLATION.	RELATIONSHIP IN TAMIL.	TRANSLATION.	REMARKS.
My Father	Hā'-nith	My Father	En Tūkkāppān	My Father	En = pronoun my.
“ Mother	No-ye'h'	“ Mother	Tay	“ Mother	
“ Son	Hā-ah'-wuk	“ Son	Mākan	“ Son	
Daughter	Ka-ah'-wuk	Daughter	“ Mākal	Daughter	Male Speaking.
“ Brother (elder)	Hā'-je	“ elder Brother	“ Tamaiyan	“ elder Brother	
“ “ (younger)	Hā'-gā	“ younger Brother	“ Tambi	“ younger Brother	
“ Sister (elder)	Ah'-je	“ elder Sister	“ Akkarl	“ elder Sister	Female speaking.
“ “ (younger)	Ka'-gā	“ younger Sister	“ Tangaichchi	“ younger Sister	
“ Brother's Son	Hā-ah'-wuk	“ Son	“ Mākan	“ Son	
“ “ Daughter	Ka-ah wuk	Daughter	“ Mākal	“ Daughter	Terms for elder and younger.
“ Sister's Son	Hā yā'-wan-da	“ Nephew	“ Mārmākān	“ Nephew	
“ “ Daughter	Ka-yā'-wan-da	“ Niece	“ Mārmākāl	“ Niece	
“ Brother's Son	Ha-soh'-neh	“ Nephew	“ Mārmākān	“ Nephew	Terms for elder and younger.
“ “ Daughter	Ha-soh'-neh	“ Niece	“ Marumakal	“ Niece	
“ Sister's Son	Ha-ah'-wuk	“ Son	“ Mākan	“ Son	
“ Daughter	Ka-ah'-wuk	“ Daughter	“ Mākal	“ Daughter	Terms for elder and younger.
“ Father's Brother	Hā-nih	“ Father	“ Tūkkāppān	“ Father	
“ “ Sister	Ah-gā'-huc	“ Aunt	“ Attai	“ Aunt	
“ Mother's Brother	Hoc no'-seh	“ Uncle	“ Māmdū	“ Uncle	This term also used for the preceding.
“ “ Sister	No-ye'h'	“ Mother	“ Tay	“ Mother	
“ Father's Brother's Son	Hā'-je	“ elder Brother	“ Tamaiyan	“ elder Brother	
“ “ Daughter	Ah'-je	“ Sister	“ Akkarl	“ Sister	If younger, term for younger brother used. If younger, term for younger sister used.
“ “ Sister's Son	Ah-gare'-seh	“ Cousin	“ Attān	“ Cousin	
“ “ Daughter	Ah-gare'-sch	“ “	“ Māitūni	“ “	
“ “ Mother's Brother's Son	“ “	“ “	“ Māitūnān	“ “	If younger, term for younger brother used. If younger, term for younger sister used.
“ “ “ Daughter	“ “	“ “	“ Māitūni	“ “	
“ “ “ Sister's Son	Hā'-je	“ elder Brother	“ Tamaiyan	“ elder Brother	
“ “ “ Daughter	Ab'-je	“ Sister	“ Akkarl	“ Sister	

Chinese is not as yet well settled. This system is called the classificatory. The primary terms are never used in composition to express relationship. All blood relations are arranged into great classes or categories. All individuals in a class are conceived as standing in the same relation to a certain individual.

Let us carefully notice the peculiarities of the classificatory system. All the relations are conceived in classes. You will notice a class of fathers, which includes not only the natural father, but all of his brothers; not only his natural brothers, but all of his brother-group. The same is true of the mother-group. Brother or sister means more than the same words in the descriptive system, since they include not only the natural brothers and sisters, but half of the cousins as well, and remember that this last term is itself the name of a group. The sister-group is of like extension. The son-group includes not only the sons of the individual, but the sons of all his brothers as well; that is, the sons of all his brother-group. The sister-group is of like extension. In short, relationships are in groups, and every individual in the group or class is supposed to stand in equal relationship to the individual. Every individual in the father-group is supposed to stand in as close relationship to the son as the natural father. Individual relationships are lost sight of, but the class relationships are kept alive.

We must notice that these relationships are in some cases different, according to the sex of the person speaking. A man speaks of his brother's son as son, of his brother's daughter as daughter; of his sister's son as nephew, of his sister's daughter as niece. A woman reverses these, and speaks of her brother's son as nephew, of his daughter as niece; of her sister's son as son, of her daughter as

daughter. An uncle, then, in this system, is the brother of my mother, but not of my father; so an aunt is sister of my father, but not of my mother. But, in each case, it is of a group that we are talking. The children of this uncle and aunt-group, as here defined, are cousins. But this includes only a part of the real cousins, since all the cousins on my father's brother's side and my mother's sister's side are my brothers and sisters. We must observe that we have two words for brother and sister, according as these individuals are older or younger than the person speaking. It would be well to notice that the lineal groups (father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter) are larger than they are by nature. The father-group includes more than the natural father, and the same is true of each of the other lineal groups. But the reverse is true of the collateral (uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, cousin) groups. My uncle-group includes a part only of my natural uncles, and the same is true of each of the other collateral groups. We must observe that, as we recede from our system, the tendency is to merge the collateral groups in the lineal—a very important observation, since we will soon learn of a system that has no collateral group.

As to the name of this system and the people employing it. It is classificatory, as we have seen, but there are different kinds of classificatory systems. As this prevails extensively in both India and America, we may call it the Indo-American system. The Eskimos have a mixed system. It is like the Indo-American in some respects, but in others is like the Aryan. Perhaps the Eskimos have been influenced by contact with the Turanians. The Guara-speaking people in the north of India show all evidence in their system of relationship of a conflict between the Aryan (Sanskrit) and the Dravidian people. This, of

itself, shows a great intermixture of people in this section. The system of China is an anomalous one, but it presents several points of resemblance to this system, and in some respects it approaches a more primitive form still.

Now, what conclusions seem to follow from this system, which is found in such widely-scattered people? It seems evident that there must have been a time once when the relationships expressed by this system were the true ones. How else can we conceive of its origin, unless it truthfully expressed the relationships to which some form of social organization gave rise? McLennan thinks that¹ the terms of the classificatory system are simply ceremonial terms of address. It is certainly very hard to believe that the Indians of America and the Dravidians of India both hit on substantially the same form of ceremonial addresses! But, be that as it may, since McLennan wrote we have learned much of the social organization of the Australian tribes, and there we find ourselves face to face with a form of the family which as naturally gives rise to this method of designating kindred as does the monogamian family give use to the descriptive method.² Hence, we need have no hesitation in rejecting McLennan's theory. We will address ourselves, then, to a study of the Australian system.

Probably all are aware of the strange isolation of Australia. It seems to have had no connection with the continent of Asia since a very early geological age, and, consequently, forms of animal and plant life of that early era have survived in Australia, though they have long since passed away over the globe generally. In their

¹ "Studies in Ancient History," p. 372.

² Our facts in reference to the Australians are drawn mainly from the extremely valuable memoir of Fison and Howitt on the "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Melbourne, 1880.

island home they have not had to come in competition with other and more vigorous forms, and so have held their own. It is fully in keeping with this state of facts that here we should also come across a form of society which is believed to have been once of wide extension, but which has given away, in most regions, to a much better form. It has, however, survived in Australia, and, with a knowledge of its characteristic features, we can obtain clear ideas of a most interesting phase of society in the early ages.

A large number of Australian tribes are divided primarily into two classes or divisions. Each class or division has a name, and every individual in that class has that for one of his names. These names are, of course, not the same in the various tribes, yet the classes themselves are considered the equivalents of each other; that is, a member of Class A, in one tribe, is considered as brother to Class B in a second tribe. As already remarked, most of these tribes are divided into two classes. Such a division is found not only in Australia, but in tribes widely scattered over Polynesia, and is true of tribes in Africa as well. Not every tribe in Australia has this division, but it extends clear across the continent in both directions. In quite a number of tribes, these primary classes are themselves divided into two classes, so that the tribes appear as if divided into four, instead of two, classes.

We are not to regard these classes as found in Australian tribes as the equivalent of phratries, as discussed in the previous volume. We may ultimately see fit to regard them as the starting point of the phratry, but they are something different from the phratry itself. The gens appear as subdivisions of these classes. Each

gens is distinguished by its totem. Yet, for all this, the class divisions are not phratries. Theoretically speaking, these classes are nothing more nor less than *intermarrying groups*. For instance, one large tribe in South Australia is divided into two classes, called the Kumite and Kroki classes. Every man in the first group is called a Kumite, and every man in the second group is a Kroki. Every woman in the first group is a Kumitegor, and every woman in the second group is a Krokigor. Every individual in the tribe belongs to one or the other of these divisions.

Now, marriage, as we understand the term, is theoretically unknown. The group Kumite is, theoretically, husband to the group Krokigor; the group Kroki husband to the group Kumitegor—meaning, in both cases, individuals of the same generation. We have used the word *theoretical*. This is because, in practical life, the present native usage is in advance of this, but this ancient communal right exists and frequently asserts itself. Informants from the most widely scattered parts of Australia join in confirming this fact. If a Kroki meets a Kumitegor, even though they be strangers to each other, yet they have the right to regard each other as husband and wife, and no one can deny this right.

More than this can be asserted. As we have said, the names of the divisions in different tribes are generally different, yet they have a method of knowing which of the divisions are the equivalents of each other. Thus, if a Kumite goes on a friendly visit to another tribe, the natives have no difficulty in deciding to which of their classes he belongs, and during his stay in the tribe he has all the theoretical marriage rights that any member of that division has. Present usages are in advance of the

theory. Practically, these natives have a very loose form of polygamy; but this theoretical right is still active, and in the instance just given it is acknowledged. In many other cases it is also seen and acknowledged.

Yet we can not say that these Australians are licentious. They are simply following the customs of their country. They are very prompt to punish any violation of what is proper, as they understand it. Should one Kumite marry a Kumitegor, even though in reality there should be no relation between them, it is regarded by them as incest, and punished with death. These class divisions are strong enough to protect the female captive taken in war. Should a Kumite warrior capture a woman of a class the equivalent of his, he dare not marry her. His life might be the penalty should he disregard this custom.¹ We can easily see how the first explorers would fail of understanding this system, and so would represent the Australians as being in the lowest depths of social depravity. To avoid painng ears polite, they would resort to the Latin language when describing their manner of life. The Australians were, indeed, low down in savagery, but they were living quite properly, according to their customs. They were living in group marriage, and, further, this marriage exerted its sway across the entire continent, and held in theoretical marriage individuals who were complete strangers to each other. Hence the disgust of travelers generally, who knew nothing of this form of marriage. And even now, in spite of the strong testimony from many sources, some may doubt

¹ This last position is well established. ("Kamilaroi and Kurnai," pp. 65, 67; also, pp. 343-345.) It will be seen, then, that Sir John Lubbock is mistaken when he asserts "a warrior who had captured a beautiful girl would claim a peculiar right to her. . . . The tribe had no right to her." ("Primitive Man," p. 70.) We will return to this point.

it. It is, however, well established among many Australian tribes.

Here, then, we have a case of group marriage. Let us get this fully in our mind. It is not the individual Kumite that is married to the individual Krokigor, but the group Kumite to the group Krokigor. Marriage being thus in groups, what more natural than that relationships should also be in groups? Such is exactly what they are. Of the same generation, every Kumite is brother to each other; every Kumitegor is sister to the other; and, together, they form a brother and sister-group. The same is true of the Kroki class. Amongst the Australians and rude tribes, quite generally descent follows the mother; that is to say, if the mother is a Kumitegor, her children belong to the Kumite class. And so, also, of the children of a Krokigor. The group Kumite marries the group Krokigor. It follows, then, that the group Kroki of one generation regards the group Kumite of the preceding generation as father.

In short, every relationship given in the table on page 107, of the Indo-American series, follows as a natural consequence from the division of the Australian tribe into intermarrying classes, as here set forth. As this seems to be an important point, let us try and make it plain :

TRIBE.	1.	{	Kumite (a) marries Krokigor (a).	{	Kroki (b).
			Kumitegor (a).		Krokigor (b).
	2.	{	Kroki (a) marries Kumitegor (a).	{	Kumite (b).
			Krokigor (a).		Kumitegor (b).

In the diagram given we have first the tribe, divided into two classes—Kumite and Kroki—showing the marriage relations of the groups, and the descendants constituting the second generation. Here we see that group Kumite of one generation is father to the class Kroki of the second generation; similarly, group Kroki is father to class Kumite. According to the strict law forbidding marriage in the classes, and the law of descent, group Kumitegor is never mother of class Kroki. It is, however, aunt to that class. Here we notice that the sister-group of the father-group is aunt, but that there are no other aunts. This explains how father's sister only is aunt. For a similar reason, group Kroki is never father of the following class Kroki. It is, however, uncle; or the brother-group of the mother-group is uncle. This explains how mother's brother only is uncle. Again, looking at the second generation, we see the classes are cousins to each other; for the father and mother-group of the Kroki class of the second generation are, as we have just seen, the uncles and aunts of the class Kumite of the second generation. We now see how it is that the cousin-group includes only the cousins on the mother's brother's and father's sister's side. Thus we see that every relationship in the Indo-American system is a logical result of a state of society similar to the class divisions of the Australian tribes.

It follows, then, that the ancestors of the Indo-American tribes must have once been in such a state of society themselves, though they have now left it so far behind that we have no proof to offer aside from the evidence of their system of relationships; this is, however, quite sufficient. We have been thus full on this subject because we wanted to plainly show that systems of relationships

are fully competent to furnish evidence that can not be gainsaid as to the state of society among the people where they originate. Perhaps this was not necessary, as we should have admitted to start with that such terms could only have come into use because they truthfully represented the relationships naturally resulting from the social customs of the people. This example should settle all doubt on the subject. The example shows us further that we can not carry into the investigation of savage and barbarian customs our meaning of many words expressive of social relations. The individual and the family both disappear as units in social life. Their place is taken by a group.

Having now become aware that systems of relationship are in existence vitally different from our own, it need occasion no surprise to learn of a third, still more primitive than the foregoing, which compels us to assume the former existence of a still lower social state than that of the Australians. We will present a table showing the system among two of the principal tribes, and then see what conclusions follow it.

We will call it the Africo-Polynesian, though Mr. Morgan calls it the Malayan. The Malays have, however, modified their system. As we find it widely prevalent in Africa, we do not think the word Malayan proper to describe it. We select the Rotuman form as typical of the Polynesia.¹ This form was found among the Hawaiians, the Maoris of New Zealand, and the islands of Micronesia generally. The Kafirs are a very extensive stock of South African people. It is, therefore, a most interesting fact to find their system of relationship identically the same, or with but two partial exceptions only.

¹ "Ancient Society," p. 418.

AFRICO-POLYNESIAN RELATIONSHIPS.

DESCRIPTION OF PERSON.	RELATION IN ROTUMAN.	TRANSLATION.	KAFIR (ZULU).	TRANSLATION.	REMARKS.
My Father	Oi-fā	My Father	U-bā'-bā	My Father	U-bā'-bā is probably used in the sense of parent. In this way it also means father's sister (below).
" Mother	Oi-hon'-i	" Mother	U-mā'-me	My Mother	
" Son	Le'-e fa	" Child (male)	In-dō'-de-nā yā'-me	Son of me	
" Daughter	Le'-e hon'-i	" (female)	In-dō'-dā-kā'-ze	Daughter of me	
" Brother (elder)	Sā-si-gi	" elder Brother	U'-mna wa'-tū	Elder Brother of us	Male speaking.
" " (younger)	Sā-si-gi	" younger Brother	U-mna'-wa wā'-ma	Younger Brother of me	
" Sister (elder)	Sag'-hon'-i	" Sister	U-dā'-dā wa'-tū	Sister of us	U'-mfo wa'tū (brother our) equivalent to my brothers.
" " (younger)	Sag'-ve-ven'-i	" Brother	U'-mna wa'-tū	Elder Brother of us	Female speaking.
" " (elder)	Sā-si-gi	" Sister	U-mnā'-wa wā'-ma	Younger Brother of me	
" " (younger)	Sā-si-gi	" Sister	U-dā'-dā wa'tū	Sister of us	
" Brother's Son	Le'-e fa	" Child (male)	In-dō'-dā-nā	Son of me	
" Daughter	Le'-e hon'-i	" (female)	Yā'-me	Daughter of me	
" Sister's Son	Le'-e fa	" (male)	In-dō'-dā-kā'-ze	Son of me	Either male or female speaking.
" Daughter	Le'-e hon'-i	" (female)	Yā'-me	Daughter of me	
" Father's Brother's Son	Sā-si-gi	" Brother (younger)	U'-mfo wa'-tū	Brother of us	(elder).
" " Daughter	Sag'-hon'-i	" Sister	U-mnā'-wa wā'-me	Younger Brother of me	(younger).
" " Sister's Son	Sā-si-gi	" Brother (younger)	U-dā'-dā wā'-tū	Sister of us	(younger).
" Mother's Brother's Son	Sā-si-gi	" Brother (younger)	U-mnā wā'-tū	Elder Brother of us	
" " Daughter	Sag'-hon'-i	" Sister	U-dā'-dā wā'-tū	Brother of us	
" " Sister's Son	Sā-si-gi	" Brother (younger)	U-mnā-lā wā'-me	Sister of us	
" " Daughter	Sag'-hon'-i	" Sister	U-dā'-dā wā'-me	Cousin of me	
" Father's Brother	Oi-fā	" Father	U'-mna wā'-me	Elder Brother	Form for younger brother if younger.
" Sister	Oi-hon'-i	" Mother	U-dā'-dā wā'-tū	Sister of us	
" Mother's Brother	Oi-fā	" Father	U-bā'-bā	My Father	(The addition of aze does not change the significance. It means class.)
" " Sister	Oi-hon'-i	" Mother	U-mā-lū'-ma	My Father (or Parent)	
			U-mā-lū'-ma	Maternal Uncle	
			U-mā-lū'-ma kā'-ze	My Mother	

Without doubt, we shall find this system prevalent among the black races generally. The mere fact that the Australians have departed from this system is to be borne in mind when classifying them.

Examining the table generally, we will notice that relations are in groups, the same as in the preceding system, but also observe that the collateral groups have disappeared. We have only natural groups left, such as father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter. The partial exceptions are in the Kafir stock. Here, indeed, we find that mother's brother is uncle, and his children are cousins; but, observe, though we call him uncle, he calls us child—though we may call his children cousin, they call us brother or sister. This shows at once that the relation is not reciprocal, and it renders it extremely probable that these instances are of recent introduction.

Now what shall we say to this relationship? It may well be that it is not true to present relationship anywhere; yet, when it first originated, it must have been true to the social organization of the people. We have seen that the descriptive system probably came in with the monogamian family, simply because it is true to the relations that arise under that form of the family. So, also, we have seen that the Indo-American relationships have a most natural origin in the class divisions of the Australians. This only makes us the more sure that such tribes and people as have the Africo-Polynesian form must once have lived in a social state which will give a natural explanation of the terms of this system. At present we do not know of any example of a tribe whose customs are such as this system of relationships would indicate.

If, however, we will turn back a few pages and read

the theoretical organization of the communal band, we see that it fully and completely explains this system. The tribe is not divided into classes at all—we have simply a male and a female group. Marriage, as we understand it, does not exist, but the male group of one generation is husband of the female group of the same generation. And in this tribe there can be no collateral relations; all must be lineal. An individual of the second generation calls all the males of the first generation father; all the females, mother. In his own generation, he knows only brothers and sisters; and in the following or third generation, only sons and daughters. Hence, the explanation of the terms: My father's brothers and my mother's brothers are alike my fathers. My father's sisters and my mother's sisters are alike my mothers. The sons and daughters of these individuals are not cousins, but my brothers and sisters, elder or younger; and hence, also, is it that the sons and daughters of these individuals are also my sons and daughters.

The last few pages have been written solely for the purpose of furnishing a proof of the former existence of the communal band. It seems to us that it is amply sufficient to establish it. As this is a most important conclusion, let us briefly recapitulate the points of the argument. All systems of consanguinity, when they originated, must have truthfully expressed the relationships naturally arising from the social organization of the people using them. When once established, they would be very slow to change, and so might, in course of time, fail to express the natural relationships, which would, of course, vary with changes in the social state. But still, in the beginning, we can not suppose that savages assumed fictitious relationships and then gave them names. We have found, on investigation,

three of these systems of relationship—the Aryan, the Indo-American and the Africo-Polynesian.¹ The first is fully explained by the social state peculiar to the Turanian and Aryan tribes; that is, marriage between single pairs, known as the monogamian family. In the second instance, not only do we find the system of relationship different from ours, but we are introduced to an altogether different social state in explanation of the same. We have to lose sight of the family as we are acquainted with it, and to substitute in its place a group. Having proved in these two cases the truth of the main assertion, we can not avoid the force of it in the third case, and therefore we must picture some theoretical organization capable of explaining its origin. We know of none which will do this in so complete a manner as the communal band; and it is another strong point in its favor that it is seen to be simply a more primitive form of the divided commune as it appears in the Australian tribes.

We are thus entitled to consider the existence of the communal band, as the primitive social state, abundantly proved. Scholars, generally, who have occasion to study into this matter, will not, we think, take exceptions to the views here stated. Many others, who have never interested themselves in the question, have taken it for granted that the form of the family under which we now live is

¹ In the matter of nomenclature, it will be found, on consulting "Systems of Consanguinity," that we have made some changes. The first, or descriptive, system, Mr. Morgan says, may be called indifferently the Aryan, Semitic, or Uralian. We will adopt the Aryan name. He calls the second system the Turanian, giving to it the name of the unwieldy Turanian group of Max Müller ("Science of Language"), but he restricts it to Müller's second division. Scholars have been quite free in making changes in Mr. Müller's Turanian group, and quite a number of them call the northern division the Turaniau. We have followed this class; consequently, we can not call the second system the Turanian. We call it the Indo-American, which the geographical relation truthfully expresses. We have given the reason for calling the third the Africo-Polynesian.

the only natural one, and hence are hardly prepared, even now, to accept such statements. Peschel¹ argues from physiological reasons to show that this form of society could not have long continued; but it must be evident that in the band, as we have considered it, what are called brothers and sisters are often not at all or distantly related to each other. This band, as here defined, we are to regard as the primary social unit. From this we are to trace the development of tribes of more recent times, and eventually of our own form of government; and more than this—we are to trace from it the development of the family. Let us see if we can find any of the probable lines along which this advance was made.

When this form of society came into existence no one knows; whether laying back of it is a still lower social state is a question. How long it continued is also unknown. We have no reason to suppose that man passed rapidly through this experience. On the other hand, we have reasons for believing that it was an immensely long continued period. It probably came in in the infancy of the human race, and among the black races continued until a comparatively recent period, as witness their system of consanguinity. As to the condition of mankind during the continuance of this social state, it is largely a subject of speculation, yet we are not without some light. Their advance was probably not greater than that of the lowest of existing tribes. Consequently, a careful study of the present habits of the lowest tribes will help us to a knowledge of the probable condition of these primitive people.

In size, these primitive bands could not have been very large. Their facilities for obtaining a livelihood were

¹ "Races of Men," p. 231.

so poor that but small bands could have held together in one place. This is just what we find among many tribes to-day. Of the Andaman Islands, "They are generally divided into small groups; . . . the great majority . . . consists on an average of from thirty to fifty, . . . though sometimes as many as three hundred are found together."¹ Then from a mere increase of numbers would come a division, a smaller band going off from the mother colony. These wandering bands would recognize only the weakest ties uniting them. Their dialects would rapidly diverge, and they would soon become strangers to each other. When such was the condition of things generally, there could have been nothing like government. Each band would look out for itself. Hostilities must have been the rule, friendly relations the exception, and confined to bands but recently separated. This is not a very pleasant picture, we must confess, but such is what we seem compelled to believe was substantially the primitive social state.²

As to the relations of the members of the band to each other, we have probably described them as fully as is necessary. We will, however, quote from Spencer: "We have thus, to begin with, a state in which the family, as we understand it, can scarcely be said to exist. In the loose groups of men first formed, there is no established order of any kind; everything is indefinite, unsettled. As the relations of men to one another are undetermined, so are the relations of men to women. In either case, there are no guides save the passions of the moment, checked only by fears of consequences."³

¹ "Descriptive Sociology."

² On this point, see Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," New York, 1877, p. 484.

³ "Principles of Sociology," p. 632.

There could have been no higher, no lower, classes in the primitive band. That is, indeed, no more than we observe among the lower races to-day. Of course, individual differences would exist then as now. One man was stronger than the others, or he had other qualities which fitted him to exercise some sort of authority, but this authority was wholly personal. In many cases age alone gave authority. Among the South Australians "a man's authority increases with his age. If without age he possessed naturally intelligence, cunning, bravery, beyond his fellows, he might become a man of note, weighty in council, and a leader in war, but this is exceptional."¹ Of the Veddahs we read, "Each party has a heads-man, the most energetic senior of the tribe."² Of the Tasmanians it is said, "The place of command was yielded up to the bully of the tribe."³ Speaking of such people as the Australians and Bushmen, the assertion is made, "Their members are subject to no control but such as is temporarily acquired by the stronger, or more cunning, or more experienced."⁴

We have now fully sketched the social organization that prevailed at an early day, and have proved its existence. It is necessary to make a few modifying statements. Human nature is much the same the world over among savage or civilized people, in the early ages of human life on the globe, as at the present day. This communism in marriage relation which we have described would therefore be broken in upon at times. Individual preference would sometimes exist, and the result would be individual marriage to a limited extent. Still, along

¹ Howitt: "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 241

² "Descriptive Sociology," ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Spencer: "Principles of Sociology," p. 490.

with this, the communal right probably existed. Such individual marriages as we have just mentioned, being certainly in a very precarious state, either party probably having the liberty to put an end to it, for this usage in reference to divorce is found among many people.

Let us now address ourselves to a consideration of the question of how this primitive social organization changed to other forms, and especially to the class systems of the Australians. We regard this as the second very widely spread social state which supervened on the first.

It may not be out of place to mention that some Australian tribes have a tradition of this change. The tradition is not of any especial value; still we will quote the opening paragraph of the account that contains it: "After the creation, brothers, sisters, and others of the closest kin intermarried promiscuously, until, the evil effects of these alliances becoming manifest, a council of chiefs was assembled to consider in what way they might be averted."¹ It is extremely doubtful about primitive man perceiving the evil effects of such a state of society, and especially of any general discussion of it with a view to remedying it. It is very difficult for us to understand by what means these savages were enabled to make the great social advance implied in changing from the communal band of small proportions to the larger tribe, with class divisions analogous to those of the Australian tribes.

Mr. Morgan gives a general statement which, in an off-hand way, solves the difficulty at once: "It may be affirmed, as a general proposition, that the principal customs and institutions of mankind have originated in great reformatory movements."² Tracing the history of this

¹ Gayson's "Dieyeri Tribe," p. 13.

² "Systems of Consanguinity," etc., p. 481.

stop, he speaks as follows: "The transition from one into the other was produced by the gradual exclusions of own brothers and sisters from the marriage relation, the evils of which could not forever escape human observation, . . . a difficult process, because it involved a radical change in the composition of the family; . . . it also required the surrender of a privilege which savages would be slow to make. Commencing, it may be supposed, in isolated cases, and with a slow recognition of its advantages, it remained an experiment through immense expanses of time, introduced partially at first, then becoming general, and finally universal, among the advancing tribes, still in savagery, among whom the movement originated."¹ Mr. Fison, though not fully accepting the communal band, thinks that, granted its existence, the only explanation for an advance out of it lies in accepting these great "reformatory movements" of Mr. Morgan,² and he premises that the impulse to such a movement must have been given by Divine assistance.

The difficulty with Mr. Morgan's statement is that it is wholly theoretical. Perhaps he has given the explanation, but it remains theory only, and is still to be proved by ascertained facts. In a great many respects, primitive man did not proceed in what seems to us a natural way, and so we are not sure that he did so in this case. As to the origin of the reform itself, Mr. Fison may be in the right; but it is never wise to explain any advance in human progress by such an appeal as this. Were such aid granted, we can scarcely see why man was permitted to remain in savagism at all. We may not be able to point out any more satisfactory way, but we must look further before accepting these views.

¹ "Ancient Society," p. 424.

² "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 160.

McLennan, Sir John Lubbock, and Bachofen all accept the communal band as the starting point of social advance, but they do not agree as to how advance out of this condition was made. Bachofen¹ seems to have been the first to attempt an explanation of the fact, observed in many savage tribes, that descent was in the female line. He gathered a great number of facts in reference to this and other customs of the lower races. He then submits theories to explain them. In brief, he starts with the communal band. The advance, he thinks, arose in this way: The women became shocked at such a state of affairs, and rebelled against it, and thus established a sort of female supremacy, with descent in the female line, and changed the marriage from group marriage to individual marriage. We are glad to accept his facts, but his theories have long since been abandoned.

McLennan wrote² at a time when interest was first being drawn to these subjects. He also sets out to explain the meaning of a number of strange customs observed in different parts of the world. Perhaps few are aware how extensive—indeed, almost universal—is the appearance in some part of the marriage ceremony of the capture of the bride by the bridegroom. Let us, as briefly as possible, outline the evidence on which this rests. Among some of the Australian tribes, and the tribes of neighboring islands, the capture is a reality to-day. The bridegroom lies in wait for his bride. When an opportune moment arrives, he rushes upon her, stuns her by a blow upon her head, and carries her off.³ In most cases, however, this actual capture has given way to a sham one. In order

¹ "Das Mutterrecht." I have not been able to examine a copy of this work. Lubbock gives the outlines of it in "Primitive Man," p. 67.

² "Studies in Ancient History."

³ "Primitive Man," p. 77.

to retain ancient customs, a show of resistance is made, though the parties are well pleased at the match. Among many of the hill tribes of India, when all is arranged, the bridegroom and a large party of his friends, with a great show of fighting, enter the bride's village and carry off the bride.¹ Among the Kalmucks, after the preliminaries are all settled, the bridegroom comes with his friends to carry off the bride, but "a sham resistance is always made by the people of her camp," the bride, however, being finally carried off on a finely caparisoned horse.²

It is not so long ago that similar scenes were enacted in Europe. We are given the following account of marriage customs among the Welsh not many years ago: "On the morning of the wedding day, the bridegroom, accompanied with his friends, on horseback, demands the bride. Her friends, who are likewise on horseback, give a positive refusal, on which a mock scuffle ensues. The bride, mounted behind her nearest kinsman, is carried off, and is pursued by the bridegroom and his friends with loud shouts. When they have fatigued themselves and their horses, the bridegroom is suffered to overtake his bride."³ In short, without making further quotations, we can say that capture, either as a stern reality or as an important ceremony, was almost always found a part of the marriage ceremony among all races until recently. McLennan, struck with the wide prevalence of this strange custom, essayed to explain the same, and thus arrived at his theories as to primitive marriage.

He starts with the communal band. He thinks it extremely likely that such people would kill off many

¹ "Ethnological Society Transactions," Vol. VI, p. 24.

² "Primitive Man," p. 77. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

infants, and especially female infants, whom they would not regard as highly as the males. He tells us that such a custom is "common among savages everywhere;"¹ and hence he urges that it was probably so among the primitive tribes. This would lead to inequality between the sexes, to remedy which they would steal or capture women from neighboring tribes. "Usage, induced by necessity, would in time establish a prejudice among the tribes observing it—a prejudice strong as a principle of religion, as every prejudice relating to marriage is apt to be—against marrying women of their own stock,"² and thus would grow up the custom of forbidding marriage within the group at all; the men must seek for wives from some other tribe.³ Mr. McLennan calls the system of marriage within the group only *endogamy*; the marriage without the group, *exogamy*.

Here is a theory, and it may, at first view, be thought quite adequate to explain the facts of the case. It is, however, unsatisfactory.⁴ The principle on which it rests—namely, female infanticide—is not proved true of the lower races of savages. Infanticide is, of course, common, but it can not be shown that the female children are the preferred victims among lower savages. Indeed, among the Mota people of Banks' Island, we are told, the "male children are killed rather than the female."⁵

¹ "Studies in Ancient History," p. 111. ² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

³ We have fairly stated one of McLennan's theories. He himself seems to present two theories. On page 42 of his work he affirms that exogamy must have given rise to wife-capture, thus reversing the sequence above given. Mr. Fison notices this same objection. ("Kamilaroi and Kurnai," pp. 133, 134.) Spencer ("Principles of Sociology," p. 646) also observes it. Many points in McLennan's work we do not touch upon.

⁴ Spencer criticises it. ("Principles of Sociology," p. 648.)

⁵ Amongst the Kafirs, girls are more valuable than boys. ("Descriptive Ethnology," Vol. II, p. 159. "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," pp. 135-138; also, pp. 171-176.)

But, aside from that, the terms exogamy and endogamy are misleading; indeed, are of no particular value. Their origin is a result of the confusion introduced by the wrong use of some of the divisions of a tribe for the tribe itself. Travelers come upon a band of people constituting a gens. They observe that their customs forbid them to marry a member of their own gens; they must seek a wife from some other gens. The tribe itself does not forbid marriage between its members—only between members of the same gens. But this distinction is not observed by the traveler. The announcement is made that here is a tribe that forbids intermarriage; they should have used the word *gens*. The fact is, amongst all people, civilized or uncivilized, certain people are forbidden to intermarry. Amongst ourselves, near of kindred are forbidden; amongst members of a tribe, members of the same gens are forbidden.¹

Sir John Lubbock² accepts communal marriage as the first step. To explain its disappearance, he accepts substantially the view of McLennan, only he thinks that wife-capture explains the origin of individual marriage; taking the ground that the tribe would have no right to the captive, she was the property of her captor.³ This, however, can be shown to be a mistake. Among savages the individual counts for nothing. Of the Australians, it is said "they maintain the tribal right against the individual with regard to war captives as strictly as they maintain it with regard to any other woman." If a warrior took to himself a captive who belonged to a forbidden class, he would be hunted down

¹ "Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology," p. 27: "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 142; "Ancient Society," p. 510.

² "Primitive Man," chap. iii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

like a wild beast, and, unless he kept out of the way until the hot wrath of the tribe had cooled down, he would be killed, and his captive with him.¹ Indeed, we very much doubt whether McLennan and Lubbock have not drawn the wrong or, at any rate, too strong a conclusion from the wide diffusion of capture as a part of the ceremony of marriage.²

In the last few pages we have seen how it is that some of our most recent writers and thinkers on these subjects fail to agree among themselves as to the steps by which primitive man achieved his first advance. This shows that the question is not a settled one, and we therefore feel at liberty to make some further suggestions. Those who are acquainted with the writings of Mr. Spencer know that he ranges over a wide field to show that, in whatever department of knowledge we are conducting investigations, if we are in any case enabled to trace the history of a growth, of a development, from a few simple germs to a matured product, we can in such case detect the workings of a few simple laws. It makes no difference whether we are considering development in the animal, the plant, the industrial, scientific, or social world; in each and all we can see the working of the same laws. They are world-embracing in their scope.

Now, our plan of government, our social and civil organizations, are the present results of growth that has been in progress from the very earliest times. Quite a large part of this growth is historical, such as the change

¹ "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 66.

² On this point, consult Farrar's "Primitive Manners and Customs," New York, 1879, chap. vii; also, Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," New York, 1877, pp. 652-657; C. S. Wake, in "Anthropologia," p 73.

from tribal society to political society. But a still larger part is not historical. We are not able, for instance, to trace the stages of growth of tribal society, though we are certain it has passed through various stages. We may be reasonably sure, however, that this development has been made in accordance with the general laws of development to which we have just referred. A knowledge of these laws, then, will prove of assistance to us in forming a theory of the origin and growth of tribal society. Briefly speaking, progress is always from the simple to the compound, from the uniform to the diverse. Pages of striking examples could be given. The simplest form of animal or plant life is a cell, microscopical in size. Some plants consist entirely of a union of such cells, as, for instance, certain lichens—progress being from the simple to the compound. But a further step is noticeable. A divergence appears—some cells becoming fitted for one purpose, some for another; in the animals, some organs becoming fitted for locomotion, some to catch prey, and some to derive nourishment for the entire mass from the prey thus caught. Progress is from the uniform to the diverse.

Well, now, our social organization, developing from the communal band, must show the working of these simple laws. We would expect this development to take place along certain lines. In tribal society the organization is made on the basis of kin, or personal relationships. Mankind carried the development to the fullest extent possible under the workings of this system before it was finally abandoned. Now we have already stated that these primitive men were organized only along the line of sex—the group of men being married to the group of women. Progress would then take place in keeping with this idea;

they would do the very best they could with organization resting on sex before abandoning this basis for something else. Note, further, that the communal band is a simple uniform body of men, with no higher, no lower, classes.

The first step in advance would be in a union of two or more of these bands; this would be in full keeping with the first law of development. Division would not be a step in advance. Division was a perfectly natural process, but it resulted only in the formation of other communal bands. What forces were at work to bring about a union of two or more bands? The same force which has always proved a most potent factor in bringing about political unions—fear of surrounding enemies. A state of war must have been the normal relation between the different bands. A band located along the banks of a river swarming with fish could have held together as a much larger band than one located in the interior, where such natural supplies of food were lacking. Such a favored band would as surely be the bully of all the region. But two bands which were individually incapable of coping with this stronger one might unite their forces against their common enemy. Such an arrangement, at first temporary, tends inevitably to become permanent.

But such a union or combination needs to be marked in some definite way. These primitive bands were quite incapable of conceiving of a treaty or alliance, as a permanent arrangement, without by some means impressing the fact on their daily life. Mankind, the world over, seems to have cemented treaties of alliance and friendship by marriage between members of their respective royal houses. To this day the majority of the royal marriages

in Europe are made with this end in view, and a century ago this remark would have possessed greater force than now. Pages of history afford innumerable examples of the working of this principle. The men of the two uniting bands had no royal families to cement, by a marriage of their members, the new alliance. The only marriage they knew anything about was group marriage. They could do this, however: they could exchange their wives and agree to change the order of group marriage in the future.

Let us examine this theory closely. Is it unreasonable? We think not. An arrangement similar to the Australian class divisions was found to underlie the Indo-American system of relationships; consequently, it must have prevailed over a wide scope of country. We must, therefore, in some way account for its development out of the communal band. Powell¹ asserts that a union of bands as here claimed is the only way a tribe could have originated. Spencer² insists that progress only takes place by primary combinations. We observe further that the law of development is fully obeyed. Progress is from the simple to the compound; from the uniform to the diverse. It is further an advance along the line of the only idea of division that primitive men had—that was the division on the basis of sex. In view of all these facts, we feel justified in presenting it to the reader, and ask that it be borne in mind with other theories in this connection.

We are now fairly introduced to the Australian class system. Mankind had taken a very important step in their career of progress. A few moments' reflection will

¹ "Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology," 1881-82, p. xvi.

² "Principles of Sociology," Part II.

show us the importance of this step. The older form, coming in with the infancy of the human race, had doubtless held its sway for many thousand years. Advance under its workings was very limited. The new arrangement broke up the old family arrangement. Own brothers and sisters were now excluded from the marriage relation. We all know that this was a most beneficial arrangement. The descendants of people with this new form of the family, in the course of a few generations, would certainly possess a marked degree of superiority over those still adhering to the old plan. This would bring into play the principles of natural selection, and so in course of time the class divisions would come to be the universal custom. Let us examine the subject to some extent and see what evidence we possess of its diffusion, and in this connection we do not refer to the theoretical evidence derived from systems of relationship.

In Australia, a large section of country is known to possess the class divisions. In Northern Australia, Mr. Bridgeman states, on the authority of his servant, who had traveled over nearly all of Australia, that the class divisions were substantially the same over the entire continent. Other correspondents sustain this statement.¹ Similar information comes from a great many sections in South Australia. We have authentic information of the existence of the class division among the inhabitants of the Salomon Islands, and thence, presumptively, among the Papuans generally. In Melanesia, the occurrence of the class divisions in the various islands of the New Hebrides group is vouched for.² It is stated that New, Burton and Du Chaillu mention the existence

¹"Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 31.

²*Ibid.*, p. 32.

of the classes among various African tribes.¹ It will be noticed that we have been confined in the above observation to tribes belonging to the black races. It is very difficult to gather precise information on this somewhat difficult subject. Should future investigation show a more extensive prevalence of this class system in the direction here indicated, it will prove of great significance.

We have described the division into two classes. This is, perhaps, the more common form. But, along with this, it is known that a great many tribes exist which are subdivided into four classes. This is simply a further advance on the division into two groups. Certain peculiarity in regard to the class divisions of the children may, perhaps, give us a clew how this organization arose. Let us give it some examination. A Queensland tribe shows us the following four divisions:

<i>Male.</i>	<i>Female.</i>
1. Gurgela	Gurgelan.
2. Wungo	Wungoan.
3. Burbia	Burbian.
4. Kuberu	Kuberuan.

To explain the marriage and descent, let us suppose that two tribes lived near each other, one of which had the classes Gurgela and Wungo, the other tribe having the classes Burbia and Kuberu. Under the strict rules of class descent Gurgela marries Wungoan, and the children are Wungo and Wungoan. The marriages and descents in the other division, and in the divisions of the other tribe, need not be here followed out.

Supposing that for some reason these tribes conclude

¹ Ibid. I have not been able to verify this important statement.

to unite their forces. To mark the fact of this union, it is extremely likely they would exchange wives and change the order of future group marriages. But the group Gurgela had been used from time immemorial to having their children called Wungo and Wungoan. Savages are always very conservative, never changing established customs if possible. They might, then, have left the descent unchanged. The following table will illustrate the whole matter:

	CLASSES.		MARRIAGES.		CHILDREN.	
	FIRST TRIBE.		FIRST TRIBE.		FIRST TRIBE.	
No.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1.	Gurgela.	Gurgelan.	Gurgela.	Wungoan.	Wungo.	Wungoan.
2.	Wungo.	Wungoan.	Wungo.	Gurgelan.	Gurgela.	Gurgelan.
	SECOND TRIBE.		SECOND TRIBE.		SECOND TRIBE.	
1.	Burbia.	Burbian.	Burbia.	Kuberuan.	Kuberu.	Kuberuan.
2.	Kuberu.	Kuberuan.	Kuberu.	Burbian.	Burbia.	Burbian.
	UNITED TRIBE.		UNITED TRIBE.		UNITED TRIBE.	
1.	Gurgela.	Gurgelan.	Gurgela.	Kuberuan.	Wungo.	Wungoan.
2.	Wungo.	Wungoan.	Wungo.	Burbian.	Gurgela.	Gurgelan.
3.	Burbia.	Burbian.	Burbia.	Wungoan.	Kuberu.	Kuberuan.
4.	Kuberu.	Kuberuan.	Kuberu.	Gurgelan.	Burbia.	Burbian.

This is exactly the result that appears among the Kamilaroi tribes and others that have the four divisions instead of two.

This introduced us to the most complex form of organization on the basis of sex that we are acquainted with. We have seen it develop from the communal band, first into the tribe with two class divisions, and lastly into the tribe with four divisions—a peculiar arrangement as

regards descent, as we have just seen. Speaking of it in its last complex form, Mr. Morgan observes: "The more closely this organization upon sex is scrutinized, the more remarkable it seems as the work of savages. When once established, and after that transmitted through a few generations, it would hold society with such power as to become difficult of displacement. It would require a similar and higher system and centuries of time to accomplish this result, particularly if the range of the conjugal system would thereby be abridged."¹ Still, we submit that it was a natural growth from the first simple form, obeying the laws of development from the simple to the compound, from the uniform to the diverse.

The importance of the subject justifies us in spending a little more time in considering this organization. It has been fully admitted that political society was everywhere preceded by tribal society. Probably few were aware that tribal society itself was preceded by organization on the basis of sex. It seems to us that we have abundant reasons for asserting such to have been the case. In addition to the evidence we have already presented, a great host of strange customs observable among savage people finds ready explanation when once we refer to this ancient organization. This explains, as nothing else can, the prevalence of female descent. It is well known that many rude tribes still reckon descent through the mother. The children are of the same gens as the mother. This was the case among our Indian tribes almost universally. The office of chief did not descend from father to son. The children inherited nothing from the father, because they were not of the same gens. This is the rule among many African tribes to-day. Callie,

¹ "Ancient Society," p. 55.

speaking of tribes near Sierra Leone, observes: "The sovereignty remains always in the same family, but the son never succeeds his father. They choose, in preference, a son of the king's sister, conceiving that by this method the sovereign power is more sure to be transmitted to one of the blood royal."¹ An examination of the group marriages among the Australians shows us the reason underlying this custom. It points back to a time when paternity might have been a matter of doubt, but maternity was always sure. Hence the general rule among savage people.

There is another custom widely extended, which is certainly a very curious one; that is, the avoidance of all social intercourse between a woman and her son-in-law. This is known to have been the rule, universally, among our Indians. It was considered extremely improper for a woman to speak to her son-in-law, or even to look at him.² "In Asia, among the Mongols and Kalmucks, a woman must not speak to her father-in-law, nor sit down in his presence."³ "In China, the father-in-law, after the wedding day, never sees the face of his daughter-in-law again. He never visits her, and if they chance to meet he hides himself."⁴ In Australia, Mr. Fison once saw a man "full of the utmost distress and disgust because his mother-in-law's shadow had fallen across his legs. He had been lying at the foot of an enormous gum tree, which hid him from the old lady's view as she approached, and so the catastrophe occurred."⁵ Among other Australians, if absolutely necessary to address each other, they stand back to back and yell at the top of their voice, pretending to be far apart.⁶

¹ "Travels," etc., London, 1830, Vol. I, p. 153.

² Lubbock: "Primitive Man," p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵ "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*

It is the same in Africa. Callie observes, of the Haussa tribes, that when the arrangements for a marriage are completed, "from this moment the lover is not to see the father and mother of his future bride. He takes the greatest care to avoid them; and if by chance they perceive him, they cover their faces as if all the ties of friendship were broken."¹ "When a Kafir woman meets her son-in-law in the path, she squats behind a bush, while he hides his face behind his shield and passes by."² The prohibition of look and speech between a man and his mother-in-law is known to prevail extensively among the tribes of equatorial Africa.³ Here, then, we have a custom which is almost universal among the lower races.

In explanation of this, Mr. Tyler remarks "that it is hard even to guess what state of things can have brought this custom into existence," and declares that he has "met with no interpretation which can be put forward with confidence." Sir John Lubbock thinks that it is "a natural consequence of marriage by capture. When the capture was a reality, the indignation of the parents would also be real; when it became a symbol, the parental anger would be symbolized also."⁴ Yet, we think, Mr. Fison suggests the true reason. The class laws are very strict. There is the utmost liberty within the classes, but public wrath was visited on the man who went outside the class limits. Taking a tribe divided into two classes, a moment's reflection shows us "that a man's mother-in-law is a woman of the same class name as his wife; that is, she is one of a class of women who are his wives, but she herself is forbidden to him, and must, therefore, keep out of his way, as he must keep out of hers. The slightest

¹ "Travels," etc., Vol. I, p. 94.

² "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 103.

³ Tyler: "Early History of Mankind," p. 290.

⁴ "Primitive Man," p. 84.

familiarity between them would be indecent; nay, more, it would be pollution. Hence the ludicrous shifts to which these relatives resort.”¹

Another custom finds its explanation in this old class division. To this day there are whole tribes in Australia which have individual marriage, but the couple must always elope. It is no use to try and get the parents' consent. It is the same among some of the hill tribes of India. “Among the Soligas,” says McLennan, “when a girl consents to marry, the man runs away with her to some neighboring village.” Some time must elapse before it is deemed proper to return.² He also describes similar customs among the Turkmans. Among the Kurnais of South Australia, “if the runaways were caught, the man had to stand as a target for the spears, boomerangs, and kullucks of her near kinsmen, while the poor girl was speared or beaten within an inch of her life.”³ We think there must be some reason for this strange custom. Can it not be that it is a tacit recognition of old communal rights? Does not the Australian custom point back to the time when the couple were considered as offenders against the common rights of the tribe?

This leads to a consideration of a great number of customs at which we can only glance. Sir John Lubbock briefly states the principal to be this: “Special marriage was an infringement of these communal rights, for which some compensation was due.”⁴ Perhaps the foregoing custom may be an instance in point. At any rate instances are numerous where this right revives among the Australians.⁵ Perhaps in this way we are to under-

¹ “Kamilaroi and Kurnai,” p. 104.

² “Studies in Ancient History,” p. 318.

³ “Kamilaroi and Kurnai,” p. 301.

⁴ “Primitive Man,” p. 87.

⁵ “Kamilaroi and Kurnai,” p. 202, note, 281, 286, 310, 317, 326.

stand the customs attendant on the worship of Venus, among the Babylonians, and, indeed, amongst most of the people of antiquity.¹ In their case, the old customs had become almost obsolete, yet they still survived, and were required as a religious observance. We are not to regard this as an evidence of gross licentiousness, but a tribute to an old custom, the origin of which has long been forgotten. This charitable explanation we would extend to the numerous descriptions of Saturnalian scenes given by travelers generally of savages in the most widely separated parts of the world. It is quite customary to talk about the licentiousness of savages. Much of it can be explained as a tacit recognition of old communal rights.²

Primitive man had but few ideas, as compared with civilized man. It is hard to fully understand the force of this remark; yet, the more we reflect on it, the more readily we appreciate its bearings. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for us to rightly conceive the motives that would influence primitive man to change any of his established customs. We are not at all sure that he would proceed as we would, for that is to endow him with the experience gained in the long years preceding civilization. Events have been such that organization of society on the basis of sex took its rise. Once started in this direction, they made the most they could of this foundation. We are not acquainted with any people, in which the class divisions are at all apparent, having more than four classes. This arrangement was sufficiently complex. It must have taxed to the utmost their intellect to so arrange the classes that the blood of the tribe should circulate in all.

¹ "Primitive Man," p. 87.

² See paper on this subject by C. S. Wake, in "Anthropologia," p. 156. His conclusions differ, however, from these here stated,

To still further increase the number of classes which would follow the union of three tribes, making at least six classes, and still keep the blood of the tribes circulating in all the classes, would require a complicated arrangement quite beyond the power of primitive man to make. It could only be done by having some alternating arrangements either in the names of the classes or in the class marriage—in either case difficult to manage without some system of records. Hence, we may suppose that a long period ensued with but little advance in tribal organization, long enough for tribes with class divisions to spread over the world—perhaps long enough for the yellow races to become divergent from the black races. But the defects of class organization are apparent to all. Great advance was impossible until it had been overthrown. How conservative primitive man would be in this matter becomes apparent when we reflect that throughout the entire continent of Australia, though the tribes had been separated long enough for their languages to become entirely distinct, and the class names entirely different, yet they still recognize the fact that the different classes are equivalents of each other.

A member of one class, for instance, visiting a tribe widely separated from his, had no difficulty in determining to which of their classes he belonged. This shows the great influence of the class system, and gives us an idea of the forces that would be arrayed against any proposed reduction of the same. Yet, as time passed on, the class system disappeared over most of the world. Even the Australians, when first discovered, possessed institutions that were encroaching on privileges of the classes. Whether we can successfully trace the steps leading to the formation of gentile society is a question.

Any attempt to do this must be considered in the light of a theory which will hold its ground only as it successfully accounts for ascertained facts. Growth, as we have thus far discussed it, begins by a process of combinations: two communal bands uniting to form the tribe with two classes; two of these latter, to form the tribe with four classes. Further combination seems to be improbable. The primary idea going along with this union—that is, intermarriage—must, therefore, be overthrown, and the idea must be formed, in the minds of primitive man, of political union, not carrying with it intermarriage rights.

All savages and partially civilized people are fond of tracing descent back to some imaginary ancestor. By what process of reasoning it is that they satisfy themselves, we need not here stop to consider; but the fact is, amongst the lower tribes, this ancestor is generally an animal. The probabilities are that all of the class in Australia had such a fictitious ancestral animal. This animal we now call the totem of the class.¹ In some cases this totem is not known; we know only the name of the class. The tribe increases in number, the classes spread farther and farther; one band takes as its possession a certain river valley, another is located among a definite range of hills, while still a third takes possession of a lake and its islands. The tendency is for each of these bands to assume a definite name—not the name of the locality, but the name of some animal, which straightway becomes the totem of the band, and is soon regarded as the ancestor of the same.²

Let us notice what follows from this step. We will

¹ Vol. I, p. 486, note.

² Some of the South Australian tribes, as the Kurnai, name their bands according to their locality, or after some prominent individual. In such a case, however, descent has passed out of the female line.

suppose that a band of Kumite men chose as their hunting-ground a lake, with its shores and islands. Their wives are all Krokigor. In this locality a great many kangaroos are found; accordingly, they adopt as their totem the kangaroo. The children are all Kroki and Krokigor, but further distinguished as belonging to the Kangaroo gens. As these children belong to the same class, they, of course, can not intermarry; here we reach the first rule of the ancient gens—its members can not intermarry. But what has happened to this band has happened to other bands of the Kumite class. The same, also, has happened to bands of the Kroki class. Instead, therefore, of two large classes, we will, for instance, have the following arrangement:

TRIBE.	{	1. Kumite.	{ Emu Opossum Iguana }	} Gentes.
		2. Kroki.	{ Kangaroo Bandicoot Blacksnake }	

However temporary such an arrangement may have been at first, it certainly would tend to become permanent. We will here remark that the outline sketched above is the typical organization of a people in a tribal state of society;¹ the classes are seen to be the phratries; the gentes, subdivisions of the same. We can see at a glance why it is that originally the gentes of the same phratry could not intermarry. Let us note what this organization would be in its incipient form, and what it inevitably tends to become as time passed on. Among

¹ Vol. I, p. 486, note.

the Australians, the classes have remained the most prominent part of the organization. We are expressly told in some cases that the totems did not interfere with the old rule of marriage.¹

But, in general, this tendency would certainly appear: the classes would tend to lose their importance; the gens become more and more important. With that self-conceit common to humanity, the Emu men would care less and less for the fact that they were Kumite, but they glory in being Emu men. Of course, on grand occasions, the gentes would arrange themselves in their class order. But, in general, the gens would become a new unit of classification. The old class rule forbidding intermarriage within the gens seems always to have been observed. The like rule compelling a member of a gens to seek his wife from one of the gentes of the other phratry would lose its hold, just in proportion as the classes lost their importance. Some Australian tribes no longer observe it, and we find it losing its hold among others.

Having now reached the tribal state of society having descent in the female line, we can not do better than to examine that form of government at some length, even though we have, in the previous volume, devoted some space to it.² Our Indians, when the Europeans first came among them, possessed this social organization. It is a striking illustration of the statement that passing travelers are incapable of giving definite information on this point, when we reflect that it is only lately that we have learned the details of this organization. The like holds true in regard to the Aztecs and the Incas of Peru. The early Spanish conquerors and explorers tried to make the

¹ The Mount Gambier tribe. ("Kamilaroi and Kurnia," p. 42.)

² Vol. I, p. 677.

facts fit a preconceived theory. They generously bestowed on these countries a model government. A full assortment of the different orders of nobility was made out—emperor, princes of the blood royal, noble lords, royal governors, generals of the army, etc., etc. The first English colonies started with the same laudable end in view. *King* Powhatan in Virginia and *King* Phillip in Massachusetts illustrate the tendency. The English explorers soon perceived the incongruities of such a designation, and the simpler title of chief, or sachem, took its place.

We will take one of the Iroquois tribes to illustrate the organization of tribal society, using the same outline we did in the previous volume:¹

SENECA TRIBE.	{	First Phratry or Brotherhood.	{ Bear Wolf Beaver Turtle }	Gentes.
		Second Phratry or Brotherhood.	{ Deer Snipe Heron Hawk }	

The above outline, which was the exact division of the Seneca-Iroquois tribe, is a typical one for all of our Indian tribes, at least before the advent of the whites. We notice, first of all, the tribe. It is not an easy matter to define a tribe; yet it is a clearly marked division. It has been found by investigation that it possesses certain qualities and rights, which we will use to define it.

All the members of a tribe speak the same dialect.

¹ Vol. I, p. 486, note.

A growing and prosperous tribe holds together as one organization as long as they speak the same dialect; but languages tend rapidly to diverge among all savage people. A few years' separation is quite sufficient to originate a new dialect, and consequently to mark the formation of a new tribe. The cases are extremely rare of an Indian tribe the members of which spoke different dialects. In some cases, however, a weaker tribe, speaking a closely related dialect, becomes absorbed in a larger tribe.¹ But, in general, however numerous an Indian tribe became, it remained one in organization as long as the dialects of its bands remained the same.

This body of people possessed a certain area that they regarded as their own, over which they alone had the right to hunt. This area they would defend against neighboring tribes. The boundaries of this area were not well defined, but a general knowledge of the same was had. This body of people further gave to themselves a certain name, which was determined by some peculiarity of their character or settlement, such as "sea-side people" (Mohegans) or "camp-movers" (Ogalallas). The name which they called themselves was not always the name by which they were known among the surrounding people. We must further remark that a tribe generally is the highest form of organization possessed by people in a tribal state of society. In a few cases only had a confederacy, or the union of several tribes, originated in America. In the Old World we know of several cases of the formation of a confederacy, which afterwards, by the still closer coalescing of its individual tribes, formed a nation. A tribe in general, then, is an independent, self-governing body of people. In quite a number of cases

¹ "Ancient Society," p. 103.

they were under tribute to a stronger tribe, but they were still free as regards self-government.

Turning now to the internal organization of a tribe, we see that the first division is into phratries. This word is from a Greek word meaning "brotherhood." According to the theory we are upholding, these phratries were originally the class divisions of the tribe. But, of course, when the organization of people in tribal form became the ruling form, phratries might be formed without passing through the class stage. We have already remarked the significant fact that as the classes lost their importance they would tend to disappear. Hence it is that the phratries are not a necessary part of the tribal organization. It was lacking in some of the Indian tribes, though most of the tribes had it; but in all it plays a subordinate part—just what we would naturally expect. In a number of cases, the original rule was that a member of one phratry must seek a wife from one of the opposite phratries. The reason is quite plain; it is the old class rule forbidding marriage in the classes.

As showing that the influence of the phratries had long been on the decline, it is significant that about the only way it betrayed itself was in ceremonial and religious matters. It is well known that customs pertaining to such matters tend to change very slowly.¹ Among the Grecian tribes, the phratry looked after "the observance of special religious rites, the condonation or revenge of the murder of a phrator, and the purification of a murderer, after he had escaped the penalty of his crime, preparatory to his restoration to society."² Among the Iroquois, "the

¹ "As illustrated in the use of the flint knife for circumcision, religious usages are those which remain longest unchanged." (Spencer: "Principles of Sociology," p. 279.)

² "Ancient Society," p. 89.

phratry," we are told, "was partly for social and partly for religious purposes."¹ It showed itself in ceremonial matters. "At a council of the tribe, the sachems and chiefs in each phratry usually seated themselves on opposite sides of an imaginary council fire, and the speakers addressed the two opposite bodies as the representative of the phratries."² The phratric organization showed itself in ceremonial games and in religious matters, as in the holding of a medicine lodge, each phratry holding such a lodge, which was their highest religious act. Among the Incas, we have seen, the phratry displayed itself almost solely in ceremonial games.³ The bearings of these remarks, as showing that the phratry had declined from a former more important position, should be observed.⁴

The unit of organization in a tribe is the gens. This is from a Latin word, the significance being that of kin. The members of a gens are all considered related to each other. They all trace their descent back to some common ancestor. Anciently the descent was always in the female line. The children belonged to the gens of the mother. This is a survival of the old class rule, and for the same reason. Marriage between members of the same gens was always prohibited. The ancient rule was that a wife must be sought from some gens of the opposite phratry, but this, in a great many cases, had become obsolete. It will be seen that a gens only included a part of the descendants of this supposed common ancestor. A man

¹ Ibid., 95.

² Ibid.

³ Vol. I, p. 783.

⁴ Those who are acquainted with the writings of Mr. Morgan will, at first glance, think that the position here assumed is greatly opposed to his. This opposition is, in reality, in appearance only. He derives the phratry from the subdivision of a former gens. We derive it from the subdivision of a class. The difference is simply one of names, since Mr. Morgan gives to the gens, in its archaic form, the same qualities we give to the class. As to which word is the better term to use, we leave to the judgment of the reader.

and his sister both belonged to the same gens. The man must seek a wife from some other gens, but his children will belong to the gens of their mother, therefore his descendants are not included in the original gens. Only the descendants of the female members of the gens continue in it. Many of the rights and duties of the gentes, we will not discuss here.

Our main object has been to trace social organization, but we have seen how in early times it was necessary to consider the marriage customs. It has probably occurred to some that communal marriage has disappeared. As the class divisions become dim, their marriage customs would tend to change also. The inevitable tendency is to break up old communal rights, which would only revive on special occasions; and, as a species of religious rite, we catch a glimpse of them among quite advanced people, illustrating in a most forcible manner the conservatism of religions. But as the communal family disappears, what takes its place? Why, polygamy for the more influential men of the tribe, individual marriage for the masses of the people, and then, in special cases, polyandry. In the case of individual marriage, is it not evident that at first the marriage will be a temporary one only? Refer to the customs of the Andaman Islanders, where this is still the rule. But the tendency is for this relation to become more and more permanent. Still divorce would remain at the pleasure of the parties, which is exactly the facts of the case among all the lower races.

In fact, the family, among people still in the tribal state of society, with descent in the female line, is called by Mr. Morgan the syndiasmian family. This was the pairing family; but observe: "The relation continued during the pleasure of the parties, and no longer. The hus-

band could put away his wife at pleasure, and take another without offense, and the woman enjoyed the equal right of leaving her husband and accepting another, in which the usages of her tribe and gens were not infringed. When alienation arose between a married pair, and their separation became imminent, the gentile kindred of each attempted a reconciliation of the parties, in which they were often successful; but if they were unable to remove the difficulty, their separation was approved." Such a family possessed too little coherence to face alone the hardships of life; hence "several of them were usually found in one house forming a communal household."¹ This family was a great advance over the communal family, but still below the monogamian.

The organization we have now briefly sketched out is that of tribal society in general. We have made the statement that descent was in the female line. The children belonging to the gens and phratry of the mother, they were considered as belonging solely to her. In case of a separation, she kept the children. The family, as we understand it, had not yet made its appearance. In all probability female descent was the ancient rule; but we shall soon see that quite early the custom changed in a number of tribes, descent passing over to the male side, the children belonging to the gens of their father. Change of descent did not, however, change tribal organization. Let us, before passing on, speak of this wide-spread tribal society. It was the one form of society in the New World at the time of the conquest. Variations in details were, of course, numerous. The phratric organization was wanting in some tribes; but it is not too much to say that from Cape Horn to the Arctic Ocean the numerous Indian

¹ Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 453, *et seq.*; also, Vol. I, this series, p. 491.

tribes all had substantially the same organization, though in a few instances confederacies of tribes had been formed.

We will not take into account the Aryan tribes at present, but will simply remark that they possessed this full organization. Among the Chinese, the tribe and the phratry have both disappeared, but the gens still survives. Mr. Robert Hart, a high official at Canton, thus wrote: "As regards 'division into tribes,' I am not aware that the Chinese . . . recognize at this day any . . . tribal distinctions. . . . The Chinese expression, however, for the people is *pih-sing*, which means the 'hundred family names.' . . . At the present day there are about four hundred family names in this country, amongst which I find some that have reference to animals, fruits, metals, natural objects, etc., and which may be translated as horse, sheep, ox, . . . plum, flower, leaf, . . . etc., etc. In some parts of the country there are large villages, in each of which there exists but one family name. Thus, in one district will be found say three villages, each containing two or three thousand people, the one of the 'horse,' the second of the 'sheep,' and the third of the 'ox' family name, and two of the three will, in all probability, have a kind of a reciprocity treaty, offensive and defensive, and be continually at feud with the third. . . . Husband and wife are always of different families. . . . Custom and law alike prohibit intermarriage on the part of people having the same family surname."¹

Speaking of the Nepaul tribe, known as the Magyars, Latham remarks: "A trace of a tribal division is to be found. There are twelve 'thums.' All individuals belong-

¹ Letter to Mr. Morgan. ("Systems of Consanguinity," etc., p. 424.)

ing to the same thum are supposed to be descended from the same . . . ancestor; . . . husband and wife must belong to different thums. Within one and the same there is no marriage.”¹ The existence among the Karens of the gens is evident. “They reckon themselves by families. . . . Each family occupies but one house, . . . large enough to contain three or four hundred individuals.” This family is the gens. Intermarriage is prohibited, because “cousins marry, but not brothers and sisters.” The same is true of other Indian tribes. Col. Dalton tells us that the “Hos, Moondahs, and Oraons are divided into classes, or keelis, and may not take to wife a girl of the same keeli.”² Of the tribes in Mongolia we read: “In no part of the world is the tribal system more developed than in Mongolia. . . . The connection between the members of a tribe is that of blood. . . . The tribe is a large division falling into many banners.” Intermarriage between these “banners” is doubtless prohibited, for Latham remarks that the Kalmucks have the same “social constitution,”³ and we read that these latter “are divided into hordes, and no man can marry a woman of the same horde.”

The Siberian tribes subdivide into clans. “When a Jakut wishes to marry, he must choose a girl from another clan. No one is permitted to marry a woman from his own clan.” “The Ostiaks consider it a crime to marry a woman of the same family, or even of the same name.” Klaproth gives us the divisions of the Russian Samoyeds, and further remarks: “This division of the kinsman-ships is so rigidly observed that no Samoyed takes a wife

¹ “Descriptive Ethnology,” Vol. I, p. 80.

² Lubbock: “Primitive Man,” p. 95.

³ “Descriptive Ethnology,” Vol. I, p. 323.

from the kinsmanship to which he himself belongs.”¹ The subdivisions of the Afghan tribes is very plainly marked. The divisions are called *kheils*. The rule of marriage is not given, though we read that “one of the commoner causes of war between tribe and tribe arises out of the abduction of a woman from one ulus to another, . . . abduction being common.”² This shows the working of an exogamous rule.

In Africa the usual tribal divisions appear in full force. One of the Fulla tribe comes before us as divided into fourteen gentes reunited in four phratries.³ The customs in reference to marriage and descent are not well known, but Du Chaillu observes: “Each tribe is divided into clans; the children in most of the tribes belong to the clan of the mother, and these can not by any possible law marry among themselves, however removed in degree they may have been connected.”⁴

We have thus found the tribal state of society in the most widely separated parts of the world. We have reserved the Semitic and the Aryan tribes for a special discussion. We have found everywhere divisions of the tribe itself. We are not at all surprised that the phratry is, in many cases, wanting. The gens is always found, and, in the great majority of cases, the old rule prohibiting marriage within the gens is still observed. It is instructive to notice the course of development. The progress has been, on the one hand, towards the individual. The communal band, as it first appeared, knew nothing of the individual. The first step resulted in the class divisions. Division appears within the tribe. When the gens arose this division was carried still further. We

¹ “Descriptive Ethnology,” Vol. I, p. 475.

² Ibid., Vol. II, p. 215.

³ Ibid., p. 119.

⁴ “Primitive Man,” p. 95.

will notice a steady reduction of conjugal rights. In the first place, this right was as extensive as the tribe. The first step in advance reduced this right to a part only of the tribe, while the organization of the gentes tended to overthrow it altogether. The constant tendency has been to bring the individual and individual rights more and more to the front.

Let us now take notice of a change that would naturally take place in the gens; this is, the change of descent. The reason generally given to account for female descent is the one we give. That is, that as long as the family was communal maternity only would be sure; paternity might be doubtful. But as soon as the gens was firmly established as the unit of organization, communal marriage was largely overthrown. The pairing family, in a feeble state, makes its appearance, and we have stated that the tendency would be for this family to become more and more permanent. The reason, then, for female descent loses its hold. Hence, we are not at all surprised to learn that a large number of tribes, yet low in the scale of enlightenment, had descent in the male line.

Thus all the Aryan tribes, originally having descent in the female line, at an early day changed their descent to the male line. Judging from the fact that Abraham married his half-sister,¹ Nahor his niece,² and Amram his aunt,³ we conclude that, anciently, descent was in the female line among the Semitic Hebrews, since in such a case all these relations would be of different gentes. This ancient rule had certainly become modified when the Book of Numbers was written, and descent was in the male line. Amongst our Northern Indian tribes, descent, in the majority of cases, was in the female line; but

¹ Genesis xi, 29.

² Genesis xx, 12.

³ Exodus vi, 20.

numerous exceptions occur. Missionary influence is known in some places to have changed the ancient rule. The partially civilized tribes of Mexico and Central America had descent in the male line.¹ The majority of the South American Indian tribes had descent in the female line. The Incas of Peru seem to have had male descent. We find the two systems of descent side by side throughout Africa, Asia, and Australia. Two facts stand out clearly. A people reckoning descent in the female line often changes to descent in the male line, such a change generally following increase in culture. We know of no exceptions to the above rule—no instance of change going the other way. If a list were to be had of all people, both ancient and modern, who reckoned descent in the male line, and also a list of such people as still reckon descent in the female line, there is little doubt that the first list would be greatly the superior of the second in point of culture.

Mr. Tyler, discussing this subject, remarks: "In practice, the races of the world . . . have had to elect which of the two lines, male or female, they will keep up by the family name or sign."² We may be quite sure that if there were any "election" about this matter there never would have been any female descent known. Quite a number of theories have been put forth in explanation of the change from the female to the male line. It seems to us easy of explanation. When the gentes, with their rights and privileges, were fairly established, we have seen that the syndiasmian family came into existence. Why not agree with Sir John Lubbock,

¹ Bandelier: "Peabody Museum Reports," Vol. II, p. 429. Morgan: "Ancient Society," p. 184.

² "Early History of Mankind," p. 285.

that "gradually and from force of circumstances, aided by the impulse of natural affections," parental responsibility would spring up? Then, as this form of the family gained in permanence, and advance in culture continues to be made, the idea of personal property comes into existence. There would exist, also, a natural desire on the part of the father to transmit his inheritance to his children; or, if he held the office of chief, he would desire his son to succeed him; or, yet again, we might say that along with the growth of parental responsibility and affection there would be a natural desire on the part of the father to consider the children as belonging to him. All these considerations tend to the overthrow of female descent. In a great many instances they succeeded in bringing about the change. Still, they had to contend with customs established from time immemorial, sanctioned by such religious ideas as they possessed; so it is not strange that the old plan held its own generally among the less civilized races. This change of descent did not overthrow the gentile system—it worked no change in that direction. Still, this change is regarded as a most important one for primitive man, as we will learn in the sequel.

It is interesting to note the tribal organization of the Hebrews. This can be gathered from the historic books of the Old Testament. The names of the collective tribes are not territorial, but personal. They are the "Children of Israel." In Afghanistan we find the same principle active to-day, where, by the "Children of Joseph," is understood a reference in a collective sense to eight independent tribes.¹ Each of the Hebrew tribes was independent in its own affairs. In the presence of great danger, they confederated together under one leader, such as Moses,

¹ Latham; "Descriptive Ethnology," Vol. II, p. 212.

Joshua, and the several judges. But most of the time they were disunited, and occasionally at enmity with each other.¹ The official head of each tribe was called *nasi*, meaning "prince," or "exalted one."² This chief was commander of the tribal forces in the time of war.³

Each of these tribes further possessed the phratric organization. The name of this division was *bethaboth*, meaning "house of the fathers." But one of the meanings of "house" is kindred,⁴ so we can call it "father's kindred."⁵ The official head of the phratry was *reshebeth*, meaning "head of the house," or we might express it "chief of the kindred."⁶ In battle the forces of the phratry formed a division by themselves.⁷ These phratrics finally subdivided into gentes called *mishpachah*, the meaning of this word being exactly that of our own gens or clan. Our translators use for this the word *family*; not a good word to use, since we at once apply to it the meaning of our word family, whereas it meant a number of our families. The chief of the gens was called *reshob*, a term signifying "head father."⁸

The law of inheritance⁹ plainly shows that descent at this time was in the male line. Of the laws of marriage we know but little; but notice that one of the last questions coming before Moses for settlement was in regard to the marriage of heiresses. And as a result of special legislation the daughters of Zelophehad married into their own gens; *i. e.*, their "father's brother's sons." Obviously, then, the ancient rule forbade this marriage.

¹ Judges xx.

² Numbers i, 16.

³ Compare the names of the captains of the hosts in Numbers ii with the princes in Numbers i.

⁴ Gesenius.

⁵ Notice the numbering of the people by the "house of their fathers." (Numbers i.)

⁶ Numbers iii, 24.

⁷ Numbers ii, 2.

⁸ Numbers xxxvi, 1.

⁹ Numbers xxvii.

The organization of the tribe of Levi is given in full; we will give an outline of it:¹

TRIBE OF LEVI.	} Phratries.	Gershon.	{ Libni Shimei	} Gentes.
		Kohath.	{ Amram Izehar Hebron Uzziel	
		Merari.	{ Mahli Mushi	

It remains to discuss the conditions of ancient society among the Aryans—the people who have had most to do with advancing civilization, and with whom history is most concerned. We must clear the way to an understanding by a few preliminary remarks. We are in the position of those who would decipher some palimpsest old and rare; only traces of the original writing can be made out—they are but faint and indistinct. The story of modern life and times, written in strong, clear characters, renders it most difficult to read what few traces of the older writing escaped the efforts of the eraser. All the great Aryan nations long ago passed from ancient to modern society. Their laws, their customs, their institutions, have conformed themselves to the new mould. We

¹ Mr. Morgan (in "Ancient Society," pp. 369, 370, and 545) concludes that "house of the fathers" is the gens, and that "families" is the phratry. We are at a loss to see the grounds of this conclusion. In Numbers iii, 14–27, we read: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, . . . saying, Number the children of Levi after the house of their fathers, by their families. . . . And these were the sons of Levi by their names, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. . . . Of Gershon was the family of the Libnites, and the family of the Shimites: these are the families of the Gershonites. . . . And the chief of the 'house of the fathers' of the Gershonites," etc. This seems to show conclusively that the phrase *bethaboth*, or "house of the fathers," denotes the first division of the tribe, and that *mishpachah*, or "family," denotes the second.

can, then, but see how difficult it must be to detect or interpret what few and faint traces yet remain of an older state. Nor can the pages of ancient history be of any great help to us. The ancient historians were Greeks and Romans. They wrote at a time when their own people had lost most of the vestiges of a tribal state. They would, therefore, explain ancient customs among their own people, or the customs they observed among the yet barbarian tribes around them, by the means of language which did not exactly fit the case. They, in short, made exactly the same error as the early explorers did in the New World. When the Spaniards called Montezuma the king or emperor of Mexico, instead of using the native title "tlaca-tecuhtli," or translating it by the phrase "chief-of-man," and explaining his powers, they made the same mistake Tacitus did when he speaks of the kings and generals of the German tribes, instead of using the native title *ealderman* for the civil chief of the tribe, and *heretoga* for the war-chief¹—a mistake which we, at the present day, still make when we talk about some African or Australian "king."

"It is often said that it takes two or three years before a governor-general [of India] learns that the vast Indian population is an aggregate of natural groups, and not the mixed multitude he left at home."² If this be true of the present day, we may feel at ease in criticising Cæsar's description of the political society in Gaul. He tells us substantially that there were three orders of people. He calls them *Equites*, *Druids*, and *Plebeians*.³ Cæsar describes them in a natural way for a Roman acquainted with

¹ Freeman: "Comparative Politics," p. 118.

² Maine: "Early History of Institutions," New York, 1875, p. 30.

³ Book VI, chap. xiii.

Roman society. With fuller light, we at the present day understand the Equites, or knights, to be simply the numerous chiefs; the Plebeians, the people generally of the various tribes. In short, we reject his classes or orders; the only natural division of the people was the tribe and its subdivision. As Maine expresses it, his mistake was the effect of "mental distance."

Though the difficulties be great, we need not despair of still gaining light on the early state of society amongst our own race. We need only examine carefully the writings of older historians and examine a multitude of curious customs to learn the facts in the case. There is, indeed, a short cut we might take, which seems perfectly legitimate. If all the Aryan people are descendants of some common tribe, then if we can show this state of society to be true of any considerable body of Aryan people it would follow that all were once in that state. We prefer, however, to pass in review of the principal Aryan people.

It is necessary, however, to explain two divisions of people in ancient society still further. We have mentioned the tribe, phratry, and gens. In the former volume we spoke of confederacies. We examined the league of the Iroquois and Aztec confederacy. Let us briefly mention wherein a nation differs from a confederacy. In the presence of a great danger, tribes speaking dialects of the same stock language confederate together for mutual protection. Such a union tends to become permanent. When that point in advancing civilization is reached at which the union is not only permanent, but the individuality of the separate tribes is losing itself in the life of the greater aggregate, we may say these tribes have coalesced into a nation. Tacitus shows us a Germany of many scattered

tribes; a hundred years later we read of the Saxons, Burgundians, and Lombards.¹ The tribes had coalesced into nations.

Another division we wish to speak of is more important still. We refer to divisions taking place in the gens itself. We will call it the joint-family. Most writers speak of it as the patriarchal family; that, however, is only one form of its development. We have referred to and explained the syndiasmian family. In its archaic form all the members of a gens are brothers and sisters to each other, yet even then it must have tended to break up into groups living together for mutual help and protection. Advancing civilization would tend to consolidate and individualize these groups. The growth in strength of the family ties, the change from pastoral to agricultural life, the change in descent from the female to the male line, would all work to this end. The result was the formation of a new social unit. The gens was no longer the unit, but each gens is itself composed of a number of family groups. Each joint-family consisted, in the main, but not wholly, of the descendants of some common ancestor; each group has at its head a chief, who represents it in council and in other respects.² This office is generally, in theory at least, elective; practically, it generally passes by inheritance.

Let us explain a little in regard to this last statement about inheritance. In the archaic form of the gens, when descent was in the female line, and before the family ties had gained strength, all the various grades of chiefs, all tribal offices, were filled by election. The gens, in council assembled, elected its own officers. The same was true

¹ Freeman: "Comparative Politics," p. 122.

² Gomme: "Primitive Folk-moots," p. 16.

of the phratry, where the phratric organization was well developed. Finally, the various gentes of the tribe elected the tribal officers. If you reflect on the rule of marriage, you see that a chief's sons could not succeed him in office simply because they belonged to different gentes. There could be no inheritance in office, then, further than this: some one gens in the phratry had the right to furnish phratric officers; so, also, some one gens in some one phratry had the right to furnish tribal officers.

The change of descent from the female to the male line, thereby making it possible for sons to succeed their father in office, wrought a great change. It not only tended to build up the joint-family, but it tended to the formation of privileged classes within the gens. The head of some one joint-family becomes, by election, the chief of the gens. On his death the son becomes eligible for office; if unobjectionable, he is probably elected. This process, repeated for a few generations, tends steadily to establish an hereditary right of succession. The same process is repeated with all the offices of the tribe. At an early stage, the election of tribal chief became fixed in a certain gens; at a later stage, this election is confined to a certain joint-family of that gens, and finally it passes by inheritance. We are now fairly started on the formation of different orders of nobility. Processes are discovered at work which will inevitably tend to break up the old system. It is, therefore, not strange to discover various stages of the above process. Some tribes have clung tenaciously to the right of election, at least for some of their officers; others exercise the right of election within certain limits; others, still, have allowed all right of election to lapse.

Tacitus observed that the Germans chose their *ealder-*

man—*i. e.*, their civil chief—according to nobility; that is, election from a limited number of eligible personages. But their *heretoga*—*i. e.*, their war chief—they chose for his valor.¹ As this latter chief was the more important one for them, being almost constantly at war, they had not allowed this office to pass by inheritance. Similarly among the Scandinavians, at a far later day; when the Scandinavians invaded Northumberland, there fell in one battle five kings and seven earls. “We are told that the kings were young; we hear nothing of the age of the earls. Surely this is another form of the distinction drawn long before by Tacitus. The kings were chosen for their birth; they might, therefore, well be young. The earls, we may well believe, were still chosen for their personal strength and valor.”²

As all we have to guide us are traces only of a vanished state of society, we need not hesitate to examine still another element of change. We refer to the change which takes place when the transition is made from a pastoral to an agricultural stage of living. We think the mere fact of settling down upon some definite expanse of territory tends to overthrow the very foundation of tribal society. As Sir Henry Maine observes: “The land begins to be the basis of society in the place of kinship. The change is extremely gradual, and in some particulars it has not even now been fully accomplished; but it has been going on through the whole course of history; . . . for all groups of men larger than the family, the land on which they live tends to become the bond of union between them, at the expense of kinship, ever more and more vaguely conceived.”³ We must constantly bear this judicious

¹ Tacitus: “Manners of the Germans,” Oxford translation, Vol. II, p. 295.

² Freeman: “Comparative Politics,” New York, 1874, p. 173.

³ “Early History of Institutions,” p. 72.

observation in mind, since in many cases the gens of ancient society will exist simply as an agricultural community. We will now pass in review some of the principal Aryan people.

Let us first look at the state of ancient society among the Aryans of Asia. The ancient Persians were an important branch of the Aryans. An inscription of Shalmaneser II, about the middle of the ninth century B. C., notices the Persians as independent tribes, having no single head over all, but under the government of numerous petty chieftains, each ruling in a small section of country.¹ Later inscriptions, about 650 B. C., show that these tribes had, at that time, coalesced into a nation. Herodotus tells that there were ten tribes of the Persians. Of these, one tribe, the Parsagadæ, held the first position. They were the ruling tribe in fact. They gave their name to the capitol of the new nation, and from them probably comes the word Persian. We know, further, that this tribe consisted of seven gentes. In one of these gentes, the Achæmenidæ, the kingly office passed by inheritance.

The chiefs of these seven gentes formed the king's council. They had the privilege of free communication at any and all times with the king, unless he was in his harem.² The king could select legitimate wives only from the ruling families of these gentes.³ In the Bible the chiefs appear as the "seven princes"⁴ or the "seven councilors."⁵ They sat next to the king on festive occasions.⁶ Their advice was asked and given on important points. We know of at least one instance in which they

¹ Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. II, p. 430.

² Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. II, p. 478.

³ Ibid. ⁴ Esther i, 14. ⁵ Ezra vii, 14.

⁶ Notice their position at Ahasuerus' feast. (Esther i, 14.)

exercised the right, probably at all times inherent in them, of deposing the reigning king, and electing one in his stead.¹ Perhaps it would not be too venturesome to suggest that the phratry also makes its appearance. It is apparent, from the account of Herodotus, that the gens of which the house of Otanes was the ruling one at the election of Darius enjoyed powers and privileges second only to those of the kingly clan of the Achæmenidæ. They had, doubtless, enjoyed such privileges from an early time.² To our notion, the easiest explanation is that these two gentes were the leading ones in the phratries of the Parsagadæ tribe of the Persians. The Zend-avesta, or sacred books of the Persians, mentions, in an incidental sort of way, four classes or stages of social organization. They are translated as houses, kins, villages, and provinces. We submit that, in view of what is known of tribal society in general, we can translate these four divisions better by the words *joint-families*, *gentes*, *phratries*, and *tribes*.³

In India we find Aryan-speaking people, and here we must remember we are dealing with a greatly mixed people; but throughout the whole mass, from the purer Aryan people to the aboriginal tribes, we detect the tribal organization. We learn that there are thirty-six so-called pure Aryan tribes. Most of them, not all, are divided into phratries, called *sachas*, and these *sachas* are subdivided into many gentes,⁴ called *gotras*. In Bengal we are dealing with a mixed population, but we learn that the four castes are first subdivided into classes. Each class is in turn divided into smaller bodies, the exact

¹ The pseudo-Smerdis was deposed, and Darius elected in his stead.

² See Rawlinson's note: "Herodotus," Vol. II, p. 477.

³ Hearne: "Aryan Household," Melbourne, 1879, p. 169.

⁴ Ibid., p. 115.

analogue of a gens.¹ In the Sanscrit, four degrees in the social scale are mentioned, corresponding exactly to the four divisions of the Persians.² Each of these divisions appears as a regularly organized body, with a chief at its head.

India has been greatly overrun by conquerors, and for over one hundred years has been a part of the British Empire. Their ancient institutions have become greatly changed; still, at the present day, two of these divisions stand out plainly. These are the joint-family and the gens. This makes it necessary to explain about the village community of India. Scattered all over India are found small villages, each of which is self-governing, and their laws are simply the immemorial customs of the village. They claim a right of possession in the land surrounding their village. The government varies; sometimes it is a village council, sometimes an elected headman, sometimes an hereditary chief.³ Anciently the land was subdivided at stated periods among the households entitled to share. From neglecting the ancient customs of making new subdivisions, these separate lots now pass by inheritance.⁴

We must notice that these villages contain in their midst all that is necessary for their isolated, independent existence. "Besides their headman or council, they contain a village police. . . . They include several families of hereditary traders—the blacksmith, the harness-maker, the shoe-maker; . . . but the person practicing any one of these hereditary employments is a servant of the community."⁵ He also possesses a share

¹ Letter from Rev. G. Mundy, a native Bengalese, to Mr. Morgan: "Ancient Society," p. 363.

² "Aryan Household," p. 289.

³ Maine: "Village Communities," p. 122.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

in the common land, which he holds at a very low rent.¹ The price of his wares or services is fixed by custom, not by competition. We must notice that some callings, such, for instance, as the grain-dealer, who was not needed in primitive times, do not appear as hereditary ones in the community.

This village community is simply the ancient gens. There are the clearest signs of an original equality between all the households composing the gens; but in quite a number of instances the office of chief, or headsman, has become hereditary, at least in certain families. We also notice the trades becoming hereditary; this all works a change in the gens. One great cause tending to break up the gens entirely is that the plots of land have now become hereditary; under English laws they can be taken for debts. Whether the ancient rule of marriage within the gens is still enforced, I can not say; but in almost all accounts of marriage ceremonies in India we notice the bride and groom are from different villages.

We must also notice the joint-family, or subdivisions of the gens. In a Bengal village each joint-family occupies what we might call a homestead. It consists of generally four huts, arranged around the four sides of a slightly elevated platform.² The number of members of a joint-family varies according to circumstances. They include the descendants, both natural and adopted, of a common ancestor; also, servants and dependents. The richer the family may be in land or trade, the longer it can hold together. Instances occur in Calcutta of families numbering as high as four hundred individuals.³ In the

¹ Phear: "Aryan Village," London, 1880, p. 60.

² Ibid., p. 7.

³ Ibid., p. 79.

great majority of cases but two generations live together, because the limited amount of land belonging to the family can not support them. The younger members must give up or sell their portion, and seek a living as best they can; but as long as the family coheres, it is under the rule of the family chief, who is usually the eldest individual of the eldest branch. This chief represents the family in all public affairs; he manages the joint property. Some writers represent his rule as being a despotic one,¹ but others tell us that he is "theoretically responsible, in a certain vague way, to the entire body of joint co-sharers." Probably his power varies in different sections.

Turning to Europe, we will be compelled to pass rapidly along. The Celts were probably the first division of the Aryan race to arrive in Europe. They have had consequently to withstand the pressure of invasion from the other stocks. The Irish, Scotch Highlanders, and Welsh are the most important remnants of this once numerous people. The ancient laws of Ireland, fragments of which still remain to us, give us an insight into the social organization of the people some five hundred years ago. The larger division—the tribe proper—was called the *fine*; this same word is, however, applicable to all of the subdivisions.² At the head of the tribe was a chief, whom the traditions style a king. This tribe was further subdivided into branches; at the head of each was also a chief.³ The unit of division finally appears as the *sept*. This last division—the sept—corresponds quite closely with the village community of India.⁴ The lands

¹ Maine: "Village Communities," p. 113.

² Maine: "Early History of Institutions," p. 90.

³ Laveleye: "Primitive Property," p. 122—Mariott's translation.

⁴ Maine: "Early History of Institutions," p. 122.

of the sept were divided among the households of which it was composed. This occupation was, however, only temporary.¹ The individual did not have the power of disposing of his land. The sept is, in fact, a gens, consisting of a number of related households, governed by a chief, responsible for the acts of one of its numbers or demanding redress for any injury done to one.² The joint-family among the ancient Irish appears in a curiously complicated shape. It consisted of seventeen male members divided into four classes. Each class had a separate name. When the classes were all full, the birth of another male descendant pushed out the oldest member of the first group.

The Scottish Highlanders long retained the tribal system. The following description was written of the Highlanders about 1730: "The Highlanders are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or chieftains, and each clan again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders."³ Mr. Skene's researches show that there were originally six great Highland tribes, containing eighteen great clans (phratries), and that five of these latter were again divided into seventeen small clans (gentes.)⁴ At the head of each of these divisions was a chief. The smaller clans or gentes

¹ "Primitive Property," p. 125.

² Laveleye ("Primitive Property," p. 122) decides that the first division of the tribe given above is the gens. It seems to us that everything we know about it is equally true of the phratric division. This same writer also decides that the sept is the equivalent of the "joint undivided family" of the Hindoos. Maine qualifies this statement, as we have shown. We think the sept is the gens.

³ Skene: "Highlanders of Scotland," London, 1837, Vol. I, p. 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 305.

formed village communities. The lands were divided among the families which composed the gens. A new division was made at stated intervals.¹

Passing now to the Germanic nations of Aryan descent, we can do but little more than glance at the wide field; still, among all the modern nations of old Germanic stock, we trace the elements of the tribal government. In the first century, Tacitus wrote a treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans, and from this we gather much information. At an earlier date still, Cæsar had noted many of their peculiarities. Both of these Romans, however, wrote at a time when their own people had long passed from the tribal stage; hence, in their accounts we have to make due allowance for "mental distance." They describe to us a country inhabited by many independent tribes. In some cases confederacies, or the union of several tribes forming nations, governed by what they called a king, had arisen; still, this was not the universal rule.²

In Cæsar³ we see the principle on which this confederation was brought about: "When a state either repels war waged against it or wages it against another, magistrates are chosen to preside over that war with such authority that they have the power of life and death. In peace there is no common magistrate, but the chiefs of provinces and cantons administer justice and determine controversies among their own people."

Tacitus was struck with the large share that the people still retained of original liberty: "On affairs of smaller moment the chiefs consult; on those of greater

¹ "Early History of Institutions," p. 101.

² Tacitus: "Germania," §§ 25, 43. Freeman: "Growth of the English Constitution," p. 30.

³ "Gallic War," Book VI, p. 23.

importance the whole community. . . . They assemble, unless on some sudden emergency, on stated days. . . . An inconvenience produced by their liberty is that they do not all assemble at a stated time, as if it were in obedience to a command, but two or three days are lost in the delays of convening. When they all think fit they sit down. . . . Then the king or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence are heard, and gain attention rather from their ability to persuade than their authority to command.”¹ We detect but slight references to the smaller divisions of the tribe. Reference is made to cantons and subdivisions. Of their armies we read: “Their squadrons and battalions are not formed by men fortuitously collected, but by the assemblage of families and clans.”² In a religious observance by one tribe, we read that “at a stated time all the people of the same lineage assemble by their delegates in a wood.”³ This seems to refer to the phratry. Of their agricultural habits, Cæsar observes: “Nor has any one a fixed quantity of land or his own individual limits, but the magistrates and the leading men each year apportion to the gens and families living in communities as much land as, and in the place in which, they think proper, and in the year after compel them to remove elsewhere.”⁴

Of late years many writers have been investigating the traces of tribal society among the modern nations of Europe. In this connection we must remember that settled agricultural habits tend to make the land the basis of kinship instead of personal relations. Hence it is that most of the old tribal divisions appear as the names

¹ “*Germania*,” § 11.

² *Ibid.*, § 7.

³ *Ibid.*, § 39.

⁴ “*Gallie War*,” Book VI, p. 22.

of certain territorial expanses. The tribe proper, and the land which it held, were called the *pagus*, or, more commonly, the *gau*; in ancient England the *shire*.¹ This was the territory of an independent people. At its head was the *ealderman*, or civil chief; its forces in war were under the management of the *heretoga*, who might or might not be the same as the *ealderman*. In some cases the *gaugraf* has descended to modern times as a title of nobility—the count.² We might remark that England is full of places which, by their name, indicate that they once were the place of meeting of the shire court.³ The first division of the gau was the *hundreds*, “a name to be found in one shape or another in most lands into which the Teutonic race has spread itself.”⁴ Each hundred had also its chief.⁵ In full keeping with the fact that the phratric organization generally tends to fall to pieces at an early date is an interesting observation by Mr. Gomme: “Among modern institutions, the hundred has always had a tendency to decay. . . . This tendency began early. . . . The hundred was never called upon, as the shire has been, to take part in the movements of modern political necessities.”⁶ In general we know much less about the hundreds than we do about the gau.⁷ The “districts” and “townships” divisions of the German cantons (corresponding to the gau) were hundreds.⁸

The gens finally appears under several names, as the *mark*, the *gemeinde*, the *commune*, or the *parish*. It is an agricultural community exactly like the village communi-

¹ Freeman: “Comparative Politics,” p. 118.

² Laveleye: “Primitive Property,” p. 119.

³ Gomme: “Primitive Folk-moots,” London, 1880, pp. 208, 214.

⁴ “Comparative Politics,” p. 117.

⁵ Ibid., p. 118.

⁶ “Primitive Folk-moots,” p. 104.

⁷ “Comparative Politics,” p. 412.

⁸ Tacitus: “Germania,” §§ 12, 26.

ties of India. Traces of the mark are found in all Germanic countries. The territory of the mark was divided among the joint-families of the gens. This partition was at first temporary only. In some portions of Germany these farming communities still exist, and in others only recently has the practice of periodical partitions been lost.¹ The *allmends* of Switzerland at present are simply the old German marks, but slightly modified. Each mark was under the rule of its elected chief. All through England we come on traces of the old mark system,² but, unhappily, the people have allowed their rights to lapse, and thus the lands have accumulated in the hands of a privileged class.

The joint-family among the Germanic nations can also be detected. Cæsar noticed families "living in association." It is needless to remark that each of the households was represented in council and public assemblies by its chief or leader; he it is who drew by lot the portion of land the family was entitled to.³ The power of this house-father was very great, extending in some cases to the power of life and death;⁴ but the children were released from the control of the house-father when the tribe took them as its members.⁵ We thus find among the Germanic nations clear traces of all the divisions of ancient society: the tribe, the phratry, the gens, and joint-family. We also notice confederacies and nations. Descent was in the male line, and many offices passed by inheritance, thus steadily tending to break up the ancient system.

Turning now to the Slavonians, we will stop to notice

¹ Laveleye: "Primitive Property, p. 112.

² Nasse: "Agricultural Communities."

⁴ Hearne: "Aryan Household," pp. 92, 93,

³ "Primitive Property," p. 116.

⁵ Tacitus: "Germania," § 13.

only two survivals of tribal society. The first is the gens. Tribe and phratry appear to have both disappeared; or, at any rate, the investigation necessary to bring them to light has not yet been made. The gens appears as an agricultural community called the *mir*. It is a complete, independent, and self-governing body, still in active existence. The heads of the joint-families assemble in council, elect their chief or mayor, and discuss and regulate all the affairs of the commune.¹ As, in most of the agricultural communities formed from the old form of the gens, the land is not held in individual ownership, the Russians have resisted the tendency to allow the land to pass by inheritance. Anciently, the land was divided every three years, "and in some parts this ancient custom is still maintained. The period of partition varies at the present day in the different districts. In certain localities partition takes place every six years; in others, every twelve or fifteen years. Every nine years is the most usual period."²

As we might expect, we find in Russia also the joint-family as an existing institution. We read: "Family ties have maintained a force among the Russians . . . which they have lost elsewhere. The family is a sort of perpetual corporation; it is governed by a chief called 'the ancient,' with almost absolute authority. All property is common. There is usually neither succession nor partition. The house, the garden, the agricultural implements, the stock, the produce, movables of every description, remain the collective property of all the members of the family; no one thinks of claiming a separate share. On the death of the father of a family, his authority and administration devolves on the eldest member of the

¹ "Primitive Property," p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

house; in some districts, on the eldest son; in others, on the eldest brother of the deceased, provided he lives under the same roof. In some parts, too, the members themselves elect the new chief. If all the survivors are under age, a relative establishes himself with them and becomes a co-proprietor.”¹

Amongst some people, all the divisions of tribal society have disappeared except the joint-family, but this has shown considerable vitality. This is the case among all the Balkan states of Europe, the inhabitants of which are essentially Slavonian.² In these states the joint-family exists at the present day. It includes, generally, three generations, and comprises from ten to twenty persons; in exceptional cases, as many as fifty or sixty are noted. The amount of land belonging to the family consists of from forty to fifty acres. The dwellings consist of one principal house, the residence of the family chief, containing the large room where the common meals are eaten, and where the family gathers for social purposes; around this are grouped the other dwelling houses. Such a joint-family is called a *zadruga*, the word meaning an association. The chief is called the *gospodar* or *starchina*, the latter word meaning the “older.” It is instructive to notice his powers, as they are not at all despotic.

He is elected by the members of the family. He may be removed from office if his rule is distasteful. He generally resigns when he gets too old to manage the business as it should be done. He is the general manager of the family, buying and selling as occasion requires, and regu-

¹ “Primitive Property,” p. 17.

² The states are Slavonia, Cretia, Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro,

lates the work to be done. But in all this he acts in accordance with the wishes of the family members, and is careful to consult with them on all matters of moment. A matron is also elected to superintend the domestic economy. She is not necessarily the wife of the *gospodar*, but such is the general rule. She directs the education of the young, and is to be consulted in regard to all marriages. The *gospodar* submits from time to time, to the assembled family, a report of his management. Such is the joint-family to-day among the Southern Slavs.

We think, furthermore, that if all the facts were known the rule of the house-father among the Germanic tribes was much less arbitrary than some writers state. They have been too much influenced by what is known of his power among the Romans. At any rate, joint-families exactly on the same plan as the *zadruga* are known to have existed universally throughout France until well into the eighteenth century. A writer as late as 1788, describing one, says: "All the members of the community assemble; a chief is elected by the majority of voices, who takes the title of 'master.' . . . The master, in his character of chief, receives the moneys, sells and buys, ordains reparation, allots to each his tasks, regulates all that concerns the houses, the vintage, and the herds; . . . but . . . having only a deputed authority intrusted to him, he is responsible to those of whom he holds it, and can lose it in the same way as he received it. . . . The internal domestic details are intrusted to a woman. . . . She bears the title of 'mistress;' she directs the women as the 'master' does the men; like him, she is chosen by the majority of votes, and like him may be deposed." At least one such joint-family was described in 1840, and indeed at the present day in Brittany, and in the depart-

ment of Jura, traces still exist. We learn that in Northern Italy substantially similar families are found to-day. "These associations are usually composed of four or five couples living in common in a large farmstead. They recognize the authority of a chief and of a housewife," whose duties are the same as those above described.¹

We will now turn our attention to the ancient Greeks and Romans, and we must preface our remarks by a few words of explanation. A host of eminent scholars have written on the history of these two people. As far as the mere recording of events is concerned they leave little to be desired, but when they undertake to tell us about the social institutions they are not always correct. In regard to Greece, we must reflect that its history was not written until after the political institutions of Cleisthenes (B. C. 509) had become fully established. "Even before the Peloponnesian war, the Greek constitution had ceased to be a development of the ancient institutions. The ancient basis had consumed itself."² History is said to commence with the Olympic games celebrated in the year 776 B. C., but our knowledge of events in Athens before the time of Solon (B. C. 683) is almost a blank.³ Lying back of that time is a long lapse of years, how many we will never know, and our knowledge of the ancient institutions has to be deduced solely from legends and myths which the ancient poets embalmed in verse. It is surely not presumption to ask for a review of their descriptions, and to read their accounts with the fuller knowledge we have now obtained of ancient society.⁴

¹ The facts in regard to the Slavs and others are gathered from Laveleye's valuable work, "Primitive Property," pp. 180-214.

² Niebuhr: "Ancient History," Philadelphia, 1852, Vol. II, p. 394.

³ Greene: "History of Greece," New York, 1855, p. 88.

⁴ This has been well done by Mr. Morgan, in "Ancient Society."

As is well known, the Greeks are a branch of the great Aryan stream. Even the earliest historical gleams show us two principal races of the Greeks—the Dorians and the Ionians.¹ Of the Ionians, the Athenians will be taken as typical; of the Dorians, the Spartans. As far back as we can trace the Athenians, they appear as a nation composed of four tribes. There are traditions of the time when this coalescence took place, which is said to have been caused by the influence of Theseus; but the time at which it occurred long precedes historical records.²

The Ionian tribes first made their appearance in Attica as invaders. The same is true of the Dorians in Peloponnesus. Like all successful invaders, they held the original inhabitants in a state of subjection. At least some of the subject tribes were practically independent, and in course of time they began to urge their claim for a share in the government, and the history of this conflict may be traced in the social revolutions of the ancient cities.

Let us first consider the probable government in the first or heroic age—the age lying beyond the light of history. They were probably in much the same state of life as the Germanic tribes in the time of Tacitus. At the head of the tribe, or confederacy, was a *basileus*. This word is generally translated *king*, but his powers were entirely different from what we generally understand by the powers of a king. Often at least two of these personages appear,³ as among the Spartans. We think the probabilities are that, in the majority of cases, two officers were chosen—one the civil head, the other

¹ Herodotus i, 56.

² Greene: "History of Greece," p. 88.

³ Thirlwall: "History of Greece," New York, 1851, Vol. I, p. 133.

the war chief.¹ The basileus was elected, though the office was doubtless hereditary at first in a certain gens, subsequently in a certain family, and finally it tends to pass by succession from father to son. Though birth might give the son a presumptive right to the office of basileus, it was still necessary for him to be elected.² If therefor unsuited, by reason of age or bodily infirmities, or if personal character was such as not to command respect, the office went to another person.³ The office was for life, but subsequently acquired infirmities of mind or body, by reason of age or accident, necessitated its relinquishment.⁴

The basileus is often described as ruling just as he saw fit. Thus, Greene says: "The authority of the king was not limited by any laws, . . . for the exercise of it he was responsible only to Jove. . . . He had the sole command of his people in war. . . . He was general, judge, and priest."⁵ To the same effect writes Curtius.⁶ There are excellent reasons, however, for denying that the basileus possessed such powers as are here set forth. Thirlwall observes: "It is evident that the kings took no measures and transacted no affairs in their official capacity without the assistance and sanction of the chiefs and people."⁷ In fact it is easy to discover the limited power of the basileus. He appears as directly subordinate to the council.⁸ As their general, he possessed great power in times of war; also, as priest, he

¹ Vol. I, this series, p. 786, note 3.

² Mitford: "Greece," Vol. I, p. 127.

³ Thirlwall: "History of Greece," London, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 168, 169.

⁴ Grote: "History of Greece," New York, 1854, Vol. II, p. 64.

⁵ "History of Greece," p. 25.

⁶ "History of Greece," Ward's translation, London, 1868, Vol. I, p. 139.

⁷ "History of Greece," London, 1835, Vol. I, p. 166.

⁸ Gillie's "History of Ancient Greece," Philadelphia, 1831, p. 27.

was a very influential and respected person.¹ Mitford² makes such a judicious observation that we quote it entire. Speaking of the basileus in ancient times, he observes: "In all civil concerns their authority appears very limited. Everything that remains, concerning government, in the oldest Grecian poets and historians, tends to demonstrate that the general spirit of it among the early Greeks was nearly the same as among our Teutonic ancestors. The ordinary business of the community was directed by the chiefs. Concerning extraordinary matters and more essential interests, the multitude claimed a right to be consulted, and it was commonly found expedient to consult them." In short, we see in the basileus the official head of the confederacy or nation. The same title exactly was used for the tribal chief. He was an elected officer, the first among equals.

Let us now treat of the tribes composing the confederacy or nation. Each appears as a fully organized body, composed of phratries subdivided into gentes. Each gens had its chief, who generally bore the title of *archon*.³ It had its common feast days and its assemblies, where it passed laws binding on all of its members.⁴ The gentes were reunited in phratries, and we notice that the phratries, in some cases, had disappeared. Although it existed in full vitality among the Doric tribes at Sparta, yet it was not found among the Dorians generally.⁵ Among the Spartans this division was called an *obē*. Among the Athenians our word *phratry* makes its appearance. Each phratry had its chief, or *phratriarch*. It had its assemblies and tribunals, and could pass decrees.⁶ Each tribe

¹ Coulanges: "The Ancient City," Small's translation, pp. 231, 239.

² "History of Greece," Vol. I, p. 126. ³ Coulanges: L. C., p. 137. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Müller: "Dorians," Tufnall and Lewis's translation, Vol. II, p. 81.

⁶ Coulanges: "The Ancient City," p. 156.

had at its head a *tribe-basileus*. It bore a name significant of descent from some supposed common ancestor. When tribes coalesced to form a nation, they naturally lost their individuality, but we can detect many references to them.

Almost all writers on Grecian history speak of the tribes and their subdivisions; but not being acquainted with the tribe, phratry, and gens among partially civilized tribes, they have failed to clearly understand and describe them. To still further complicate the question, we must remember that the ancient institutions were early broken down. Back in legendary times the powers in both Sparta and Athens had to break in on the ancient order and make concessions to some of their subject tribes, so that from this time on the divisions appear as modified by legislative enactments. We have seen that each of the divisions and subdivisions of the Grecian tribes were headed by chiefs. It is not necessary to recount how these offices, originally filled by election, tend to become hereditary and descend from father to son. In the accounts of heroic times these chiefs generally appear as the "nobles;" and so early Greece is plentifully provided with "kings" and "noble lords." The accounts given by some writers, thoroughly imbued with European ideas of royalty and nobility, of the charming simplicity of the Greeks of the heroic age are really amusing.

Even kings and nobles, it is said, did not consider it derogatory to acquire skill in the manual arts. "We find it related that Achilles cooked the dinner for the ambassadors who were sent by Agamemnon to visit him in his tent. Ulysses carved and ornamented his bedstead for his bridal chamber; and Nausicaa went to her

father when sitting in the council of his chiefs to ask that she might go down to the river with her handmaids to wash the linen of her household."¹ We have to observe, on this pleasant state of affairs, that in early times any assumption of superiority on the part of the chief or his family would probably have led to his overthrow.

At some unknown time in the past the Dorians invaded the Peloponnesus. In the course of time they acquired the mastery of the greater portion of the peninsula. They were mainly in three tribes—Hylleis, Dymanes and Pamphyli.² These three tribes seem to have coalesced into a nation before the invasion, because each of the invading bands appear to have contained portions of these three tribes, and hence they are found generally in the Dorian cities.³ They found the country already inhabited. Some tribes appear to have been completely subject to them, as the Helots in Sparta; others obtained better terms, as the Periaeci of the same state, and in some cases they seemed to have forced an alliance with their Doric conquerors, and even at Sparta we detect traces of such alliance. Subsequently, Sparta, by her military prowess, obtained the supremacy in the peninsula. Sparta was always very conservative in her form of government, clinging to the traditions of the past; consequently, it will well repay close examination.

We note first the significant fact that the confederation or nation had two official heads—two “kings.” The probabilities are that, especially at an early day, one represented the civil power and one the military power, though in process of time they appear as equals. The office passed by succession. It is instructive to notice the

¹ Frost: “Greece,” Philadelphia, 1842, p. 23.

² Müller's “Dorians,” Vol. II.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

powers of these "kings." In time of war their power was certainly very great; when they had passed the boundaries of Sparta they had no superior. They were also national priests. As such they interpreted the oracles and presided over the sacrifices. As judges they presided in those cases where the general government was concerned. In civil affairs their power was nothing more than any other phratrie chief. They formed part of the council, but their vote counted no more than any other individual. Their power and its limitation is most significant when we consider that it was probably similar to the royal power of the heroic age.¹

The tribes composing the nation retained to a late day a considerable degree of individuality or power. It is generally stated that there were three tribes at Sparta; the fact is, we do not know the exact number.² We think there are good reasons for concluding that there were five tribes; this because five superior officers, representing the civil power, known as *ephors*, make their appearance. It is generally stated that one was chosen from each of the divisions of the city. But if we only reflect on the power they exercised, we see that they must have each represented a tribe or a division of a tribe; furthermore, the divisions of the city of Sparta can only represent the tribes composing it.³ In short, the easiest way is to conclude that the five ephors represent the five chiefs of the five Spartan tribes.⁴

These ephors certainly represent the whole collected

¹ Müller: L. C., Vol. II, p. 100.

² Thirlwall: "History of Greece," New York, 1851, p. 131; also, appendix to same. ³ Müller; L. C., p. 48.

⁴ Grote ("Greece," Vol. II, p. 362, note 1) shows that we have no certain knowledge of the number of tribes at Sparta, but states that Barthelemy makes this number five.

body of the Spartan nation. Their powers are generally spoken of as gradually encroaching on those of the kings. We think they always had more power in civil affairs. They transacted business with foreign ambassadors. They, as representatives of the people, signed treaties of peace. Once every month they required from the kings an oath by which they bound themselves to rule according to law, and in return for this they promised, in the name of the people, to uphold their authority. They gave instructions relative to carrying on war. They remained seated when the kings passed by, but the kings were bound to rise in honor of them. The kings were liable to be called before them for trial, and punishment was inflicted on them if found guilty. They even suspended the kings from office if they thought the gods were displeased with them.¹ In fact, the Spartan kings appear simply as hereditary generals and priests.

We are not to suppose, however, that the ephors possessed arbitrary authority. They were simply executive officers, each probably representing a tribe. The old council of chiefs remained as a most essential part of the government. Here, however, it is not the chiefs of the gentes that form the main part of the council, but the chiefs of the phratries, or the *obes*. This council was known as the *gerusia* or "assembly of elders." It is generally stated to have consisted of thirty members;² but Grote shows that there is no real authority for this conclusion.³ Originally, it is not probable that each tribe would contain the same number of phratries, but by legislative enactments this might have been brought about.

¹ Smith: "Dictionary of Antiquities," article on Ephors; also, Müller's "Dorians," Vol. II, p. 122.

² Müller: L. C., p. 80; Greene's "Greece," p. 65.

³ "History of Greece," Vol. I, p. 361.

To this assembly the kings, as representing the nation, belonged and presided over its sessions. It is not stated anywhere that the ephors sat in this council, yet they probably did. Müller observes: "They must, in early times, have had the privilege of proposing laws." This could only have been to the gerusia; besides, when the gerusia sat as a court to try noted offenders, as a king, the ephors sat with them.¹ The conservatism of Sparta appears in that they did not allow this office of chief of the phratries to become hereditary; it was always elective. This council prepared laws to be laid before the assembly. It also exercised judicial authority.

Still, a law passed in due form by the gerusia had to meet the approval of the popular assembly before it was duly enacted. This assembly was composed of all citizens above the age of thirty. They did not originate measures; their power was to vote on measures submitted to them by the gerusia. The only ones who could address them were the ephors and members of the gerusia. Yet this assembly was supreme. It only could declare war, or make a binding treaty of peace. All affairs of great moment had to be settled by its vote. The time of meeting was at each full moon, but on occasions of emergency it could be called at any time.

We have now discussed the most strongly marked characteristics of the Spartans that betray the organization of ancient society. We do not know what part the gentes, as such, took in the government. They undoubtedly were in existence. It is supposed that there were thirty in each *obe*, or phratry. They must have been fully organized, each with its own chief. We know that the army was marshaled according to tribes, phratries, and

¹ Müller: L. C., pp. 123-125.

gentes.¹ It is probable, though we have no authority for the statement, that when a general assembly convened the people assembled by gentes. Neither do we know very much about the joint-family. Indeed, at Sparta, the authority of the state overrode family ties. Yet the custom in relation to holding land gives us considerable light on the point.

When the Dorians possessed themselves of Peloponnesus, the territory was divided among the tribes; and thus Sparta had a communal domain of great extent. But when history throws a light on the scene, the only owners of property seem to have been the gentes.² Land seems to have been divided by the officers of the gentes among the families composing them. Plutarch tells us that when a child was born the elders of the tribe assigned it a lot. But the officers he here speaks of were probably officers of the gens.³ On the death of the head of the family there was no partition. All the children remained grouped around the common hearth. One of the brothers, the most capable, and, as a rule, the oldest, by reason of the sacred privileges of his birth, regulated the community, and was called the "lord of the hearth."⁴

If Sparta shows us the conservative element in Grecian history, Athens shows us the progressive element; and hence a review of her institutions and history will show us the conflict between ancient society and the forces of advancing civilization, before which the organization of ancient times gave way for those of modern society. When the Ionians entered Attica is unknown; as there is so much doubt and uncertainty and clashing of opinion on the part of those who are entitled to express an opinion,

¹ Müller: *L. C.*, Vol. II, p. 244.

² Laveleye: "Primitive Property," p. 159.

³ Müller: *L. C.*, p. 209.

⁴ Laveleye: *L. C.*

we can only make general reference. There seems to have been once a time when there were twelve independent tribes in what is now Attica. They were, however, probably loosely confederated under the head of the Cecropidæ at Athens. Thucydides thus describes this period: "People . . . lived in cities having their own prytaneums and archons, and when not in fear of danger did not consult their basileus, but governed their own affairs separately, according to their own councils."¹ In this description we are to recognize the *prytaneums* as the tribal chiefs and archons as the gens chiefs. In times of danger we notice they confederate under a common basileus, or war chief.

Time passed on, and four tribes in the immediate vicinity of Athens seem to have acquired a closer union, and, perhaps, gained a supremacy over the remaining tribes. The four coalescing tribes were the *Geleontes*, *Hopletes*, *Argades*, and *Ægicores*. They coalesced into one people, having a common basileus; yet each tribe was fully organized, having a tribe basileus, and having both phratries and gentes with appropriate officers. We are not for a moment to suppose that the common basileus had the powers of a king. But all historical knowledge of these early times was long ago lost. The neighboring tribes (perhaps they were not fully organized tribes) were closely related to these four. Whatever degree of subjection, if any, there was between them tended to wear away in time. They were continually pressing for a share in the government. Finally, when that legendary personage Theseus was basileus, he made the first concessions to them. The four tribes, the ruling class, were set aside by themselves as a class known as *Eupatrides*; the

¹ Laveleye: Book II, chap. xv.

surrounding tribes, or portions of tribes, formed two other classes, known as *Geomori* and *Demirugi*. They were probably given some share in the government, but the great part of power still lay in the four tribes first set forth.¹

From the time of Theseus to Solon is an unknown period, probably extending over several centuries. During all this time we know but very little of the society or government at Athens. We know of some changes taking place, and we will probably not be in error if we ascribe these changes to the growing influence of the mass of the people, and especially of those without the pale of the four dominant or Eupatride tribes, who were continually pressing for the overthrow of the old established order of things. We notice a change in the title of the basileus; he was called the *archon*. As far as we can make out, this was simply a change of name, and not of authority;² but we may imagine that the people generally had something to do with this change. This office was still hereditary and for life, but we see plainly that it was of limited power only. A further change was in limiting its duration to a period of ten

¹ This is saying a good deal. However, this view seems consistent with all accounts obtainable. Remember, this was all before the dawn of history. For authority for rejecting the generally received story of Ionian invasion, see Coulanges' "The Ancient City," p. 172, note p. 173. For authority that the first four tribes formed the Eupatride class, and had nothing to do with the other two classes, see Malden's "History of Rome," p. 140. This view will explain the six legislative archons at the time of Solon. See Smith's "Dictionary," article on Tribes. This explains the opposition to Theseus on the part of the Eupatrides; they were no longer the sole power in the government. This will clear away the difficulty arising from the fact that the four tribe-basileuses were all Eupatrides. See Thirlwall, "Greece," Vol. II, p. 10. The two classes *Geomori* and *Demirugi* may have largely consisted of individuals, families, and gentes not connected with any tribe. See Morgan's "Ancient Society," pp. 26, 657; Grote's "Greece," Vol. III, p. 65.

² Coulanges: "Ancient City," p. 322.

years. The right seems still to have remained hereditary in a certain gens. At length we come to a great change in the government which we can only explain as the result of the continued agitation on the part of the mass of the people not connected with the four Eupatride tribes for a share in the government.

The office of archon was limited to one year's time; but the office was thrown open to the mass of the people generally, and, further, nine archons were chosen in the place of one. We must examine this number of archons; they certainly had some good reason for taking that number. We may be very sure that each tribe would demand an equal representation in this executive board. We gain an insight into the facts of the case when we learn the names and titles of the archons. Three of them represented the nation in its collective capacity, and divided between them the powers of the old basileus. The first was called, by way of preëminence, *the* archon; the year was named after him; he represented the civil power. The second one represented the priestly power of the king; he was called the *archon-basileus*; he was the high priest. The third one represented the war chief; he was the commander-in-chief; his title was the *polemarch*. The remaining six archons bore the significant title of *thesmothetes*, literally meaning "legislators." Now these are the ones that must have represented divisions of the Athenian people. In other words, they must each have represented a tribe.¹ We see in this revolution

¹ Herodotus, relating an insurrection supposed to have taken place B. C. 620, says that Athens was then under the direction of the "prytanes of the naucraries." The naucraries were political divisions analogous to the gentes, so that this expression means "tribal chiefs." Thucydides, in describing the same event, states that Athens was under the control of the archons. Much effort has been made to reconcile these statements. In our opinion both are right. The six archons represented tribes; each was a "prytane of the naucraries."

simply the admission to equal political rights, along with the old Eupatride tribes of the two classes of Theseus, the Geomori and the Demirugi. They had at length achieved political recognition.

But these two classes, who had finally forced their way into a share of the government, compelling an unwilling recognition from the four Eupatride tribes, were probably composed, to some extent, of unrelated individuals, families, and gentes. They were unacquainted with any form of organization except that of tribes, phratries, and gentes; they were, therefore, organized on substantially the same basis. But a new set of names make their appearance; the *naucrary* is used for gens, and *trittyarch* for a tribe. Whether these names took the place of the older divisions in the Eupatride tribes we can not say. In these two organizations were contained the germs of the township and county. They were in a sense territorial divisions. This institution is generally accredited to Solon, but we know that these divisions long precede his time.¹ We would prefer to trace it, at least, as far back as the substitution of nine archons in place of one.

This executive board of archons possessed no arbitrary power. Our knowledge of these far-away times is so very limited that we can not speak with assurance on this subject. However, we detect in the dim past a council or court of Ephetae. Its number is generally stated to have been fifty-one, but this is probably true only of the latter stages. We have but little doubt that at its origin it was a council of chiefs of phratries. When the commonalty had succeeded in their efforts to share in the government, this old court continued to exist, but with dimin-

¹ Smith's "Dictionary," article on Naucrary.

ished functions. It seems quite evident that for a time the government of the four Eupatride tribes would continue to exist side by side with the new government, though always with decreasing influence; such, at any rate, was the fate of this old council. But when the government of the six tribes came into existence, it also required some such a select council. From its place of meeting, it was called the "Council of the Areopagus." It also must have represented tribal divisions. In addition to this select council, corresponding to the *gerusia* of Sparta, we have traces of another larger council, composed of probably three hundred members.¹ These members could only have represented divisions of the tribes. If we are correct in supposing six tribes, there must have been fifty to the tribe.

When we finally emerge into the light of history, the first figure that strikes us is that of Solon. When he became archon the social evils in Attica had become almost unbearable. He attempted a reformation. The laws he produced, bearing on the internal affairs, we need not here discuss; but if we interpret his laws in reference to government, it seems to have been a step backward. He seems to have left, for most purposes, the old organization in tribes as he found it. He made a division of the people into four classes, founded upon wealth in land. Now, if we will reflect on ancient customs in regard to holding land—how in most cases alienation was impossible, and how in Greece the "Roman idea of absolute property was always foreign;"² how property descended from family to family, not to individuals; how the gens is the absolute owner and divides up the land among the

¹ Thirlwall's "Greece," Vol. II, p. 41.

² Laveleye: "Primitive Property," p. 158.

families composing it—we will probably be ready to admit with Niebuhr¹ that the first effect of his division was to remove from a share in the government those members in the existing tribes who had become poor.

These classes were simply different grades of the people in regard to eligibility of office. From the first class only could be elected the archons and highest magistrates. We do not know wherein the second class surpassed the third in privileges, but it probably did surpass them.² The fourth class was excluded from all offices, but they were permitted to take part in the public assemblies and in some forms of judicial proceedings. There is certainly no advance in political life here set forth. But we can go further: he composed his senate of four hundred members, taking one hundred from each of the four Eupatride tribes. This was certainly a backward step. He formed, however, the popular assembly in which all the citizens met to discuss and determine public matters. This assembly did not originate new measures; only discussed and modified, if deemed advisable, those submitted to them from the senate. All classes of citizens were by this law given a share in the government. We must also notice the court of the Areopagus, composed of the ex-archons (probably not wholly so), who exercised not only criminal jurisdiction, but exercised a sort of superintendency over public morals.

On the whole, the legislation of Solon was a strange mixture of progressive and antiquated ideas; that is, in reference to their political effect; his fame chiefly rests on his laws concerning internal economy. Like most compromises, it failed of pleasing either party, and his

¹ "History of Rome," Vol. II, p. 307.

² Niebuhr: L. C., Vol. I, note 1017.

laws had scarcely gone into effect before trouble commenced. The same results occurred in Athens that had taken place in so many other Grecian states. The masses of the people, dissatisfied with the existing government, combined with an ambitious member of one of the elder tribes and made him their *tyrant*, who answers very nearly to what we understand by a king. Almost all the ancient tyrannies originated in this way. They were the results of efforts of individuals, families, gentes, possibly tribes, for a participation in the government, which the elder tribes, who had first coalesced to form the city, were unwilling to grant. Peisistratus became tyrant of Athens. We must not understand by this some harsh ruler, for this was not the case. For fifty years he and his family held this power. Their rule was in the main just. They upheld the laws of Solon, and Athens flourished. Sparta at length interfered, and the family of Peisistratus was banished.

Cleisthenes, who now came to the head of affairs, succeeded in making the change from tribal society to modern political society. He dispensed with the old tribal divisions altogether. He divided Attica into ten tribes, the tribes being subdivided into *demes*. These resembled the old tribes and gentes. Like the old gens, each deme was fully organized. It elected its *demarch* and other magistrates. It even had its own worship, its priest and its temple. But, and in this consists the great innovation, in the first place, all the freemen of Athens, whether they had formerly been connected with a tribe and gens or not, belonged to some deme; and secondly, men were distributed in these demes, not according to birth or property, but according to locality.

Ten of these demes made up a local tribe, in a large

measure an independent body, electing its tribal officers; but here, also, it was locality which determined the tribe to which a person belonged. Thus, after some centuries of almost steady progress towards this end, the old government, resting on personal relations, was overthrown. Whatever organization of the old tribes that still remained grew fainter and fainter. Of course survivals of old times meet us far down in history, but the new order of things was firmly established. This event is supposed to have occurred about 509 B. C., and marks a most important event in the history of Greece. Athens rose rapidly into influence and distinction under the new political system.

For the purpose of illustrating the former general prevalence of tribal society and the gradual growth of modern political society, no people would serve for a better example than the Romans. We can not do better, then, than to give a brief outline of as much of their history as will serve this purpose; at the same time, only the most general outline can be given. An entire volume would not suffice for all the details. From a very early time, Italy was doubtless thickly settled. The light of history only penetrates a few centuries before Christ with any clearness of detail. We speedily come to the debatable ground between history and fable, and finally perceive that almost all the elements of true history have vanished. We are not lacking so-called histories going back to the supposed foundation of Rome, placed about the middle of the eighth century B. C. It is now generally admitted that the accounts given by Livy and others of those early times rest on nothing but traditions, and are not to be understood as true accounts. We are at perfect liberty to review these traditions and see how they fall in with our present knowledge.

The first inhabitants of Italy, with the possible exception of the Etruscans, of which we have any definite knowledge, were off-shoots of the great Aryan stream. Like all the members of this family, their primary divisions were the tribe, phratry, and gens. They were agricultural and grazing people, and hence their organization shows itself in their customs in reference to the holding of land. The gens appears as a village community laying claim to a definite expanse of surrounding territory. The gens was a fully organized body, having its elective chief, who was also its high priest. The land of the gens was divided among the joint-families composing it.¹ A small amount only was private property. It comprised the space necessary for a house, court-yard, and garden. This is stated to have been two *jugura* (about one and a quarter acres) in extent. The remainder of the gens land was held in joint ownership.²

The joint-family of which we have just spoken, doubtless much like the joint-families we have already described, underwent some modifications among the Romans. The household chief came to have more and more despotic power. We are told that he was supreme in his household. "He was amenable to no earthly tribunal; no authority, either public or private, could stay his hand or punish his severity. He might divorce his wife or kill his son, and no person could question his conduct."³ And such is the general conclusion of writers on this subject, and yet we think this gives a wrong impression. We find clear traces of a family council, and, beyond a doubt, the house chief was expected to act by its advice.⁴ In

¹ Laveleye: "Primitive Property," p. 164.

² Mommsen: "History of Rome," New York, 1861, Vol. I, p. 63.

³ Hearne: "Aryan Household," p. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Roman law a son was never free from the authority of his father while his father's life continued. The daughter passed, by marriage, from the authority of her father to that of her husband. We know very little indeed in regard to the law of property. In early ages the head of the family was simply steward of the family property. He could not dispose of the land. The land and the family remained together. Only at a subsequent day was family property permitted to be divided among several sons.¹

A number of gentes were reunited as a phratry. In the majority of cases we have no knowledge whatever of the phratry. Remember that it is a constant tendency of this organization to disappear. It revives, however, as we shall soon see, in the case of the three tribes at Rome, and probably it was a constant phenomena among all the tribes in ancient Italy;² but the tribes appear as composed of a number of these village communities having a common stronghold. The government was that which we have already fully discussed. At its head was an elected chief, governing not by any arbitrary right, but by the assistance of a council of the chiefs of the gentes, and back of this still lay the assembly of warriors.³ This was an exact picture of the state of affairs discovered by Tacitus some centuries afterwards among the Germans, and it is illustrative of the great advance made by the Romans at his time that he failed to understand the organization of the Germans, which had once been that of his own people. Each of these tribes was independent, save that it might have been subject to tribute to some

¹ Coulanges: "Ancient City," p. 91.

² See on this point Niebuhr: "Rome," London, 1851, p. 26.

³ Mommsen: *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66.

stronger tribe. Confederacies, or the union of several tribes under a common head, were not unknown. We have a tradition of such a confederacy, of which, however, we possess almost no historical knowledge, in the confederacy of thirty Latin tribes under the leadership of the tribe at Alba.

Turning our attention more particularly to Rome, we conclude, from all accounts attainable, that at a time long preceding the dawn of authentic history a Latin tribe, which afterwards was called *Ramnes* (what its name was in the earlier stages we perhaps do not know with certainty), had its stronghold on the Palatine hill. The gentes composing this tribe must have had their locations along the left bank of the Tiber towards the sea, for in that direction only did her territory extend.¹ This was a fully organized independent tribe. How many gentes composed it at first we do not know; afterwards, when it had assumed a more or less artificial form, it consisted of one hundred gentes, reunited in ten phratries called *curies*. At its head was the tribal chief, called *rex*, who was the leader of its forces in war, its high priest, and executive officer.

Its senate, consisting of one hundred members, was composed of the chiefs of the gentes. Its general assembly was called the *meeting of the curies*. The votes were taken by curies; probably those having the right to vote were simply the heads or chiefs of the joint households. This assembly did not discuss measures, but simply voted on them after their purport had been explained by the *rex*. Yet it was the supreme body, and no important step would be taken by the council until it had been consulted.

Far back in the ages, we find evidence that the Sabines,

¹ Niebuhr: *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 289.

a people closely related to the Latins, appeared as an invading and conquering host. A tribe of these people, the *Tities*, took possession of a hill adjoining that on which the Ramnes had settled. It, too, was a completely organized independent tribe, divided into gentes and curies, under the leadership of a rex. For a time, we may suppose, the strongholds of these two people defiantly faced each other—one on the Palatine, the other on the Quirinal, hill; but, judging from traditions, they soon confederated together. This confederacy was at first a loose one, each remaining independent in government, each under the leadership of its own rex. But soon the union grew stronger. The senates of the two tribes form one united body of two hundred members; a common rex is chosen to command the common forces. A third tribe also appears in the traditions—the *Luceres*. But we know but very little about this tribe, or when it joined the confederacy, or what elements composed it. The first two tribes seem to have considered themselves the superiors of the third.

By legislative enactments these three tribes—the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres—who long before the dawn of history had thus coalesced into one nation, were divided each into one hundred gentes, reunited in each tribe into ten curies. Each tribe had its appropriate officers, but as the tribal union became more complete, they tend to disappear, but even to a late day we recognize them in the names and titles of the military leaders.¹ The executive officer appears in traditions as the *king*. It is generally supposed that but one of these officers was elected at a time. We question, however, if the traditions do not show the existence of at least two of these officials—one to represent the civil and priestly power, and one to command the

¹ Ihne's "Rome," London, 1871, p. 114.

forces. Dr. Ihne thinks it probable that a general was appointed by the priest-king to command the army.¹ It is far from likely that such an important officer would be appointed by the king; more probably he was elected by the senate or the general assembly. It is well known that the city warden, in the absence of the king, exercised almost exactly his powers.² This officer was probably the same as the first senator. Ten of the senators of the Ramnes were known as the "Ten First;" they were probably the chiefs of the ten curies, and the first one among them was the *first senator*. He was the president of the senate. On the death of the king, the government at once devolved on him, but at the end of five days another of the ten took his place. He was probably one of the tribal chiefs, in early days probably chief of the Ramnes.³ We shall probably not err if we conclude that he was really a second executive officer.⁴ The legislative power appears in the senate composed of three hundred members, in which we at once recognize the chiefs of the gentes composing the three tribes, one hundred in each tribe. The supreme authority finally appears in the *comitia curiata*, or general assembly of the three tribes, where they met and voted by curies. They did not discuss measures decreed by the senate, but simply voted to accept or reject the same.

The three tribes organized as above set forth formed the nucleus of the Roman power. They were the *Patrician* class, like the four Eupatride tribes at Athens. They were the only privileged class in ancient Rome. From

¹ "Early Rome," New York, 1875, p. 106.

² Mommsen: "History of Rome," Vol. I, p. 98.

³ Niebuhr: "Rome," Vol. I, p. 331.

⁴ He was *Tribunus-Celeram*, and *Celeres* was but another name for the three tribes in a military sense. (Niebuhr.)

their strong, easily defended positions on the hills of Rome they commenced to send out their marauding bands, with the object of reducing the surrounding country to subjection. The petty tribes inhabiting the immediate vicinity were either driven off or subjected. Their ancient organization was largely broken up; their land was largely confiscated for use of the Patrician tribes. Such of the inhabitants as remained were allowed to hold a small portion of land and cultivate other portions for the benefit of the Patricians. In some cases, prisoners taken in war were also settled on these lands. This subject population was known as the *Plebeians*; some of the Plebeians, as a special mark of favor, perhaps, were allowed to attach themselves to Patrician households, in which case they were known as *Clients*.¹

We are now presented with a state of things almost exactly similar to what prevailed in Athens, and events took almost exactly the same course of development. A struggle commences between the ruling and subject classes; between the Patricians and the Plebeians a struggle extending over an unknown period of time, ending in the final triumph of the people; and, in the course of that struggle, ancient society gave way to modern political society.

Unfortunately we have only the faintest historical light to aid us to a clear understanding of the gradual progress of this struggle. A very great advance was made towards the close of the kingly period, yet before the dawn of history. This advance was effected by means of a reorganization of the army. The Plebes had been called upon to serve in the army. They no doubt were the means of winning many substantial victories for Rome.

¹ Ihne's "History of Rome," Vol. I, p. 109.

But the only ones to profit by the same were the Patricians. The confiscated lands were tilled for their benefit; the tribute wrung from subject tribes went to increase their comfort and wealth. We may well suppose the Plebes were not pleased with this arrangement. But what could they do? The only organized government was in the hands of the Patricians. The army was largely composed of Patricians.

Several writers have supposed that the kings were anxious to increase their power by attaching the Plebes to their cause. In Grecian states we have seen how tyrannies arose in this way. One writer passes in review the traditional history of the kings to show that in general the kings sided with the Plebes, and consequently acquired the enmity of the Patricians.¹ We can easily understand the motives which influenced them. "The ambition of the kings was to cut loose from the old principle of government, which limited the exercise of their power. The ambition of the Plebeians was to break the ancient barriers which excluded them from the religious and political associations." Hence the tacit alliance.

The king who appears in traditions as the special ally of the Plebeians was Servius Tullius. A number of important changes are connected with his reign. We know, perhaps, nothing positively about this king or his reign, but the following account is consistent with all attainable traditions: He gained possession of the throne by stratagem. The senate appears never to have recognized his rule. He proceeded to make friends with the Plebeians, at that time the most numerous class. He proceeded to organize this commonalty as local tribes. He formed thirty local tribes, each being territorial and having known boundaries. Twenty-six of these tribes

¹ Coulanges: "The Ancient City," pp. 324, 327.

were country tribes; four were from the city. These local tribes did not contain any of the old Patrician tribes; they still retained their ancient organization. Here was the germ of modern political society, but it failed in several respects. It did not break up the old tribes and include their members in the ranks of the local tribes. The government still remained in the hands of the Patricians. They still had the senate, and all offices of the general government were filled by Patricians.

Still another step was taken by this king which subsequently proved of great assistance to the Plebeians. He reorganized the army. Remember that in early times the army and the people are the same thing. He arranged all the people into five classes, on the basis of wealth. To these five classes must be added the Equestrian order. The military duties of the people, their position in the army, was now made dependent on wealth. In the army, then, the Patricians and Plebeians now fought side by side. They obeyed a common officer, belonged to the same division, were arranged under the same banner. A most important change went along with this reorganization. The army, as reorganized, formed the new general assembly, to which was confided the final decisions of all important questions.

We are here presented with an anomalous government. The three Patrician tribes, strictly organized on the basis of ancient society, were really the ruling class; they still held the senate and all general offices. The commonalty was organized in territorial tribes, but as such they had no share in the government. The military organization was the only arrangement which gave the Plebeians a share in the government; and here the equality was largely in appearance only, for the Patricians

belonged almost wholly to the wealthier classes. The Plebeians, doubtless, were almost confined to the four lower classes,¹ and these four classes together did not probably have more votes than the first class.² Still, a great advance had been won by the common people.

We have suggested that the kings were largely concerned in advancing the interests of the Plebeians. The Patricians, therefore, detested the kings. It is not surprising, consequently, to read of a change in the government occurring soon after the changes above set forth. Exactly the same change takes place as did at Athens. The kings for life are replaced by year kings; that is, with the exception of the priest-king, who was still chosen for life. The civil and military powers of the king (or kings, as the case may be) were confided to two consuls, who held office for one year at a time.

It is not necessary to carry this investigation further. The whole history would simply show the growing importance and power of the Plebeians; they gradually force a share in the government. Tribunes are appointed to represent them, as the consuls do the Patricians. The Patricians are always jealous of their rights and privileges, but one after another they have to be shared with the Plebeians. The senate and highest offices of the state are at length thrown open to them. They obtain equal rights in the eyes of the law, and at length force a recognition of equal social privileges; but their organization, we must remember, was territorial, and not personal, and so their triumph meant the overthrow of ancient society among the Romans.³

¹ Ihne's "Rome," Vol. I, p. 140.

² Ibid., p. 68, note 1.

³ In this brief sketch we have given an outline which we think consistent with all the traditions of early Rome. The student should consult Niebuhr's

Our object in this chapter has been to trace the gradual evolution of social organization for governmental purposes. We have found that three different systems have been employed. At first society was organized on the basis of sex. Manifestly this was suited only for tribes in a very low scale of development. That form of society has mainly disappeared, though plain traces of it still exist in the class divisions of the Australian system. Judging from the system of relationship, it was once of very wide, probably universal, extent. It was succeeded by tribal society, based on kin; that is, personal relations. This latter system has in part given way to modern political society, based on territory, which change can be clearly traced among all the Aryan nations.

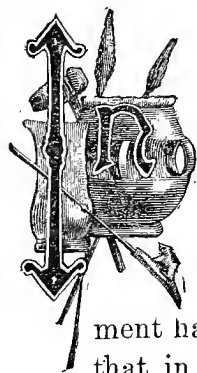
Each of these changes represents a great advance—a conquest achieved by man. Going along with advance in the direction here pointed out, we may be quite sure, was a corresponding advance in culture. Improved weapons and tools, the domestication of animals, and a knowledge of agriculture, were a part of the achievements keeping company with this advance in social organization. We may be sure that advance, as here designated, was not the result of spasmodic effort, nor the fruit of a few years' exertion. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, advancing intelligence called into being new wants, new aspirations; suggested modification of previous customs; demanded new measures. As the night grows into the day, so did the darkness of barbarism grow into the light of civilization.

"History of Rome;" Ihne's "History of Rome;" also, by same author, "Early Rome;" and Schwegler's "Römische Geschichte." These authors all represent modern ideas in regard to Rome. Dyer's "History of the Kings of Rome" presents the other side. Mommsen's "History of Rome" is valuable, but we can not agree with his sketch of the kingly office and power.

CHAPTER III.

PRIMITIVE CULTURE

Introduction—Study of the Past—The Patriarchal form of Government—First Authority Personal—Evolution of the Gens Chief--Evolution of Tribal Chief—The Tribal Council—Change from election to hereditary descent—The power of ancient kings—The development of ancient law—The chiefs the first judges—Individual rights and wrongs unknown—Power of the House-father—The status of the joint family--Individual property at first unknown--Origin of law codes--Influence of property in developing civilization--Origin of property in land—Influence of property in developing law--Development of the useful arts--Indian picture writing--The symbolical stage--Indian hieratic writing—Development of Chinese writing—Peculiarities of Chinese writing—Egyptian writing—Hieroglyphic writing--Cuneiform writing—Development from picture writing—Origin of the alphabet--General conclusions.



PREPARING the way for a clear knowledge of ancient life and times, it seems necessary to pass in review the gradual growth in culture of people in prehistoric times. In this connection only the briefest outline can be given. Such a review will show that certain great laws of development have always been at work, and will also show that in general a race does not make advance in any given direction, without a corresponding advance in all directions. If improvement takes place in social organization, we straightway notice a corresponding improvement in the art of government, in law, and in religious conceptions. What further conclusions follow from this statement, we will discuss further on.

We seem to have clearly established the fact that the

progress of human life on the globe has been continued throughout a long period of time. We are not to picture to ourselves a series of great and sudden changes during this past time, or imagine that natural laws, or the course of nature were different from what they have been during the historic period. The older school of geologists imagined the change from one geological age to another to be due to some sudden and awful cataclysm. Their disciples to-day know of nothing but slow acting causes. There are volcanoes and earthquakes to-day, and there always have been these agents of destruction, carrying desolation to a large area of country; but, after all, the effect they produce is not for a moment to be compared to the majestic uplift of continents continued throughout unknown thousands of years.

Distance lends enchantment to the view and this is true of distance in time, or culture as well as in space. We must not picture to ourselves any imposing movement of people in prehistoric times. There were to be sure immigrations, invasions and conquests, but these movements were slow and deliberate, and conquests were not the foundations of empires but the conquered tribes were simply driven away or exterminated, it was only when a comparatively high stage of culture had been reached that they were allowed to keep possession of their ancient homes, on condition of paying tribute to their conquerors. The movement which carried the Aryans from Asia to Europe was doubtless spread over many centuries of time, much slower than that subsequent migration which, within the last few centuries, has so largely peopled the new world with their descendants.

The picture we would form of the past has nothing in it that is strange or phenomenal. We can but dimly pic-

ture to ourselves the slow spread of the black races over the eastern world. We notice their low development, their scanty culture, their stationary life. We picture to ourselves the ages come and go while they were the only ones to enjoy this fair world of ours. When the yellow races appear, they seem to every where have pushed the black races before them. An advance in culture is at once noticed. Improved tools announce that the Neolithic age is at hand. The yellow races spread themselves over the world. Later still the white races appear on the scene. When they commenced to spread, they found themselves confronted everywhere by the yellow races. They carried to successful termination, the art of working metals. Thus a great progressive career is made possible. Letters are invented, coins are struck ; the light of civilization begins to glow here and there, in many cases only to expire in night, but finally the conquest is made permanent.

It may be well to see what results follow from an investigation of the evolution of the different departments of government. By the word government we understand the several departments of the State, as the Legislative, Executive, Judicial, etc. If we have never had occasion to think over the question, it probably strikes us at first that all these departments are perfectly natural, and that men would make provisions for them as soon as they felt the necessity for any government at all. This, however, is far from the facts of the case. Men had to feel their way cautiously and slowly to all the departments of governmental activity.

Our ideas in this respect vary somewhat, according to our views in regard to social organization, as set forth in the previous chapter. Some, probably the most, of the old writers started with the assumption that the family

(in our modern sense) was the starting point of all society ; and, as the family developed into the gens, and the gens into the tribe, there was always an official head to this growing and developing society. They assumed further that this " head " simply exercised in a larger sphere the powers of a house-father among the Romans. That is to say that he possessed arbitrary, despotic power governing all under him according to his own will and pleasure. As the father governed his family, so did the chief govern his clan, and the king his people ; with no one to review his actions.¹

This was called the patriarchal form of government, and was supposed to be the natural one, the most ancient in point of time, the one from whence all others were derived. But if we are not mistaken in the conclusions set forth in the preceding chapter, the patriarchal is but one form of the joint family, which did not come into existence until a comparatively recent time.²

Nor has society taken this form of development in all cases. We can not therefore acquiesce in these views. Whether we can indicate the probable lines of advance, or the order in which the various departments of government made their appearance as something distinct from the general mass is perhaps doubtful. We will, however, attempt it, keeping constantly in mind the social organization as already mapped out, though we must be very brief in this matter.

It is only when considerable relative advance had been gained that we detect the beginning of government. At first, authority is only personal and temporary. It is ac-

¹ See *Quarterly Review*, January, 1836.

² In addition to authorities quoted in previous chapter consult "*The Patriarchal Theory*" by McLennan, London, 1885.

quired by reason of age, strength, or sagacity. Within the communal band, already treated of, this could have been the only form of authority known. It to-day characterizes a number of races who are low in development. It is true of Bushmen, Fuegians, Andaman Islanders, Veddahs, most Australian tribes, Tasmanians, New Guinea tribes, some tribes in Northern Asia (Kamtschadales) Eskimos, and some of our Indian tribes.¹

Some of these tribes have made considerable advance in social organization, yet government proper has not arisen. When threatened by some sudden danger, the band consults, and a temporary authority is vested in one of their number, conspicuous by reason of age, bodily strength, or sagacity. We have an illustration in an Australian tribe where the king's authority seems to rest on such things as his ability to tell just where in a hollow tree to cut for an opossum.² We read that among the Greenlanders it was noticed that when several families lived together all winter, one weatherwise, old fisherman, would have the north end of the snow house for his place, and be appointed to look after the inmates, taking care about their keeping the snow walls in repair, and going in together, so as not to waste heat.³

It is instructive thus to notice that people, who have well developed forms of tribal organization, have yet nothing like a regular official head, and none of the departments of government can be said to exist apart from the general mass. When that stage of advancement is reached, where the various gentes of a tribe feel the need of some

¹ See "Descriptive Sociology" parts 3, 4, 5 and 6, and authorities there quoted.

² Mitchell "Australia" Vol. I., p. 203.

³ Tylor "Anthropology," N. Y., 1886, p. 429. Such is primitive royalty.

official head to represent them, there is simply an extension of the authority of this temporary headman. The office remains after the danger, or emergency has passed away, and the chief continues to represent his gens, as long as he maintains his reputation for the possession of superior bodily and mental qualities. When these fail, he is quietly set aside for some else. This stage of organization was in existence among a number of our Indian tribes and among some Asiatic people. It appears in the description of the Nomadic Arabs, the Dyaks and some of the mixed tribes of Hindoostan, such as the Todas, Karens, and Nagas.¹

Now from this stage advance takes place in several directions. We have seen that the gens did not feel the need for an official head until considerable advance had been attained. So, also, it was only at an advanced stage that a need was felt for an official head of the tribe. The same stages exactly are passed through, as in evolving the office of gens chief. In time of war or danger, the command of the forces of the different gentes was entrusted to the most renowned chief among them. His authority tends to become more and more permanent. These people are apt to lose sight of their early history, and hence it is that in so many descriptions of tribes, we find that, though some chief is recognizable as the head one, yet his authority is in reality not greater than that of his subjects.² The

¹ See tables in work already quoted. See Spencer "Elements of Sociology," p. 571, table. If we make a list of tribes having no regular official head, and compare it with a list of those having such heads even of an unstable nature, we will at once notice that the latter list contains the more advanced people.

² Here are some people to whom this last statement applies Tasmanians, New Caledonians, American (hunting) Indians, New Guineans, Damaras, Nomadic Arabs, Khonds, Naga's (Descriptive Sociology.)

office of head chief existed in a number of our Indian tribes, but his authority was always very limited.¹ Of course we see that it was largely personal, and therefore one head chief might exercise more authority than another. This is the form of organization amongst most of the Asiatic tribes and also among the African tribes, though confederacies are also very frequent. We must notice two important results following from the rise of the head chief. The first is the tribal council composed of chiefs of gentes. In the great majority of cases, this is the superior of the tribe chief. In a great many instances where we are informed that the king or the chief rules by arbitrary or despotic right, closer reading reveals the presence of this council.

Another change is still in progress. As we have remarked, these offices tend to become hereditary. When descent is in the male line it tends to go, without election, or but formal one, to the son. Where descent is in the female line, to the nephew. But here the election would be more of a reality. Still we can see that this hereditary chief might not be a good warrior. Hence in all affairs relating to the handling of troops, the tendency is to separate the war chief from the civil. We here see one reason why it is that the tendency is that the military department of government, as separate from the civil does not arise until the tribes have attained a considerable degree of enlightenment.²

We have now briefly outlined the origin of the executive legislative and military department of government. Not considering the judicial at present, let us notice further

¹ Morgan's "Ancient Society," p. 119.

² It is not among people like Fuegians, Andaman Islanders and Australians, that the military as separate from the civil exists, but among people such as Nomadic Arabs, Karens and higher races.

change. Confederacies, under the head of one tribe, or the mutual share in government by several tribes show us exactly the same stages. At first a temporary union only, which tends to become permanent, and gradually requiring an official head, at first elective coming to pass by inheritance. A common war-chief also is elected, and we can see how it is that when the civil chief took possession of his office by inheritance, the war chief would still be elected as among the Germans. This war chief was probably the official who finally developed into the king, at least among the Germanic tribes.¹ As long as tribes remained simply united in a confederacy, not much change would take place in the council. But the union grows stronger and a nation is formed. The tribal council in each tribe exists as the national council, the germ of our senate or upper house. The general assembly reappears in several ways, the germ of our congress or lower house.

Before leaving this part of our subject, let us speak once more about the real power of so-called kings in ancient times and at present among partially civilized people. This has been in both cases exaggerated. There is of course a great deal of cruelty and unreasonable rule among partially civilized people. But the chief is everywhere hedged in by customs which he dare not disobey, and in the majority of cases he must rule according to his council. We learn that the theoretically absolute chief of the Kaffirs is obliged to consider "what effect his command will have on his followers." In Ashanti we read that the king is a despot, yet there is a superior council of four, and a house of "Captains" and they claim to be heard on all important questions. The absolute chief of the Bechuanas is liable to be severely criticized in his

¹ Freeman "Comparative Politics."

parliament by one of his chiefs, and "an able speaker will some times turn the scale even against the king."¹

The quotations could be extended to almost any length. Liberty, equality and fraternity were cardinal principles among all people when first organized in society. Despotism only came in when a comparatively high degree of enlightenment had been reached. Many writers holding wrong theories as to the starting point of government (that is the family) are bound to see despotism where nothing of the kind exists. That partially civilized people are cruel in executing their laws is admitted, but this is not despotism. Madam De Stael is right when she observes that "Liberty is ancient, despotism is modern."

The legislative and judicial departments of government are inseparably connected with the subject of ancient law, at the development of which, we will now glance. This will, of course, partake of the same general unfolding as the organization of society. As long as society rested on sex as a basis, about all of law that could have existed was a few customs in regard to the relation of the sexes. With only temporary chiefs in times of emergency, no one was particularly concerned with seeing that customs were followed. This duty rested on the whole tribe. Any one knowing of a disregard of these rules could kill offenders without thereby committing a crime.²

When society organized on the basis of kin, or tribal society arose, anything like a system of laws was still far in the future. Laws were nothing but immemorial customs. We can only discover a few general principles. The gens

¹ "Descriptive Ethnology" and authorities there quoted.

² For example of such a summary justice see "Kamilaroi and Kurnai." We would seriously err were we to suppose that customs were not enforced. Public opinion exercises as great a force in uncivilized states of society as in the most enlightened.

was the unit of political life. The individual was never considered. Hence to wrong a person was to wrong the entire gens, and further, a wrong committed by a person was committed by the whole gens to which he belonged. A few moments reflection will show us how very meager must have been the subjects of customary law. Individual property had not yet come into existence. Consequently, the innumerable sources of actions arising therefrom, which comprise so large a part of modern law, were unknown. Individual rights and individual wrongs were unknown.¹

When we arrive at that stage of organization, when chiefs for the gens and tribes make their appearance, then we can first detect something like order. The chief always appears as judge in primitive society, but he is as much bound up by precedents as the modern judge. In his case precedents are simply the customs of his clan. All the men of the gens participate in the trial which is presided over by the chief, and the question of guilt or innocence is decided by votes of those present. When the office of head chief of the tribes exists, whenever two different gentes are involved in a quarrel, the case is generally brought before the tribal council consisting of the chiefs of the gentes, but nothing like a regular right of appeal can exist among the majority of savage tribes.²

Let us pass at once from the consideration of the partially civilized people to the early Aryans, and see how in their case these customs grow into law; and finally something like the modern system appears. We of course cannot enter into the minutiae of this subject. We need only to point out how the influence of the older state of

¹ It seems perfectly natural to primitive men that one individual should suffer for the wrong doings of another. See "*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*."

² The customs of the Mexicans in this respect exactly illustrate this matter. See Vol. I., p. 690-1.

affairs continued to mold the laws, and even after the overthrow of tribal society, its powers continued, for law like religion is conservative, and clings to the traditions of the past. We must recall what was written of the gradual evolution of political society at Athens and Rome. We can see at once that as long as power remained strictly in the hands of the ruling tribes, (that is, Eupatrides at Athens, the Patricians at Rome) law would remain just about in the stage last disclosed, the exception arises from the growing individuality of the family.

This family, as we have seen, takes its rise within the gens as soon as descent passes into the male line. We have found it well developed among all the Aryan people. It becomes, in a sense the unit of society. In the older form of tribal organization the gens, as we have seen, settled all disputes arising between its own members. When the joint family becomes well developed, it also takes upon itself to settle all disputes and cause of action arising between its members. Public law does not concern itself with the family individuals. The family chief or the house-father represents the family on all the important occasions.¹ He has the power of judge concerning all affairs arising within his family. But beyond a doubt in all important cases he only voices the decisions of the family council.

Let us understand the anomalous position of the joint family in the eye of law. It occupies the same position as the gens of more archaic society. As each gens was an independent self-governing body, so was each joint family composing a gens. This family was not the same amongst all the Aryan people. Among the Romans it seems to

¹ see Gommes "*Primitive Folk Motes.*"

have long survived, and held its own against advancing civilization, and explains much that is strange in their laws. Being self-governing, as far as concerns its own affairs, and the house-father acting the part of judge and executive officer, it is not at all singular that he appears as a despotic ruler. It was his province to pronounce sentence of death if the occasion called for it, even against his own son, and the State was powerless to interfere, any more than in an earlier stage the tribe could interfere in the judgment of a gens chief, concerning a member of his gens. Only we must understand that judgment in important cases was in accordance with the decree of the family council.

We cannot understand the peculiar status of the joint family unless we keep constantly in mind the whole framework of ancient society. Each tribe recognized no superior power as far as governing its members was concerned. They might pay tribute to a stronger tribe, but in internal government they were independent. In an early day no tribe claimed or exercised the right of interfering in the affairs of the gentes composing it. Similarly no gens claimed or exercised the right of interfering in the affairs of the joint families of which it was composed. Hence it is that among Aryan people, of whatever nationality, (all developed some form of the joint family) the house or home had such a peculiar sanctity in law.

At the present day, we constantly repeat the old maxim that "every man's house is his castle." No one has the right to enter it without the owner's permission unless armed with authority by law. Late in the eleventh century it was enacted of households that "no person shall rashly inquire after those that are set therein. If any fugitive shall have entered the inclosure he shall abide

therein in security.”¹ In Sparta it was a maxim that “without, (the house) all owned the authority of the State; within, the master of the house ruled as lord on his own ground.”² In Rome it was the same. The house-father was supreme in his own home. “He was responsible for the conduct of all persons who were within his gates. No other person, whether official or non-official, could exercise any form of process within his jurisdiction.”³

The official head of this independent self-governing family, the one who speaks in its name, represents it in the gens’ council, manages its property, is its high-priest and judge; is the house-father. Among many ancient people, and especially among the Romans, he is represented as ruling with despotic authority. Whatever might have been the facts of the case among the Romans, we think we are much nearer the truth when we assume that he was simply its executive officer, hedged in by custom, and in all important cases advised by his family council.

As this is an important point, and is, almost without exception, represented by writers entirely different we will quote Prof. Hearn. “It seems, however, that the house-father, in the exercise of his authority, was expected to act in a judicial capacity. He was not to follow his own caprice, but he was the administrator of the customs of his clan. He usually acted with the advice and consent of a family council. Even when he proceeded in a summary manner, as in the case of offending slaves, the severer punishments . . . were not capriciously inflicted, but sentence was pronounced and executed after a semi-judicial investigation. In the case of any serious offense

¹ Hearn “Aryan Household,” p. 358.

² Müller “Dorians” Vol. II., p. 296.

³ Hearn *op. cit.*, p. 357.

by the wife or by the children, the house-father acted with the aid of his family council. We know little of the council and less of its procedure.”¹

Let us here pause to observe how true it is that the whole process of civilization has been to bring to the front more and more plainly individuals and individual rights. The progress is clearly seen, when we consider the communal band of the first stage, and tribal society resting ultimately on a number of equal, independent joint families, of the stage reached by the Romans and Greeks just before the advent of political society. Each of these ultimate unites bears a strong likeness to the original body. In this connection we of course do not refer to the relations between the sexes for that had long been regulated, nor do we refer to the custom of savage and barbarous people, these had disappeared before advancing intelligence. But this likeness is plainly apparent in a legal aspect.

If we examine any ancient code of laws, such for instance as the various Teutonic codes, and the fragmentary codes of Greece and Rome, we will discover that they are almost wholly concerned with criminal law.² This is doubtless the meaning of the traditions that cluster around the sanguinary code of Draco. It is said that they were written in blood. They probably were almost wholly taken up with criminal law. In general it may be said that the older a code of laws is the more it is concerned with criminal legislation to the exclusion of civil affairs. It will not do to explain this fact by laying it to the lawlessness of early times. We must rather explain it as due to the fact

¹ Yet, strange to say, Prof Hearn constantly writes of the house-father as if he were a very despot—ruling according to his own pleasure.

² Maine “Ancient Law,” New York, 1864, p. 355.

that the ruling powers had nothing else, or but a trifling amount, to legislate about.

Let us see the truth of this statement. Individual property was a thing of slow growth. The property of the individual belonged to the family. An individual could not contract with another individual. One family might enter into contract relations with another family but this was a very ceremonious formal affair. When we talk about the cumbersome legal method in use now, we should bear in mind that law has been simplifying itself from the very earliest times. An individual, not owning property, had nothing to dispose of after death, therefore the idea of a will never occurred to the primitive Aryan. His property simply remained in the family of which he was a member, and was managed by the new family chief. If a family died out, the gens to which he belonged took possession of its property.

Now the great conflict of advancing civilization was to change the foregoing. It exerted itself to break up this family, and with such success that, at the present day, the relation of husband and wife is the only one not regarded as a contract. We all know that is a *status*. The relation of parent and child is supposed to be a contract one. This was not the case in ancient Rome. Civilization also gradually evolved the right of personal, private property. It also called into being the new law of contract, and gradually clothed a person with the power to direct by a will the disposal of his property after his death.

We have spoken of codes of laws, let us examine the causes at work to produce codes. Some have entertained the strange idea that certain noted men, such as Draco, Solon, Lycurgus and Moses were law-givers, and gave to the people what they had not before possessed.

Ancient laws were never produced that way. Ancient codes, from whatever source obtained, were simply expressions in writing of immemorial customs and habits. They were reduced to writing and given out for public inspection, because there was a demand for them. A few moments reflection on the state of affairs at Athens and Rome when codes made their appearance will enable us to understand the nature of this demand in many cases at least.

We refer to these two countries because, in a certain sense, what is true of their history is true of nearly all the European communities. We must recall the fact that in each of these countries there was, in the first place, a confederacy of tribes, coalescing into a nation, which thereupon subjugated the surrounding people. The history of these early times shows us a conflict in progress between these subject tribes and the ruling class. The former constantly acquiring more and more power. But considerable advance had been made before any participation in law-making power, was given to the Plebeians. One reason being that law and religion were so intimately united¹ and, as we shall see further on, religion, as understood by the early Aryans, could not be said to exist unless there was a full tribal organization. The gods were tribal gods, having no care for those who were not members of the tribe.

One of the strongest arguments that the ruling class had, wherewith to answer the claims of the commonalty for a share in the government, was that, as they did not have a share in the religion, they could not expect to share in the government or partake of the benefit of the laws. Yet a time came when this answer would not suffice. The Ple-

¹ Coulanges "*Ancient City*," p. 250.

beians had become too strong to be denied. The laws had to be revealed to them. They were no longer to be left the exclusive and secret knowledge of the ruling class. To meet this demand, codes were produced, which are simply the orderly arrangements in writing of the customs and usages of the tribes. When this step was taken, law and religion were separated. The Aryan Hindoos who invaded India, at an early day relinquished their claim to government but remained in possession of religion and law. In consequence, these two departments were never separated, and so the code of Menu combines both religion and law. The same result occurred among the Hebrews, but from the working of a different cause. They had no subject tribes at all. It was a part of their policy to exterminate or drive off subject people, so when (probably at a comparatively late date) ¹ a code of laws made its appearance among the Hebrews, it quite naturally, was largely a mixture of religion and law.²

It is difficult to overestimate the influence that property has exerted in furthering civilization, and this makes it necessary to glance at the rise and progress of ideas in relation to property, ideas which constantly reacted on the laws, and customs of the people. In order to render the acquisition of wealth more easy and certain, colonies were started off for distant lands, navigation became a science, researches of all kinds were instituted, and thus knowledge and civilization advanced. We can, at most, only give an outline, reserving the minor topics for other pages.

The ideas in reference to property must follow the line of development we have already found true in regard to government and law. In the infancy of the human race, or

¹ See "Descriptive Ethnology."

² On this point consult Maine "Ancient Law," p. 13, 14. Coulange "Ancient City," p. 402. Prichard and Nasmith "Hist. of Roman Law," London, 1871, p. 96-98.

better speaking, as long as mankind remained in the primitive, undeveloped, infantile stage, the idea of property can scarcely be said to have existed. Just in proportion as individual rights broke down communal rights, advance took place in regard to property; and, on the other hand, the acquisition of property was one of the most efficient agents, in bringing about a reduction of communal rights. Our first object is to show the truth of this statement.

As no example of a communal band is known to exist, we can only speak theoretically of their ideas of property. Yet we may feel considerable confidence in this respect. They of course had no ideas of property in land, such an idea was still far in the future. Of personal property, only the faintest conception existed. The articles composing their scanty wearing apparel, some simple weapons and tools, must have included all. One individual could not become rich another poor. All stood on the same level. Even game killed by a fortunate hunter was not his exclusive property, custom compelled him to divide with the other members of his band.¹ That the above represents the substantial facts of the case, we have no doubt for it is true of people in a much more advanced stage. When the gentes supervened upon the classes, mankind had still only the most feeble conceptions of property. This might be illustrated by the conditions of affairs among our Indian tribes at the discovery of America, or by the present condition of many of the lower races who have not advanced to the pastoral or agricultural stage of life.

The line separating barbarism and civilization is a very poorly defined one, but one distinguishing feature is the predominance of the passion for the possession of property over

¹ See examples of this in "*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*," Melbourne, 1880.

all other human possessions.¹ This could not take place until advancing civilization had shown wherein the possession of property was desirable, which occurred only at a comparatively late date in that long lapse of years that intervened between the origin of man and of civilization. Hence it is that the growth of the idea of property was so slow during the period of savagery and far into the period of barbarism. When the discovery was made by Asiatic tribes that many of the animals pursued for game could be successfully tamed, and, when kept in herds and flocks, become a permanent means of subsistence, we can see at a glance that the tribes making use of this discovery, took a very great step in the line of human progress.

Let us trace the influence of this discovery in property. The possession of flocks and herds was a source of power. A tribe having these could hold together as a much larger body than one destitute of them. The warriors being well clothed and fed would be more formidable, and thus in all ways, would such a tribe be prosperous. Here then was an object to excite human cupidity. Now would all ideas in reference to property become more clear and corresponding advance be taken. Custom, which is but another word for law, would change to suit the new ideas. The divisions of the tribe would become more sharply marked off, and, as this was a step in the direction of individual rights, it was an important result.

A moment's reflection shows the truth of this statement. Ownership was not in the individual, but in a group. At this stage, the family, even in the archaic form, had not appeared. But the other tribal divisions were undoubtedly fully developed. There were both phratries and gentes. The right of property was in the

¹ Morgan "Ancient Society," p. 6.

gens. There is no difficulty in showing this fact. This is one of the oldest rules of inheritance. When property in land appears, it is the gens that owns the *mark, gemeente, or commune*,¹ that is subdivided among its joint families. The laws of both Solon and Moses contain regulations for the marriage of heiresses, so as to keep the property in the gens. The property-owning gens requires officers to conduct its business. And thus the office of civil chief arises, as we have seen a few pages back, in treating of government, and this illustrates one of the many points wherein the idea of property advances civilization.

We can also see how the desire for wealth would tend to subdivide the gens into smaller groups consisting of several syndiasmian families,² the germ of the future joint family. Such bodies were at first formed for convenience, as for the erection of a common joint tenement house, or to unite their forces to battle with the hardships of life. This exactly expresses the facts of the case among our Indian tribes at the time of their discovery. The reason why these smaller groups had not become more closely organized, with some official head, and composed mainly of descendants of a common ancestor, may be traced almost directly to the absence of property.

Let us inquire into this. We have in the preceding chapter shown the wide prevalence of female descent and have seen that such was universally the ancient rule; we have further observed that, as soon as any considerable degree of advancement took place, descent changed to the male line.³ Now the possession of property tends most powerfully to break up this old rule of descent. In the first instance, the children were of the same gens as their mother, consequently they could inherit none of their father's

1 Page 173. 2 Page 150. 3 Page 155.

wealth. That must remain in the gens of the father. As long as property was virtually nothing no inconvenience followed from this rule; but, when the objects of ownership became of value, all sorts of shifts were made to evade it. This could be illustrated among our Indian tribes, within the last few years. Sometimes the father divided his effects among his children before his death, which gifts they could keep. Sometimes a favorite son was formally adopted into his father's gens.¹ Finally, to settle this matter, the more advanced tribes abandoned the old rule of descent altogether, and placed the children in the gens of the father.

We ought to see clearly that this advance was largely brought about by the increasing value of property. Along with this change of descent, arises the joint family, which is simply the several syndiasmian families of the former stage, which now consists mainly of the descendants of a common ancestor. The organization is closer. A family chief appears to manage the common property. A great many of the races of men have not yet been able to reach this stage. Perhaps the first to pass it were some of the white races, though on this point we cannot speak with confidence, only as they were the first to achieve civilization proper, they probably were also the first to reach this point.

Property in flocks and herds must have preceded property in land. Of course we can see that even among the very lowest savages, the tribe claims, and exercises the right to a particular tract of land, such as a river valley, as their hunting ground. But no idea of individual right existed. Such could not arise until considerable advance had been made in other directions. For nothing occurred to make land an object of value. We have already treated

¹ See instances of both cases in "*Ancient Society*," p. 163, 170.

of the domestication of animals. In general such knowledge preceded a knowledge of agriculture though there are exceptions to this rule. Let us observe, however, that flocks and herds at once invest land with a new value. It is now used for grazing purposes. Among wandering pastoral tribes, this pasturage is carefully divided and their rights jealously guarded.

A greater advance took place when agriculture arose. This knowledge did not long lag behind the possession of domestic animals. In the new world there were no animals capable of domestication, and so the various tribes had to learn the art of agriculture, independent of the possession of domestic animals. Perhaps this is one explanation why advance in the Eastern world was relatively greater than in the Western. Be that as it may, all tribes in the possession of a knowledge of agriculture, at once attach an increased value to land, and now the progressive force of civilization, always tending to bring the individual to the front, begins at once that conflict which in most cases has now resulted in procuring for individuals the right of private ownership in the soil. A right unknown in the earlier ages of the world's history.

The advance made by all people before arriving at a knowledge of agriculture, was sufficient to give them the full tribal subdivisions, phratries and gentes. The gentes, being really the unit of organization, always appear in the first instance as the body having the right of ownership. It will be sufficient to notice the development among the Aryans alone. They reached the knowledge of agriculture before their separation, with the possible exception of the Celts. When, therefore, the tribes commenced their migrations from their primitive home, spreading throughout Europe, and Western Asia, they carried this knowledge

with them, and along with it their idea of landed property. And so it is, that when we investigate Aryan customs no matter in what country, we speedily come upon the gens under various names, as the land-holding body.

We need not doubt that originally all the members of the gens stood on equal footing in regard to this land. The chief had no more or better land than other members of his gens. Land being a very important kind of property customs in regard to it would change slowly. So it is that we find among many people arrangements for periodical redistributions. That is the land was in the first place divided among the individual (male) members of the gens, but every few years, a fresh division was made. That is of tillable land as a large part of the gens' possession was reserved for common purposes. There is plain evidence that this was the custom among all the primitive Aryans. Tacitus discovered it among the Germanic tribes of his day.¹ It is still the theoretical rule of the Russian commune though it is fast passing into neglect.² The rise of the joint family tends to break up this arrangement, because such a family becomes the new unit of society. We have seen this true of government and law. It became a property-holding group, and consequently the land of the gens was divided among its joint families.

But this family ownership is still a long ways from being individual ownership. The family was in the nature of a corporation. Its chief managed the common property, in which all its members were interested only just as this family has been broken down has this right passed into individual rights. We have now considered the origin of property, both personal and real, down

¹ Germania, 26.

² Laveleye "Primitive Property," p. 10.

to the rise of the joint family. Consider how different was this ownership from our idea of ownership. It was not an individual owning and holding property, but a close corporation with an elected or hereditary chief as manager. If a member by any means acquired property, it was covered into the general treasury. Wills were unknown because no one had any property he could thus control.

This joint family is no sooner established than it becomes in turn the point of attack of advancing intelligence. Individuals are released from the control of the family. We have referred some pages back to the curious form of the ancient Irish family. It was full when there were seventeen male members, and thereafter the birth of another male, liberated the oldest member (not the chief, probably) who passed out of the family control.¹ Among the Germanic tribes the son was liberated from the control of the family when he became a warrior.² The Greeks liberated the son when he reached his majority. The Romans liberated the son only on the death of the father. These liberated sons were capable of forming families of their own. Ideas of property also slowly underwent a change. We have stated the older rule that whatever an individual acquired, simply went to swell the family property. This seems to have been the first point of attack. What an individual gained by his own exertion became his individual property. We find this principle early inculcated among the Hindoos.³ In Rome what a son gained in the service of the State became his private property. And thus one people after another devise some way to break in upon the old rule. So between

¹ Hearn "Aryan Household."

² Tacitus "Germania," 13.

³ Hearn "Aryan Household," p 236.

both of these causes, on the one hand breaking down the joint family, and on the other, destroying its property, we at last arrive at the stage of individual property, gained first in regard to chattels, finally allowed in reference to land, which is thus seen to be only the last step in a long line of development, and not yet accepted by many people.

We have now seen how much the passion for property has had to do in influencing and advancing civilization. At the present day the victories of peace are of more importance than those of war. It has always been so. Commerce, trade and navigation have done more to advance mankind, than all the wars put together. We will become convinced of the truth of this statement, if we stop and consider the course of events. To-day the inventor wrestles with scientific problems in the hope that some fortunate combination of materials, or new arrangement of appliances will put into his possession some secret, by means of which he may gather a great store of wealth. Scholars are delving into all fields of research, in the majority of cases, with the same object in view. Continents are spanned with railroads, cables traverse the beds of the oceans, but the inciting motive in all these arrangements is gain. It is quite outside the main question that civilization in general is greatly advanced by the researches of the inventors and scholars, or yet again that in many cases, the love of knowledge alone has proved a sufficient incentive.

This, which is true of social advance now, always has been true. It was the commercial spirit which sent out the first colonies; which organized the first trading expedition, ultimately developing into the caravans of the East, which again was the first means of diffusing information. Long before the dawn of history in Europe, there was quite

a developed commerce. Amber from the Baltic found its way to the higher civilized countries of the South. Bronze was brought into Europe from Asia Minor, and some of the old trade routes have been brought to light by the researches of archaeologists.¹ Commerce sent the first ship coasting along the shore, which was the first step in the formation of that merchant marine which whitens every sea.

A great commercial city like Rome desire to attract to its borders merchants from all lands. This could only be accomplished by treating them justly, and hence the necessity for breaking down the old ideas of justice and equity, and recognizing the principle that individuals not belonging to one's own tribe or nation were still entitled to be treated with justice. This lesson the Romans had to learn even in historic times. All ancient people emphatically believed that "they were the people." Their gods were the only true and powerful ones. All outside people were barbarians, entitled to no rights or privileges. Commerce first broke down this spirit, and, in the case of Rome, we find equity, or the "*jus gentium*," or in effect, the "law for foreigners," attacking many of the customs of Roman law. We have since lost this distinction, though there is still a fluctuating and illy defined line between equity and law.² We could extend this part of our subject to great length, but enough has now been set forth for our present purpose. We have seen, on the one hand, the great influence that the desire for wealth exerts in advancing civilization, and, on the other, how true it is that the evolution of property follows the same line of development that we have already found to be true in so many other respects; and have had occasion to observe once more that the process of civiliza-

¹ Dawkins "*Early man in Britain*," London, 1880, p. 412.

² Maine "*Ancient Law*," p. 55-58.

tion is one that constantly tends to separate out the individual from the mass.

Let us now consider some of the useful arts. We cannot make an exhaustive study, but only illustrate the general truth that our present knowledge is the result of a gradual growth. The individual must first creep before he can walk; so primitive man had to make a slow and painful progress, where we, his descendants, profiting by the experience of the past, move forward more rapidly. If we were asked to name an art contributing greatly to our advancement, we would name printing, and point out how greatly general intelligence is advanced by the same. When it came into practical use, a new era in civilization was inaugurated. We can quite clearly trace the steps leading up to this great invention.

In devices to assist the memory, we find the first starting point of this art. We have seen that the Peruvians used for this purpose the quippos.¹ This was not peculiar to the Peruvians however, for we find that rude tribes in widely distant localities made use of it. The Ostyaks, a tribe in Northern Asia, use it. Erman observes of them, "Knots on a cord or thong of leather serve to mark numbers and conventionally things also."² The Chinese legends assert that in ancient times, their people "used little cords marked by different knots, which by their number and distances, served them instead of writing;"³ and Bastian also observes its use in Africa. Herodotus relates that Darius took a thong and tied it in sixty knots and gave it to his allies, with instructions to untie one each day; and, if he had not returned when all were untied, they might go their way.⁴ This was a quippos, and these several examples show how

¹ See illustration p. 820, Vol. 1.

² "Travels in Siberia," London, 1848, Vol. 1, p. 492.

³ Tylor "Early History of Mankind," New York, 1878, p. 154.

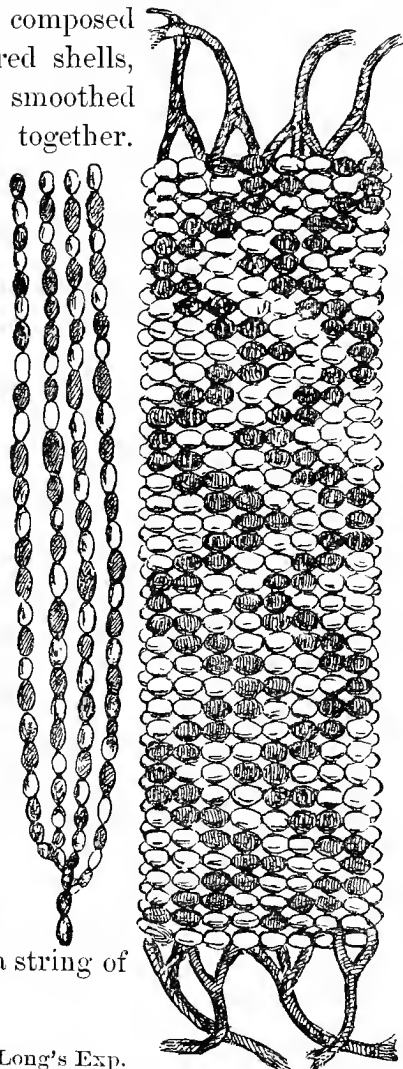
⁴ Bk. IV; 98.

perfectly natural is such a method. The rosary used at the present day, is also a quippos.

Several writers have recorded examples of the quippos among the North American Indians,¹ but among the Eastern Indians the strings of wampum took its place. These illustrations show the tasty way in which wampum was arranged. They are composed of pieces of variously colored shells, cut to a nearly uniform size, smoothed and polished and strung together.

The colors were significant, red pertaining to war; white to peace and friendship. The length and breadth of these girdles, and the arrangement of the differently colored strings were all significant.² But at most, these were simply aids to the memory, and required some explanation, in order to be understood.

Such strings of wampum were of great use among the Indians. They formed the archives of the tribes. When a messenger from one tribe had an important announcement to make to another, at the conclusion of his address he presented a string of wampum for a memorial.



Indian Wampum.

¹ Charlevoix Vol. VI., p. 151. Long's Exp. Vol. I., p. 235. ² See Wuttke "Entstehung der Schrift." Leipsic, 1872, p. 150.

By its form and composition such a string was significant of the address, but its main office was to recall to memory his sayings. On some occasions, the orators would take the wampum strings and explain to the assembly what each was significant of. "A good reader," says the missionary Heckwelder," is able to point out the part in a girdle to which each of his sentences refer, just the same as we could in a book,"¹ but still it remains that this was simply an exercise of memory.

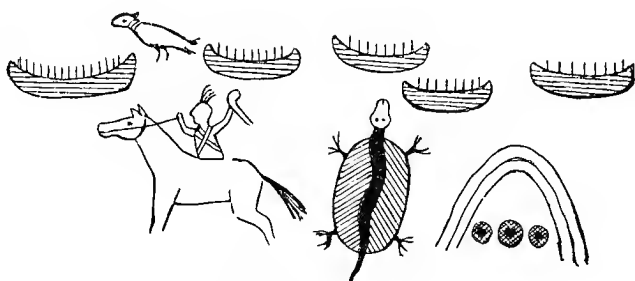
While rude tribes were thus finding aids to memory, they also made use of pictures, and this seems to be a perfectly natural method of conveying information. Primitive people everywhere have employed it. Referring to our own Indian tribes, we find that this art had reached quite a degree of development. Let us examine this matter, as from picture writing has come our alphabet. A picture may express, besides the meaning we would naturally give to it, a symbolical meaning also. A picture of a lynx may represent not only the animal, but a magician as well. It is just at this point where pictures cease to be pure pictures that they become a species of writing.²

Our Indians, in order to convey information, drew on rocks and on pieces of bark a succession of symbolical figures, though the symbolism was of a very simple sort. A band, for instance, expresses the number of individuals composing it, by a succession of rude figures standing for men, the gens to which they belong may be shown by the figure of their totem. Or the business of the band may be shown, whether engaged in war or peace. Footsteps may show the number of days of their journey. Headless bodies may show how many of the enemy they have slain.

¹ *Ibid.* 152.

² *Ibid.* 153.

Color also is significant; enemies being painted red, friends white; a red hand expressing wounds, a black hand death.¹



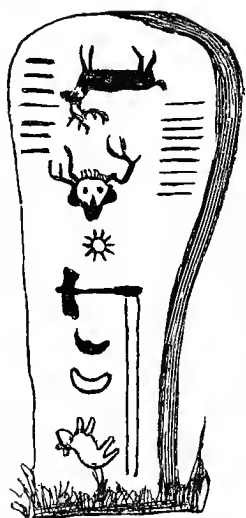
Picture Writing.

In this cut we have a portion of such a picture record. It records the passage of a war party over Lake Superior headed by a chief who was also a famous medicine-man. He is on horse back and flourishes a magical drum stick in his hand. The party of the fifty-one men were in five canoes. In the first canoe was his principal sub-chief, "king fisher." It took three days to accomplish this expedition, shown by the over-arching sky and three suns. The Tortoise seems to show the reaching of dry land.² We must notice the combination of pure pictures and symbolical representations; the bird for the chief, the tortoise for the dry land, etc. We observe the same kind of writing on some of the grave posts.

The following cut is that of the grave post of a famous chief, who died about 1793, on the southern shore of Lake Superior. His totem appears at the top, its reversed position signifying death. The marks to the left denote the number of war parties he led. The right hand

¹ Wuttke Op. cit., p. 159.

² See Schoolcraft "Archives, etc." Vol. I., p. 406. Plate 57. Also Wuttke p. 158.



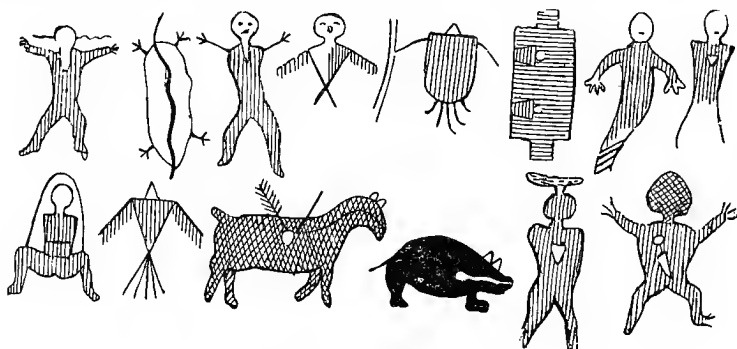
Indian Grave Post.

lines show how many times he was wounded in battle. The moose head relates to a conflict with that animal. The symbols below represent his influence in war and peace.

Such are some of the more common picture writings of the North American Indians. They represent a low stage of the art. It was practiced almost universally from Florida to the Hudson Bay. In common Indian speech such writings were known as *Kekeewin*.

But to show how picture writing develops still further, it will be necessary to show the influence of the priesthood, and the purposes, to which they applied this art.

It is necessary to remark that partially civilized people generally believe in a multiplicity of supernatural spiritual beings, whose influence is most potent in all affairs of life. Such

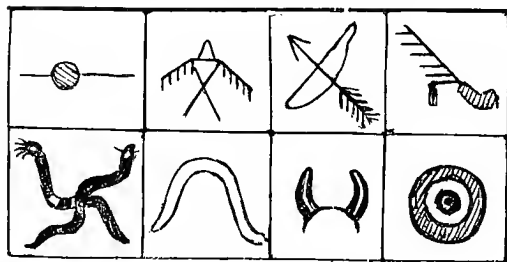


Symbolical Writing.

powers are to be propitiated, coerced or restrained by means, amongst other things, of set words and songs. To assist the memory in these songs, symbolic pictures were drawn, each picture calling to mind a few words of the song. To

illustrate this, we introduce the preceding cut; only we must understand that each figure there shown was painted in some bright color.¹ The fifth sign, for instance, represents a human body with wings for arms, holding an arrow. To the singer this stood for the following line; "I fly at will, and if I see an animal, I can shoot him."

These songs were not generally known to the majority of the people. They were imparted only by the priests to deserving individuals, and for a valuable consideration. Now if we reflect that the words of the song or charm must be in nowise altered, they must be repeated exactly as handed down by the priest, and further that the songs and the magic pictures must both be employed to get the full force of the magical influence;² we can see at a glance that such pictures would tend to become more and more symbolical, they would lose more and more their resemblance to the original objects, tend more and more to become such hieroglyphics as confront the traveler on the forests of Yucatan.³



Hieratic Writing.

In proof of this last statement, let us glance at some of the symbols of Indian hieratic writing. Number 1, is the symbol of attention, a head with waving lines from each ear. 2, the outline figures of a man with an arrow-point

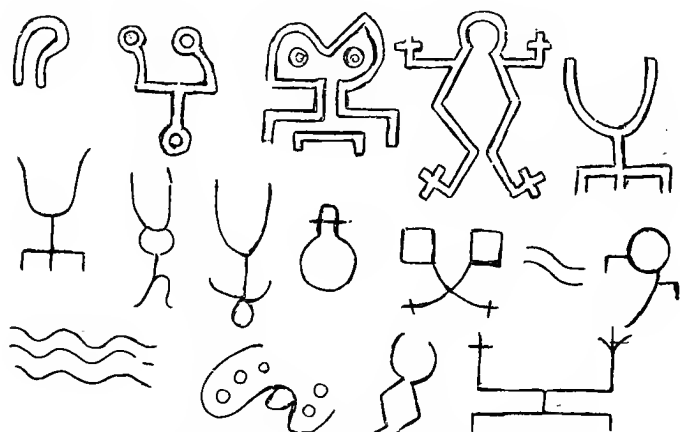
¹ See Schoolcraft "Archives, Etc." Vol. I., p. 53.

² See Wuttke "Entstehung der Schrift," p. 166-7.

³ This Series, Vol. I., p. 754.

for a head, and wings for the arms, symbol of a spirit. 3 is the symbol of war, and 4, that of peace. 5, two serpents crossed, is significant of wariness. 6 is the sky. 7, a head surmounted with horns, denotes power. 8 is a symbol of time.¹

The development of the art among the northern tribes was stopped at this point by the arrival of the whites. We can see that the tendency would be for such figures to become more and more meaningless in outline. In this cut we have a specimen of picture writing of the South Ameri-



South American Picture Writing.

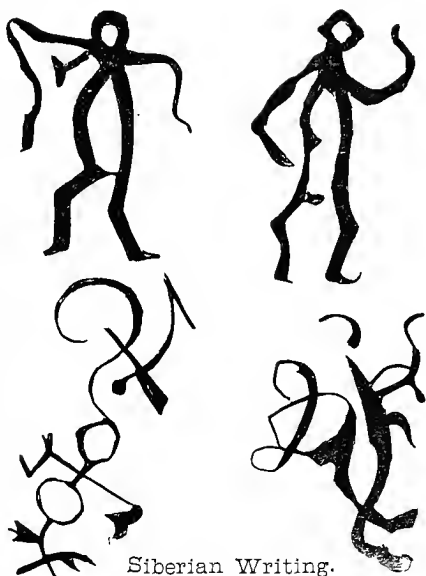
can tribes. The tribes at the present day, however, know nothing of its meaning; and when the traveler Schomburgh attempted to remove a portion of the rock containing it, his Indian guides looked on with terror, expecting each minute to see fire from heaven destroy him.²

That this stage of picture writing is of very common use among the rude tribes is well known. In this cut we

¹ See Schoolcraft, Op., cit., p. 58-9.

² Wuttke Op. cit., p. 177.

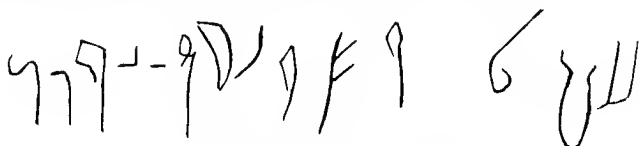
have a portion of a picture record painted on the rocks of the Irtysh River; utterly unmeaning to us, we do not doubt it conveyed a meaning once. In the next cut is still another illustration taken from the deserts of Arabia.



Siberian Writing.

Turning now to the Old World, we find three systems of writing at which we must glance, the Chinese, Egyptian and Chaldean. These

will all illustrate the general truth that mankind has passed through the same stages of thought. Let us consider the Chinese first. Amongst other means, the Chinese, at an early date, made extensive use of the quippos.¹ Their scholars assert that they brought this art to quite a high



Hieroglyphics from Asia.

point. They even give the name of the inventor,² this illustrates the tendency among all people to ascribe important results to individuals. On the borders of China, the quippos is still in active use. In regard to the origin of

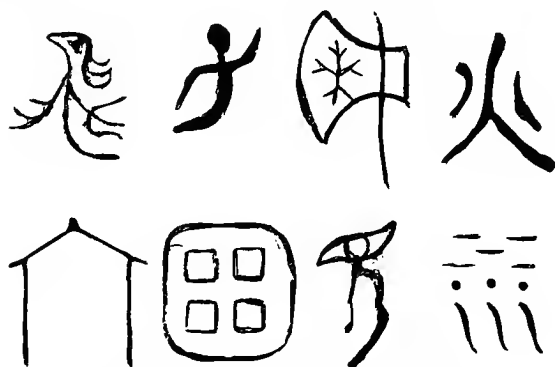
¹ But see J. R. A. S. for 1885. La Couperie "Beginning of Writing around Thibet."

² Wuttke Op. cit., p. 243.


their written characters, they record how in ancient times *Tsangkie* observed the foot-prints of the birds on the ground, and the markings on the shell of the tortoise, and imitated them in his signs.

It is the universal tendency of the human mind, in the lower stages of culture, to explain what is to them strange by myths like the foregoing.¹ We can now show by comparison of the earlier forms with those of the later stage, that the starting point of the Chinese writing was pictured representation of the subject,² that these developed with the development of the Chinese language and general intelligence.

We introduce some cuts to illustrate the first stage.






Primitive Chinese Characters.

Some of these pictures are quite plain. We have (1) a flying bird, (2) a child, (3) a hatchet, (4) flame, (5) house, (6) palace, (7) "sight" or "seeing" and (8) rain. A subsequent step is easy to take. In this we have to give a symbolical meaning to each little picture; thus "above," — "below," ● "middle," ▽ "union." 

This last stage would naturally develop more and more. Two limbs would stand for "going," a man with

¹ Tylor "Early History of Mankind."

² Wuttke Op cit., p. 251.

a stick, would signify "father." A plant growing out of the ground  would be understood as "growing" or "increase." A sun pictured above a tree means "clear weather;" under a tree, "darkness." If waving lines represent water we can see why the same inclosed in a circle would signify "deep water," or placed under an arch should mean "rain." We can  appreciate their feelings that connecting the signs for a field and children would express thereby "happiness" or "good fortune;" or by joining the picture of the sun and moon  would express "brilliancy," "magnificence;" or that pictured sorrow by the two figures for knife and heart.

The characters, or pictures, we have thus far represented all belong to ancient writing. We know that the inevitable tendency is to change and alter the outlines until they come to have but little resemblance to the original. We illustrate that change in the following cut: the first line is the ancient representation of the various subjects there named; the second line is the modern way.

To understand the  significance of another change we must refer  to a peculiarity of the Ancient and Modern Characters.

Chinese language. A large number of Chinese words have several meanings. In ordinary conversation this meaning is made clear by the tone of voice in which it is pronounced. For instance the sound *Fu* signifies either the word "*father*" or "*man*" or "*woman*," in talking no confusion arises, simply because the tone of voice indicates which meaning is meant. In the first stage of picture writing each of these meanings of *Fu* had a separate picture. In a later stage of their art, the Chinese hit on the expedient

of making compound characters, pictures and sounds combined. One character simply designated the sound wanted, but a second character gives us the meaning.

Thus the sound *chow* has several meanings, such as ship, fluff, flickering, basin, loquacity. In the following cut the first figure is *chow* meaning ship. We notice

舟 舫 舫 舫 舫

Sounds of Chow.

this repeated with an additional character to designate the other meanings. Two feathers added to it make it *fluff*.¹ The sign of fire prefixed shows that, in the third case, the sound *chow* means *flickering*. The sign of water in the fourth, and of speech in the fifth, similarly modify the meaning of *chow*.²


Turning our attention to Egypt, we find a most interesting field of research. However, we can not make a close study at this point. From the very earliest times, the Egyptians resorted to hieroglyphic writing, and we can but imperfectly trace the steps leading up to this invention. We need not doubt that it went through all the stages of development. The priests, who doubtless developed this art, chose as objects to represent the tones of the voice, simple materials—different parts of the body, plants, different mathematical figures and some of those simple figures which naturally occur to people at all times and places, such as a circle for the sun, the well-known figure of a star, a waving line for water, etc.




That Egyptian writing had the same origin, that is symbolical picture writing, is only what we would


¹ In general the character expressing meaning is placed to the left. Wuttke, p. 259.


² Tylor "Anthropology," p. 171. It seems, however, that a number of scholars come to another conclusion in regard to Chinese writing, regarding it as originating amongst the Turanian tribes that developed the culture of ancient Chaldea. See "Yellow Races."

expect. But in the case of these people, or rather as far back as we can trace their writing, we observe that they had largely turned their attention to some means of expressing sound, not the thought or meaning. This method carries with it a most important train of consequences, as we will soon see. We all know that the elementary sounds of a word may be divided into two great classes, the consonants and the vowels. The Egyptians were aware of this fact. In the first stage of their writing no attention was paid to the vowels, they only represented the consonants, and this was the way they set about it. They painted some well-known object which contained the consonants of the word they desired to express. It follows that the same hieroglyphic could express several different words.

To illustrate this, the hieroglyphic of the finger, for instance  which was called *tep*, gave the consonants *t-p*, consequently it could be used to express the word *taipe*, meaning "reservoir;" or *t-pa* meaning "ten thousand." So the hieroglyphic of a palm tree which furnished the consonants *p-t* could be used to express "division of time," "month" or "year." Or just the reverse can be said, and we can see how several different hieroglyphics could be used indifferently for the same word.







We can see that such signs could be greatly increased. The serpent  "hope" gives as the consonants *h-p* and thus might express, amongst other words, "*hepi*," meaning "depth." The obelisk  "*maen*" gives us *m-n*, and consequently might stand for the name of the god *Amun*. Such signs would be increased as general knowledge would increase. When they became acquainted with the use of papyrus, the papyrus roll  takes its place as an important hieroglyphic.


But to avoid confusion, it was necessary in some places to indicate the vowel. They painted some well-known object in the name of which occurred the wished for vowel. Thus for instance, a palm leaf  "*asch*," could be used to signify the vowel *a*, if necessary, as well as the consonants *s-c-h*. It is to be noticed that the vowel sign was placed to the left of the consonant sign no matter what the natural order was. It might be wanted in the beginning, middle or end of a word, yet it was always placed at the left of the consonant hieroglyphics.

The hieroglyphics we have thus far spoken of, we see indicate syllables, and such remained true of the larger number of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Causes were at work, however, in some cases to change this syllable writing to alphabet writing. Suppose they wished to express a two-syllable word containing three consonants. Two hieroglyphics were necessary. But of these two, one hieroglyphic would be used for but one of its consonant signs, the other was lost sight of. In still other cases the like would happen, since many words of but one syllable require only one consonant. The Egyptian word corresponding to our conjunction "and" was "*ke*." Amongst other means of expressing this word they used the hieroglyphic of a basket,  *kote*, but in this case all it stood for was the consonant *k*. Similar cases must have been quite numerous and yet this failed to result in an alphabet.¹

We must now consider one means employed by the Egyptians to avoid confusion. It was the use of one hieroglyphic to make plain the meaning of another, much the same way as the Chinese used one picture to explain another. To show that a hieroglyphic was to be used as a

¹ See on this point Wuttke "*Entstehung der Schrift*," p. 502.



syllable they sometimes placed after it this sign  the hieroglyphic of hill, the word for which "to" stood for "many" or "several." Sometimes to give the same meaning they repeated the hieroglyphic. Sometimes after spelling out a word it was deemed best to add still another hieroglyphic to give the meaning. If, for instance, it was desired to represent a crocodile, (Sukhi) they made these two hieroglyphics   which would give us the consonants *s-p-k*. Now in order to remove doubt they drew paint after the two hieroglyphics above given the picture of a crocodile. Or, instead of painting a picture of the object itself, they painted another well-known hieroglyphic, which repeated the consonants wanted. To illustrate this method look at this series of pictures, the meaning of which is "hepi," house.  We have first a chain  "hoite," second the ser-  pent "op," and under it a track or street "isch." Now here we have the elements of our work *h-t-p-i* or *h-t-p-s-c-h*, but the last hieroglyphic throws a new light on the subject, it gives us *h-p*, and shows us that "isch" is a vowel, and gives us "hepi."

The Egyptians were never able to do away with these determinative signs. Almost all grammatical properties, person, number, gender and case, were expressed by such means. As time passed we can see how the tendency would be to shorten these signs as much as possible. Here, for instance, are three representations of a garden.  It does not need an expert to tell which is the oldest form used. The head of an animal would do service for the entire animal, only the merest outline would suffice. Finally when writing on paper was introduced, this change went forward rapidly, everything obstructing speed was thrown away. In this cut we give some of the older forms on one side, and the forms result-



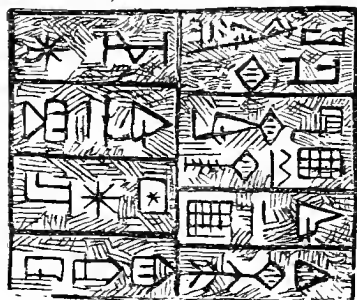
Hieroglyphic
Development.

ing therefrom, on the other. These few last pages show us that the Egyptians started from a stage of picture-writing. We need not doubt that lying beyond the first stage known to us was still a ruder, more barbaric stage, much like that through which the Indians were passing. Nor need we doubt that had the Egyptians themselves been allowed time to continue the development it would have resulted in an alphabet. As it is, not a few think that our alphabet is a lineal descendant of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, modified by the skill of the Phœnicians.

Turning to ancient Chaldea, we will not make a close study, just let us observe that here also we find that the people developed their knowledge by means of such simple devices as we have already mentioned. The system of writing, or expressing thought graphically, employed throughout a large extent of the country in Southwestern Asia is known as the cuneiform, because the element of the writing is a wedge or arrow-shaped figure.  We are  sure that in this area, people of different nationalities successively held sway, who adopted and modified the same system, and hence it is that so much confusion exists in regard to this writing. Into that question we do not propose to enter. We will simply show some of the changes through which this very extensive system of writing passed.

The origin of this system may perhaps be hopelessly lost, yet some significant facts remain which we think give us the clew to the whole process. In the first stage of the writing the arrow formed characters do not appear. Instead of them we see simply straight lines. Here, for

instancè, is a brick containing an inscription belonging to very early times. The writing we notice is by means of straight lines. In the next cut is a brick from the same locality, containing evidently the same inscription, as can be seen on comparison, but here the wedges appear.¹



Inscribed Brick, Straight Lines.

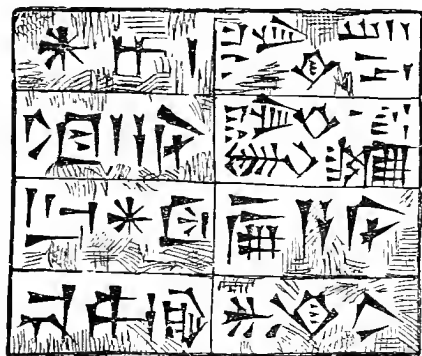
Now from what were these symbols derived? In some cases at least, it seems possible to trace them back to the pictures of the objects they represent. In the first inscription we notice at the beginning an eight rayed star. *



This was a determinative sign and indicated that the name of a god was about to follow. When wedges take the place of the lines, the resemblance still continues, * but later writing unites the oblique wedges thus; >* and finally throws them away altogether and the result is this form. ▼






Again one of the characters, representing the word *hand," is in the rectilinear writing, clearly the thumb and four fingers. In the older wedge writing it appears as, 𐎶 later still as follows: 𐎶






Inscribed Brick Wedges.

¹ It may be interesting to know the meaning of this inscription. Rawlinson gives it as follows: "Beltis, his lady has caused urukh (?) the pious chief, king of Hur, and king of land (?) of the Akkad to build a temple to her. "Seven Great Monarchies," New York, Vol. I. p. 43

The original ground plan of a house stood for "house."

 In wedge writing it appears as.  It would seem perfectly natural to represent the sun by a circle, the nearest straight line writing could come to it was a square, thus. 

Wedge writing represents the square as follows:  subsequently contracting the latter sign, and finally this form appears for the word sun. 

A curiously complex sign for a woman (or rather the feminine form of the indefinite pronoun "one") can be traced through a succession of forms to the following:  which is probably a double-toothed comb, a toilet article peculiar to a woman; and therefore a fit symbolical representation for one.¹

Such facts as the foregoing seem to show that the origin of wedge writing was in picture writing. Yet it may be that they early departed from such symbols as these, and adopted new forms, appealing to the reason rather than the eye;² and there are not wanting those who think that the origin of this writing is not to be found in picture writing, but in simple mathematical figures not suggested by pictographs. Certain it is that this wedge or cuneiform writing grew into a very extensive system. Some of these combinations stood for words, as, for instance, the star for the word "god." Such words as man, king, father, mother, son, brother were expressed in this way. Some words had several different forms. Some signs were what are called determinatives, that is by their use gave us a clue as to the meaning of the following word. Such signs used before proper names informed the reader whether the name was that of god, or of a town, etc. But most of

¹ Rawlinson "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 45.

² See Wuttke "Entstehung der Schrift," p. 609.


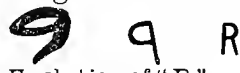
the signs were syllables, which by their combination spelt out words.

We have now considered the general subject of writing as it appears among savage tribes, and the reduction of the same to more definite systems among the principal old world people. Let us briefly review our ground before passing on to consider the origin of our alphabet. In all we find satisfactory evidence that the starting point was picture writing. When such simple pictures come to have a symbolical meaning as well, the first great step is taken. Our Northern tribes had taken this step. When the idea expressed by the picture itself was lost sight of, and the sound of the thing pictured was recalled to mind, a second very important step was reached. The more civilized tribes of Mexico and Central America were just entering on this stage. The Chinese are not further advanced than this stage, though they have brought it to great perfection in combination with the preceding stage.

The nature of the Chinese language was a great obstacle to further advance. It belongs, as we have seen, to the monosyllabic group of languages. Writing consists in representing the sounds of the language. But Chinese words cannot be resolved into simpler sounds, the Chinese therefore had done all that could be expected with a people having a language such as theirs. Further development is found among the people in Southwestern Asia, and in Northern Africa, speaking languages possessing words of several syllables. This was the stage of syllable writing, reached by both the Egyptians and the people making use of the cuneiform characters. We have seen that the Egyptians, and in fact the ancient Chaldeans also, had some characters belonging to the alphabetical stage; and yet they failed of understanding the real principle involved in

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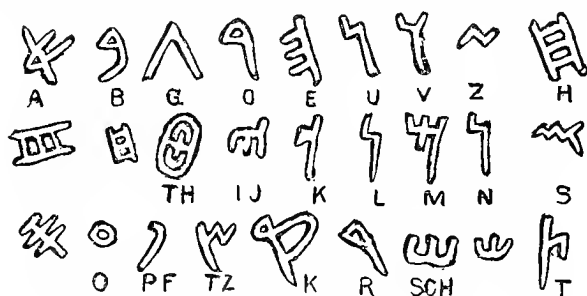
an alphabet.¹ At present the origin of our alphabet is unsettled, or rather we may say the origin of the Phœnician alphabet. A number of eminent scholars think it was derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, through the hieratic writing, specimens of this latter writing being shown some pages back.² But the difficulties are not by any means all cleared up. It is possible that the Phœnician alphabet was developed out of a system of hieroglyphic writing used by the Semitic people, but if so, we have lost all traces of that system. The Phœnicians were the great traders of antiquity, they had commercial dealings with Babylon as well as Egypt. Always ready to turn to account the inventions of other people, it is quite possible that they borrowed the idea, on which their alphabet rests from one of these two sources.

In some cases it seems almost evident that the Phœnician letters are derived from the Egyptian. In the following cut we illustrate one possible derivation. In the Egyptian language the sound expressing "mouth" was "hro" or "ro." Notice the following changes. The first is the hieroglyphic for  mouth, that is the lips. The  Supposed Evolution of "R." second is the cursive or hieratic form, the third is the Phœnician form, and finally the fourth is the English equivalent. A number of such illustrations could be given.

¹ On this point consult Wuttke, "Entstehung der Schrift," p. 502, 709. But the reader must consult our chapter on the Yellow Races. In J. R. A. S. for 1885, Professor T. De La Couperie seems to show that Chinese writing had the same origin as the cuneiform and that the oldest writing in China, the Yh-king, is really a syllabary, like the Assyrian, and further that the history of writing in China is really a change from phonetic writing back to picture writing. "Origin of Writing in and around Thibet."

² Such scholars as M. De Rouge, M. Francis Lenormant and English scholars quite generally.

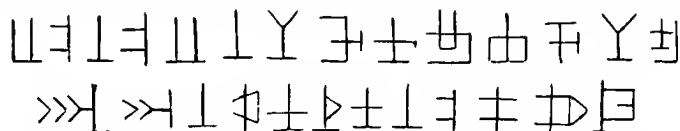
But let us consider the ancient alphabet as a whole as it appears on a coffin of King Eshmunazar of Sidon, as early as 900 B. C. The principal element of this alphabet is a straight line generally in an oblique direction. To this



Phoenician Alphabet.

straight line there are added other straight or slightly curved lines generally on the left side, as the writing reads from right to left. Only in a few cases do curved lines make their appearance.

We must recall that the original form of the wedge writing was straight lines, if then we compare this alphabet as a whole with the following inscription from the palace wall at Nineveh, it would seem quite as likely that the



Inscription at Nineveh.

Phœnicians got their idea of an alphabet from that source, as from the Egyptians.¹

¹ In this discussion we have aimed simply to illustrate the fact that our present writing is a development arising from long continued efforts towards improvement of pre-existing picture writing. We have not aimed to settle the matter. Dr. Taylor in his recent learned work, "The Alphabet," exhaustively treats of the whole question, and seems to settle the matter in favor of the Egyptian writing. But on the other hand consult Hommel "Babylonien und Assyrien."

We have taken some pains with this one subject, the origin of writing, since in a certain sense it illustrates the development of all arts and sciences. Our present knowledge is simply the result of long, slow, continued growth; and in many cases the starting point of that growth is found in that stage of culture known as savagism, and from thence on every increase in culture shows increase in knowledge. The development of the idea of government law and property, has been glanced at; and we have now finished the brief investigation of one of the most useful arts, the one on which our present civilization seems so largely to depend. The art of cultivating the ground, and thus providing a supply of food, not depending on the chances of the chase, an art of the very highest importance, has been learned by man, only by taking a few, feeble steps at a time.

Preparing food for consumption, whether animal or vegetable, a most important process in itself, and which many times doubles our available food supplies and renders harmless what otherwise might be hurtful, is an art which man had to learn step by step. Were we to consider all these points, this volume would not suffice. The purposes of this chapter will be served if we have succeeded in showing that the laws of thought among savages are after all much the same as among civilized men. They constantly reason from the known to the unknown. The difference being that they have no accumulated wisdom to guide them.

If one carefully considers the difficulties, with which primitive man had to contend, it is indeed a suprising thing that any race achieved civilization. And, after all, probably the most advanced have only made a beginning in this work. If savages are children playing on the

shore we are but a short distance removed, the breakers are yet around us, the great ocean is still before us.

In this, as well as in the preceding chapter, we have presented some facts showing how greatly we are apt to err in reasoning about the probable actions of savages. Our source of error is in a failure to see how greatly their ideas may differ from ours. States of life that we are accustomed to seem to be *natural*, meaning by this word that they are just such states of life as nature would teach. Accustomed as we are to the modern family, we assume at once that this is in accordance with the dictates of nature. On the contrary, this form of the family was only reached after passing through at least two other forms. Accustomed to settled government, what more natural than that men thrown together by whatever cause should at once organize some government? On the contrary, the idea of government was of slow growth. Older writers used to talk about certain laws being according to nature. There is not a law in existence but what is the result of development.

When we talk about the "childhood of the race," our words carry a deeper meaning than most people are aware. They do not refer simply to some time long ago, but they also refer to the fact that primitive man in all his intellectual, emotional, social, and moral faculties, was but a child. And this saying, which was true of primitive man generally, is still true of savages and but partially civilized people. When we observe of children generally, that they are impulsive, thoughtless, careless of the future, light hearted, bent on present enjoyment; we are also describing savages, and consequently primitive man. As it takes years of education to train the child thus outlined to be a sober, judicious, thoughtful, far-seeing man, denying to himself present gratifications for the sake of some future,

greater good ; so has it taken the flight of unknown ages to develop from the savage races of primitive times the more enlightened races of to-day.¹

¹ Spencer "Principles of Sociology," Chap. VI, and VII.



Head of Medusa.



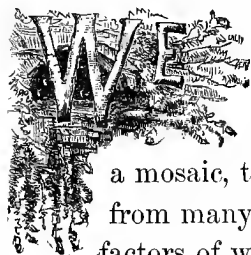
THE SCHOOL OF THE VESTAL VIRGINS.

C. JERROUX.

CHAPTER IV.

PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

Introduction—Different Religious Systems—Religious Growth Capable of study—Limitation of our Subject—Definition of Religion—Savage Speculations—Primitive Theory of Dreams—Shadows, Reflections and Refractions—Savage idea of Souls—Idea of Death—Theory of Sickness—Of Trance—Location of the Future World—In the Earth—Above the Sky—Journey of the Soul—Theory as to the Future Life—The Continuance Theory—Souls of Animals and Objects—Transmigration—Retribution Theory of Future Life—Morality not considered—Rise of belief in Supernatural Beings—Ancestor Worship—Its universal prevalence—Rise of Fetichism—Its extensive prevalence—Belief in Witchcraft, Magic, Sorcery, Etc.—Worship of Animals and Plants—Worship of Images—Savage Philosophy—Sickness—The Savage Priesthood—Spiritualism—Rise of Polytheism—The Greater-Fetish Gods—Sky—Earth—Sea—Fire—Sun—Rise of Monotheism—Conclusions—Summary.



WE ARE in error when we ascribe civilization to any one cause, however important that may be. Civilization is a mosaic, to compose which, materials are drawn from many different sources. It is a product, the factors of which are many. As these factors vary from age to age, so does civilization vary. Amongst these factors or causes, two are found of surpassing importance. They are Science and Religion. They act and react on each other, and together determine, to a great extent, the civilization of a country. Let us now turn our attention more particularly to the subject of religion.

At present, the most enlightened portion of the world's inhabitants profess the religion of Christianity. It is true

that considerable difference of detail exists among the different sects of professing Christians, but on further investigation these differences are found to concern unimportant points only. All are further aware that other great systems of religious belief are in existence. They have heard more or less of Mohammedanism, of the religious systems of the Persians, of Brahmanism in India, and of that great system of the Oriental nations known as Buddhism. And it is generally known that a considerable fraction of the entire population of the world is in a yet lower stage of religious development, which, in its higher form, is known as Shamanism, and in its lower form as Fetichism.

It is not our present purpose to explain and define these different systems, or to show wherein one surpasses the others. The problem we propose to ourselves lies even deeper than that. We propose to discuss the origin and progress of religious belief, to show how it has molded civilization on one hand, and in turn been molded by it. This is a perfectly legitimate field of inquiry, and one that we may most profitably consider. It will show us the workings of the human mind when it first dimly comprehended that it was confronting some unknown power; and how these vague conceptions gradually crystalize into shape, finally, guided by inspiration, resulting in the higher and purer systems of belief. That this has been the course of events, no one need doubt.

The Apostle Paul when he addressed the cultivated and skeptical Athenians asserted that men were constituted so as to "Seek the Lord if happily they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us." The great Apostle to the Gentiles here makes a statement which is found to be in exact accord with modern research. Men have everywhere and at all times been feeling after

that unknown, mysterious Power. The results come before us in the beliefs and creeds of the world, those of savage tribes as well as those of the most enlightened nations. Of necessity then there must have been a time when these conceptions first originated, and clearer ideas and views must have gone hand in hand with every advance in culture.

We may be sure that this growth can be studied the same as we study advance in any other department of culture. We are to go among the lowest and rudest tribes and study their religious beliefs, and then review in succession the beliefs of people higher in the scale. There is no belief so childish, no custom so foolish, no superstition so low, but that we can learn from it, and when we take a comprehensive view of the field, we will find that one of the most interesting chapters in the history of human development lies open before us. An understanding being obtained of it—so pleasant and easy to gain—will prove of great help to us in tracing the course of civilization.

Writing on civilization in general, we cannot pass this question by. We would gladly do so if possible, since it so concerns the great majority of people that it is only by the exercise of the greatest care, that a writer who treats it from a scientific stand point can avoid giving offence. Our feelings and prejudice are aroused, and we can scarcely weigh clearly and impartially the evidence before us. We have observed in many important points, that our preconceived opinions have been found in error, when tested by the knowledge gained by investigating the lower races of men. Let us apply this same method to the question before us, and, for the time being, lose sight of the momentous questions incidentally attaching to our subject.

When we have a difficult task before us, we should observe well our surroundings, and see what established conclusions are within reach, from which we can start on our new investigations. In the present case, we assume as proved the great antiquity of man, that primeval man was in the lowest depths of savagism, and further that advance in any and all directions has been in each case gradual and is the result of slowly accumulated experience. It is further assumed as proved that the lowest existing savages best represent the probable condition of primitive man, and that the course of development is quite fairly outlined in the customs and habits of successively higher and more developed people.¹

Probably few scholars of note would take exception to the foregoing assumptions as long as they were not applied to statements of religious belief. But some might argue that belief in a god, or gods, or spritual beings is natural or instinctive to all men at all times. Possibly this may be so, certainly a great many think so, but we have no proof of it, and perhaps there may be no good reason for thinking that such is the fact of the case. One trouble is that when we once begin to make such exceptions, we do not know where to stop, and we might as well assume, as many do, that man in the infancy of the human race was, comparatively speaking, a highly civilized being possessing clear ideas of god and duty.

We cannot all see things in the same light, but to our mind no necessity whatever exists for making religious beliefs an exception to the general law. No great moral principle is here at stake. Belief in an over-ruling Provi-

¹ When we assume these statements as proved, we do not mean that there is no question about them. But they are the results that seem established by the researches in preceding portions of This Series.

dence, or in the soul's immortality ought in no wise to be affected by questions whether such beliefs are instinctive with man or not. We can even go further than this and hold that, if such beliefs appeared in a rudimentary form in tribes low down in savagery, but grew stronger with every advance in culture, this fact is one of the surest signs that such beliefs are reasonable. We will therefore look on these primitive savages, as beings destitute of religious beliefs, and, in accordance with this theory, we wish to trace the rise and progress of such beliefs. In this connection we want to explain that we are to deal only with people in the lower stage of culture, and hence are not called on to consider or discuss the claims of the higher systems of religion, and consequently all special questions such, for instance, as the inspiration and infallibility of the Bible, are entirely foreign to our purpose. We range only along lower levels of thought, confining ourselves solely to what may be called "natural" religion, disclaiming at the start any consideration of the great philosophical systems of belief, in which division fall all those claiming to be inspired. We want this point to be clearly understood so that no one will judge our statements in this chapter from a wrong basis.

In accordance with above statements we will now search about for some cause which could have suggested to man religious beliefs, granting that he was originally destitute of them. We quickly discover several, and considerable can be said in favor of each. Perhaps we are to recognize each as assisting in this matter. Streams from many sources finally united to produce the various great religious systems of the world. "Fear," say the ancient philosophers, "first made the gods." This statement is certainly one-sided. The feeling of dependence on some supernatural power which would find an object of worship

in the fears of humanity, would also find expression in feelings of love and thankfulness for many blessings.¹ But how did this feeling of dependence arise? Is it natural or instinctive to man? Or does it arise only after the conception has been formed of other states of existence than that usually known and visible?

We will find the same question confronting us when we consider other theories. "Man," says Baring-Gould, "conceives the notion of a great cause guided by his feelings by a process of selection, he conceives an ideal, and this ideal becomes to him an object of passionate devotion."² Such statements, it seems to us, are true only when considerable advance has been made, and our author in question recognizes the fact.³ In this question we must be more than usually careful in imputing to primitive man our thoughts and feelings. Savages are not given to pondering over the mysteries of their surroundings, still less than primitive man. It therefore is not probable that religious conceptions originated in that way. Such speculations are impossible until considerable advance has been gained.

Some pathetic examples of savages wondering in their child-like way over the mysteries of life are indeed given. Of a Kaffir chief, we read that years before he met the white men he asked himself these sorrowful questions, sorrowful because he could not answer them: "Who has touched the stars with his hands? On what pillars do they rest? The waters are never weary, they know no other law than to flow without ceasing from morning until night, and from night till morning, but where do they stop? and who makes them flow thus? The clouds also come and go, and burst in water

¹ Wachsmuth "Culture Geschichte," Leipsic, Vol. I., p. 22.

² "Origin and Development of Religious Belief," New York, 1870 p. 76,

³ Ibid, 78-79.

over the earth. Whence come they? Who sends them?" In the midst of other examples, of which all are doubtless familiar, let us note the following, said to be the puzzled thoughts of a Greenlander: "From whence do the earth, sun, sea, moon and stars proceed? There must necessarily be some one who has created everything, who has always existed, and can have no end. He must be inconceivably more powerful and skillful than the wisest of men. He must also be very good, because everything that he has made is so useful and necessary for us. Did I but know him, what love and respect I should feel for him. But who has seen or conversed with him?"¹

Whatever of truth there may be in these statements, we are sure they are very exceptional cases. As a general thing the lower savages are very little given to speculations. They have neither the power to think nor the desire for knowledge, and consequently do not concern themselves with attempts to explain even the ordinary surroundings, much less such questions as worried the Kaffir chief. Spencer has shown that the lower races generally have not a sufficiently developed mind to be surprised at novelties.² Consequently they do not concern themselves in trying to explain what is to them strange. Park, for instance, observed of some negroes whom he tried to have answer the question whether the sun they saw from day to day was the same or a different sun, that they "considered the question as very childish—they had never indulged a conjecture, nor formed any hypothesis about the matter."³

Taking now the broadest definition of what constitutes religion, that is "the belief in spiritual beings,"⁴ it seems

¹ Crantz "Greenlanders," Vol. I., p. 183.

² "Principles of Sociology," p. 98.

³ Ibid 99.

⁴ Tylor "Primitive Culture," London, 1871, p. 383.

evident that primitive man only reached that stage of belief, because of some events happening sufficiently often to cause even his childish reason to adopt that explanation. Now it is sufficient for us to point out some way or ways in which such a belief might originate. There may of course be several such causes at work.¹ This belief in spiritual beings amongst all the lower tribes has for its root the belief in "another-self." Quite a number of causes are at work to produce this effect. Dreams are a most potent factor.² All savage tribes are great dreamers. Their habits of life conduce to such results; and further the value they set on dreams and the habit of constantly talking about them, only makes them more frequent.³

But now primitive man has no one to explain to him the nature of a dream. He knows nothing about the mind as something distinct from the body. He has no conception of the imagination, he has formed no theory on any of these points. He goes to sleep and dreams that he is fishing on some distant lake. What has happened to this individual savage, is continually happening to others. Even their infantile intellect at length frames some theory to account for these dreams. The theory they form is that "another-self" ordinarily invisible, lives with their body, and that dreams are the experience of this wandering "other-self" who some times goes abroad when the individual is asleep.⁴

¹ Here we wish to repeat that from our stand-point we have no dispute with those who insist that such beliefs are instinctive with man, or that God endowed him with them. Our sole problem is to show how they might have arisen and advanced with advancing culture.

² Fiske "The Idea of God," Boston, 1886, p. 67. Spencer "Principles of Sociology," p. 147, et seq. Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 126. Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 397.

³ Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 400.

⁴ A more scientific term for this theory of "Another-Self," is "Animism," and in this sense is used by such writers as Tiele and Tylor.

Before going farther, let us see that this is actually the primitive theory of dreams. Crantz asserts that the Greenlanders believe that during the night the soul "forsakes the body and goes a hunting, dancing or visiting;" and he further observes that their dreams, "which are numerous, lively, and often remarkably curious, have given rise to this notion."¹ The Indians of North America generally hold that the dreamer's soul leaves the body and goes in search of attractive things.²

The Ancient Peruvians "asserted that the soul could not sleep, and that the things we dream are what the soul sees in the world while the body sleeps."³ And we find also in the Old World that this same theory is widely held. Not to make too extensive quotations, such people as the New Zealanders, Figians, Dyaks of Boroneo, Karens of India, all hold to the belief that in dreams the "other-self" of the sleeper actually experiences what is dreamt about.

Nor is it from dreams alone that such a theory, that is of "another-self," would arise. Many other savage experiences are thus explained. Shadows, reflections and refractions all seem to lead to this belief in "another-self" ordinarily invisible, but at times capable of being seen. A savage finds on bright days and bright nights that he is accompanied by an attendant "something" that moves as he moves. On looking into a lake he sees his own image there reflected. Or in certain unusual states of the atmosphere he sees some uncouth figure outlined against the clouds, which by its movements is seen to sustain some relation to himself.

Here then this "other-self" is sometimes actually

¹ "History of Greenland," London, 1820, Vol. I., p. 185.

² Waitz "Anthropology, etc," Leipsic, 1862, Vol. III., p. 195.

³ Spencer "Principles of Sociology," p. 151.

visible. No one is at hand to explain these optical effects, they simply go to confirm the "dream theory." Evidence from the most distant localities show us that the shadow is often regarded as the soul. The Greenlanders believe that the shadow seen in the day is the soul that wanders forth in dreams.¹ The Bennin Negroes "call a man's shadow his passadoor, or conductor, and believe it will witness if they live well or ill,"² and this belief is widely extended among the Negroes.³ Language is here of great help. Tribes in the most widely separated portions of the earth use the same word for shadow and soul.⁴ The Zulus believe the shadow is the soul, and that a dead body, from which the soul is gone will cast no shadow.⁵ Still other tribes think it not safe to walk so near a river that a crocodile could sieze the shadow.⁶ The case is much the same as regards reflections. Williams, speaking of the Figians, says: "I once placed a good-looking native before a mirror. He stood delighted. 'Now,' said he softly, 'I can see into the world of spirits.'"⁷

Thus we see, that in seeking for some cause, which might give rise to the idea of a "soul," supposing that no revelation were vouchsafed to man, we easily discover several at work in the case of each and every individual savage which would naturally give rise to confused ideas of "another-self." We have now mentioned but one set of causes, out of the many, which bring about this belief. Probably primitive man is more affected by these

¹ Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 185.

² Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 128.

³ Spencer "Sociology," p. 131.

⁴ Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. 1., p. 388.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ "Fiji and the Figians," New York, 1859, p. 189.

considerations than by any other. There are mysterious events happening in the lives of all, in the life of the savage as well as the civilized man, which when fairly considered, lead directly to the belief of the existence of supernatural beings. Or in a higher stage of culture still, the mysterious powers of nature, eloquently proclaim a "God of nature." This truth finds expression in such sayings as that "an undevout astronomer is mad." All this is gladly admitted, but we must guard against the assumption that primitive man is capable of reasoning in this way, or is affected by such circumstances. But the causes we have described are found by patient investigation, as we have pointed out, to influence even the lowest of existing savages. It is therefore not surprising that men everywhere, even in the most debased condition, are found to have some sort of religious belief, though in some cases it may be scarcely more than a confused belief in this "other-self." Probably no tribes are known to be destitute of at least such beliefs. The statements sometimes made of the existence of whole tribes entirely destitute of religious beliefs, is based upon a definition of religion involving something higher than this.¹

Supposing now the conception of a soul once formed, we will trace the development of this idea. This course will illustrate to us in a very striking manner the working of the savage mind, and we will see that savages do not form conclusions without what seems to them good reasons for the same. In what part of the body does this "other-self" reside? A number of rude tribes think the heart is the place. Such is the belief of the Tongans and the Bæsutos, of Africa.² Others connect it with the blood, and

¹ On this point see Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 121, et seq. Darwin "Descent of Man," New York, 1875, p. 93, and compare with Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 377, et seq.

² Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 389.

especially the pulses. This conception appears in Jewish and Arabic philosophy.¹ A vast number of people have identified the soul with the breath or act of breathing. It is surprising in how many languages, including our own, we can trace a connection between the words signifying breath or wind and spirit.²

These confused notions of the soul sometimes lead to the belief that man has several souls. Thus the Greenlanders "believe in two souls, namely the shadow and the breath of men."³ A variety of beliefs appear among the Indian tribes. Some said there were two souls; "one goes out and sees dreams, the other remains behind."⁴ Others thought there were three souls—a good soul which went to a warm land, a bad soul which went to a cold land and a soul which remained with the body;⁵ and finally the Dakotas believed in four souls, of which one goes to the spirit world, one wanders in the air, one remains with the body, and one continues to reside in the village.⁶ Of the Figians, "some speak of man as having two souls. His shadow is called the dark spirit which goes to Hades. The other is his likeness reflected in water" and is supposed to stay near the place in which a man dies.⁷ Similar beliefs are found among the aboriginal inhabitants of India. One of the four souls of the Khonds passes, after the death of the individual, into the body of a new born child. One of the formal questions asked by the priest is, "what member of the tribe has returned?" and means are taken to satisfy

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid 390-91

³ Crantz "Greenlanders," Vol. I, p. 185.

⁴ Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 392.

⁵ Waitz "Anthropology, etc." p. 194.

⁶ Ibid. 195.

⁷ Williams "Figians and the Figians," p. 189.

themselves on this point.¹ Most people, however, confine their belief to but one "other-self."

In general, rude tribes hold, as we have seen, that the soul is not necessarily connected with the life of the body, but that, for instance during sleep, it sometimes leaves the body for a short period. In such cases it is generally easily induced to return to the body, sometimes even calling by name is sufficient, or at most a slight shaking will suffice. But numerous phenomena occur which convince savages that it can not always be readily induced to return. There is even danger that it will stay away altogether. Such for instance, are fainting spells, apoplexy, catalepsy, coma and all those spells of unconsciousness produced by disease or accidents.² In numerous cases they have seen this "other-self" recalled by various means. Hence the actions of some savages in case of death to induce if possible the return of this "other-self."

The Hottentots, if they think death is at hand, seek to deter the soul's separation by making known their displeasure at this course. So "they reproach and ill use the dying and those just dead, for going away."³ In some cases they even treat the body in a way which would cause the living intense pain. The object is if possible to induce the soul's return. The tribes in Northern Asia, when they suspect death is at hand, "the friends and relations go thrice around the dwelling, affectionately calling back the soul by name, while as a further inducement the Lama reads from his book descriptions of the pains of Hell, and the dangers incurred by a soul which willfully abandons its body."⁴ And thus can we understand those scenes

¹ Spencer "Sociology," p. 157, et seq.

² Ibid. 168.

³ Tylor Op. cit. p. 392.

⁴ Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. p. 395.

witnessed in various, widely separated portions of the earth, where the body itself is addressed as though it could hear, asking it to declare the cause of its death, imploring it to return to life—all these various scenes are due to the belief that the “other-self” is away and might be induced to return.

In all these cases the absence of the soul has as a result the insensibility of the body. Such, however, is not always held to be the case. The soul may be absent from the body and its absence be scarcely noticed. The Greenlanders explain home sickness on the theory that one of their souls has remained at home.¹ The Salish Indians of Oregon think that the soul may wander away without the individual being conscious of it. The priest, however, informs him of the facts of the case, and to prevent unpleasant consequences kindly uses his power to restore it to him, putting it down through the top of the head.² When the Karens of India return from burying a member of their band, they provide themselves with little hooked sticks, by the aid of which they prevent their souls staying behind with the soul of their dead companion.³ In Figi the spectacle is sometimes witnessed of a lusty native calling out most piteously for the return of his own soul.⁴

This belief in the temporary departure of the soul forms one side of the savage belief in sickness. It is the temporary absence of the soul. This belief is found all over the world. The Indians accounted for sickness as the “shadow” being unsettled, and if the convalescent exposed himself unnecessarily, he was censured for so doing before

¹ Crantz “Greenlander,” Vol. I., p. 184.

² Bastian “Der Mensch,” Vol. II., p. 320.

³ Spencer “Sociology,” p. 163.

⁴ Williams “Figi and Figians,” p. 190.

his "shadow" was well settled.¹ Some tribes held that in cases of prolonged unconsciousness, but with final recovery, that the soul had turned back when on the boundary of the spirit land, or after a short visit thither.² This primitive belief is found in Africa, India and Australia, showing how true it is that the laws of thought are much the same everywhere.

Still another view of this theory of a wandering "other-self" must be taken. We have reference to those extraordinary subjective states of the mind known as ecstasy or trance, and which the priesthood among all partially civilized people have employed to more firmly establish their power. Thus among the Greenlanders the *angedkok* or priest prepares for his office only after gaining the proper knowledge while in a trance. When consulted on various questions, he sends his soul to hold intercourse with the deity.³ The Australian "doctor," must also visit the world of spirits and he had the power of sending his soul there to obtain information when wanted.⁴ The magicians among the Finns can pass readily into this state and discover concealed things.⁵ The same is true of Indian medicine-men and Siberian shamans. We have no reason to suppose those wizzards are all deceivers. In many cases they are no doubt sincere in their belief. They have simply put the wrong interpretation on a state of the mind of which their philosophy tells them nothing. Indeed this is the identical explanation given to-day to some cases of trance.

We make a very great mistake if we fail to see the

¹ Tylor Op. cit., Vol. I., p. 304.

² Waitz "Anthropology, etc." Vol. III., p. 195.

³ Crantz "Greenland," Vol. 1., p. 195.

⁴ Howitt "Kamilaroi and Kurnai."

⁵ Bastian "Mensch," Vol. II., p. 319.

deep significance of these beliefs which are gathered from such widely different sources. They are far more than simply curious bits of superstition. When we thus pass in review the beliefs of tribes in about the same stage of development from Greenland to Africa, from Australia to North America, and find them to be thus *identically* the same, it affords a most instructive example of the working of the mind in a primitive state. It accepts the only explanation that ignorance presents of the most ordinary circumstances. Thus in a most natural manner is found to arise the belief in "another-self," ordinarily invisible but not always so, which can exist apart from the body; and these examples should satisfy us once for all that savages do not come to their beliefs as the results of deep speculations. Primitive man does not stand in wondering awe contemplating the mysterious forces of nature. He forms no hypotheses about them.

Though it is scarcely necessary we wish to make a remark which it is well to bear in mind throughout this chapter. The great mission of the inspired word of God, the great mission of Christianity itself is simply to correct the false conclusions drawn from nature. The ideas of God, immortality, of duty, etc., were in the world long before the Hebrew people separated themselves from the Semitic people in general, and are found to exist among tribes who never had any supernaturally given revelations. Christianity goes forth to these rude savages. It does not begin by destroying their principal, fundamental beliefs, but frees them from error and teaches a more excellent way. Bearing this thought in mind, let us continue on our way. We have seen how ideas of the soul arise among rude people. This constitutes the lowest form of religious belief. Let us see how this belief developed with advancing custom.

Let us now notice a conclusion which would naturally present itself when once this doctrine of "another-self" had arisen. We have already seen that the soul is considered as capable of existing apart from the body, and, further, death itself is but an aggravated case of such absence, so long continued that the body suffers dissolution. How long can this "other-self" remain away from the body? Evidently considerable time, for in some cases days have passed and the unconscious one has revived. Therefore, in death the "other-self" is supposed to be still in existence. Here the savage theory of dreams strengthens this conclusion. The savage dreams that his comrade who died and was buried is with him once more. The only explanation he can give is that the "other-self" of his dead comrade appeared in his sleep.

But now, how about the life which this "other-self" lives apart from the body, now for days at a time, and now for an indefinite time, so long that the body decays? Savages, of course, are unable to conceive of a life quite unlike their own. Hence the first stage of belief that the life led by this "other-self" after death is much like that before death; and, as for the place of abode, in the first instance, this is supposed to be the old accustomed haunts, with frequent visits to the place where his body may be. This belief comes out particularly strong among the Africans. Nearly all the wild tribes suppose that the souls of the dead remain near the place of burial. Livingston asserts of the tribes north of the Zambesi River "all believe that the souls of the departed still mingle among the living."¹ The same is true of the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands;² and, we saw some pages back, that our Indians, in some

¹ Spencer "Sociology," p. 217.

² *Ibid.*

cases, held that at least one of the souls of the departed remained in the village.¹

But this belief changes at an early stage. The "other-self" is supposed to haunt the accustomed place for a short time only and then goes away. The Greenlanders "affirmed that souls loiter near the graves of the bodies which they animated for five days,"² after which they went to another world. The Indians universally held that the soul of the dead remained for some time near its old home. The Iroquois made a small hole in the grave so that the soul could go in and out. Other tribes provided for its wants for a year at least.³ Williams tells us that the Figians, when a native dies of whom they were afraid, "hide themselves for a few days until they suppose the spirit is at rest."⁴ In old Calabar the son inherited the hut of his deceased father, but he did not occupy it for two years, by that time the soul was supposed to have gone away.⁵ With a kindly feeling the Congo Negroes did not sweep the house for a year after death, lest the dust should disturb the soul.⁶

But, in general, the souls of the departed soon take their way to a place regarded as their special abode. Sometimes this special abode is only a little ways off. "In New Caledonia the spirits of the departed are supposed to go to the bush, and Turner says 'that in Samoa, spirits were supposed to roam the bush.'"⁷ In general, however, the home of the soul is some distance removed, though still considered near. Often mountains are set aside by popular superstition for this purpose. The tribes of Oregon

1 On this point also, Tylor "Primitive Culture,"

2 Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 189.

3 Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 195.

4 "Figians and Figians," p. 189.

5 Bastian "Mensch," Vol. II., p. 323.

6 Ibid.

7 Spencer "Sociology," p. 218.

placed the abode of spirits in the Rocky Mountains.¹ So the ancient Mexicans supposed the land of the blessed to be among the mountains of Mexico.² So also the natives of Hayti pointed out to the Spaniards lovely valleys in their island where the souls of the departed lived, and feasted on the tropical fruits there growing.³ On the island of Borneo, the traveler may visit the happy land and see the moss on which the spirits feed.⁴ So also the beliefs of the Brazillians, whose happy land is behind the mountains.⁵

But the constant tendency of advancing intelligence is to remove the spirit land some distance away. Perhaps Spencer is right when he asserts that the explanation of this constant tendency is to be found in the migration of rude people. As time passes on, and the knowledge of their early home fades away, there would still exist among them traditions of a far away place which is thought of as better than their present location; and after death the "other-self" would set off for that other land.⁶ One of the most beautiful forms of this belief is some happy island far away. This conception is met with in Australia where some of the natives believe in an island of souls to the West.⁷ The inhabitants of the Tonga Islands "believe in the existence of a large island to the northwest of their group, but which no mortal can find unless such be the will of the gods. This island is supposed to be much larger than all their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits

¹ Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 345.

² Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 54.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 418.

⁶ Spencer "Principles of Sociology," New York, 1877, p. 220.

⁷ Tylor Op. cit., Vol. II., p. 5.

and most beautiful flowers according to their respective natures; that when these fruits or flowers are plucked others immediately occupy their place, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive.¹ Traces of this same conception are met among people much farther advanced.

It is but a step from this belief to the conceptions of more remote regions still. A vast number of people have hit on the idea that the spirit world is beneath the earth. Perhaps cave-burial, which has been very extensively practiced has had considerable to do with the genesis of this belief.² However that may be, the belief in question is very wide spread. Some of the Greenlanders place the spirit land "in the depths of the ocean or under the earth, and suppose the deep chasms in the rocks to be its avenues.... there is perpetual summer, and clear sunshine uninterrupted by night. There are limpid streams and a superabundance of birds, fishes, seals and reindeers, which may be caught without trouble, or even found boiling alive in a large kettle."³ This belief re-appears in many Indian tribes. The Tacullis believe that the soul continues to live in the interior of the earth.⁴ The Sioux believe that the cavern near the falls of St. Anthony leads to the underground world.⁵ The Navajos believe in an "underground world of plenty stocked with game and covered with corn."⁶

¹ Mariner "Tonga Islanders," London, 1818, Vol. II., p. 101. In this case we are to note the significant fact that the migration to these islands was from the northwest. The name of this blissful island is nothing else than a form of Bouro, the small island, from which centuries before their ancestors started in their migrations, lying between Celebes and Guinea.

² Spencer "Sociology," p. 222

³ Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 186.

⁴ Waitz "Anthropology, etc." Vol. III., p. 197.

⁵ Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 60.

⁶ Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 241.

This belief is found among the South American tribes, Polynesian Islanders and in Africa.¹ The Karens of India likewise hold that when the sun set on earth, it rises in the underground world of spirits.

The next step is to remove this spirit world to some far off region. For this purpose, the sun, the moon and the heavens are chosen. Some of the Greenlanders, as we have seen, believe in a subterranean spirit world, but others place "the happy residence of the dead in the highest heavens, above the rainbow."² Dr. Brinton thinks that the Indian race universally held that the sun was the place of their happy land.³ It is well-known that rude tribes almost universally conceive of the blue firmament above us as a material, solid substance. Above this firmament many people have placed the spiritworld. "The Iroquois speak of the soul going upward and westward, till it comes out on the beautiful plains of heaven with people and trees and things as on earth,"⁴ and the like conception of heaven above the firmament, survives among people of a far higher culture.

We can readily see that among rude people, when the spirit land is considered as removed some distance away, there would naturally arise the idea of the soul's journey to this land. A journey which is generally attended with many adventures, and in many cases the newly emancipated souls are liable to suffer a second death which ends all life. The Figians believe that the road to their Elysian fields is long and difficult, and its accomplishment is dependent on many contingencies. In a certain stage of

¹ Tylor *Op*, cit., p. 60.

² Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 187.

³ "Myths of the New World," p. 243.

⁴ Tylor, Vol. II., p. 66.

their journey they have to meet the "Killer of Souls" in combat. Only those who escape unharmed in this combat go further. If the soul be that of an unmarried man the case is nearly hopeless. "They are dashed in pieces on a large black stone, just as one shatters rotten fire wood."¹

We read in Crantz of the singular belief of the Greenlanders. Departed souls do not go at once to the happy underground heaven. "They must first slide for the space of five days—down a rough rock. They always lament the fate of those poor souls who have to undertake their journey in cold, stormy weather, during which they may easily perish."² And how pathetic is the statement that they kill a dog and bury its body with the body of a little child. It is so easy for a dog to find its way home, and thither it will conduct the little soul entrusted to its care.

There is one feature in this journey of the departed which calls for special mention. The belief in a passage across a body of water, river, lake or sea is of very frequent occurrence. Commencing with tribes very low indeed in the state of civilization, it is found in all stages of culture, and to-day we constantly talk of the "river of death." Spencer suggests that this belief arises from the fact that no extensive migration could take place without crossing some body of water; and, therefore, if death be regarded as a home-going of the "other-self," the soul must recross such water.³ Others see in this notion a deeper meaning. Regarding the spirit world as the place where the sun shines when it is night here, it is natural to suppose that the journey to the same is towards the place where

¹ Williams "Figi," p. 186.

² "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 186.

³ "Sociology," p. 224.

the sun sets. But this is far away across the waters.¹ This river of death constantly meets us, whether in Africa, Polynesia, India or America, and its crossing is attended with many difficulties which we will examine further on.

Let us pause a minute to review the ground over which we have now gone. We are in constant danger of losing sight of the real lesson underlying these statements of primitive belief. We have seen how this belief in "another-self" would arise and gradually assume definite proportions, and how a very important part of this belief was that this "other-self" was generally invisible, but was capable of existence apart from the body, and that its absence generally caused unconsciousness of the body. Hence arises the natural conclusion that death is simply the permanent absence of this "other-self," which was supposed to be still in existence elsewhere. We have now seen how this "other-self," is supposed, in the first stage of culture, to still haunt its accustomed place; but with advancing culture it is conceived as going to a spirit land, which is variously located, sometimes in a near neighborhood, but is generally considered as somewhat difficult of access; and then is located in some distant region of the earth, finally under the earth, or far removed from it. Let us now examine the ideas of future life and see what form they took.

The first stage of belief almost universally held is that the future life is simply a continuation of the present. Savages cannot conceive of a completely imaterial existence. True the "other-self" cannot generally be seen, and in their dream experiences they know that it has mysterious powers. A shake of a comrade suffices to recall in a

¹ Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 84. Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 248.

moment's time the wandering "other-self," though it were miles away. But they are quite incapable of reducing their conception to any orderly system, and the result is confused notions as to its existence and the life it is supposed to live. The easiest explanation that appears to primitive man, the only life of which he can possibly conceive, in fact, is simply a life like the one he is now living. The "other-self" is imagined as a material body and has, of course, material appetites, passions and wants.

The "other-self" will, then, need all those articles conducing to his comfort while in the body. Hence the custom of burying with the body the means of supplying these wants. The practice of thus burying food, clothing and utensils is so well-known that it is scarcely necessary to cite examples. We know that universally among partially civilized people this custom prevails. Sometimes it is stated generally that the property of the deceased is buried with him.¹ In other cases only what was more highly prized or necessary; with the warrior his weapons, with the women household articles, with all what was considered necessary.

Along with this idea of a future life like the present, comes necessarily the idea of souls of animals and objects. Other causes were at work to produce such conceptions. Does not the "other-self," see animals, trees, houses and all manner of articles in dreams? Obviously, then, these objects so seen must be the "other-selves" of the real objects. At any rate the idea of animal and object souls is found fully developed at an early stage. We have in the Indian chief's vision of heaven, the spirits of

¹ Spencer "Sociology," p. 202. Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II., p. 193.

birds and animals, and the long train of arriving spirits is deeply burdened with the spirits of the articles buried with them.¹ So the Navajos believe that the reason why some seeds and germs fall on earth but do not sprout, is because their souls have gone to sprout and grow in the underground paradise.² The Figi Islanders show the traveler a deep well or "hole in the ground at one of their islands, across the bottom of which runs a stream of water, in which you may clearly perceive the souls of men and women, beasts and plants, of stocks and stones, canoes and houses, and of all the broken utensils of this frail world," swimming past on their way to the spirit world.³ The Karens of India suppose that every object has a soul; axes, knives, trees, plants all alike have souls to be used in the future world.⁴

We can easily understand how the first step of change in the idea of a future life took place. The "other-self" instead of making use of the literal articles of food, drink, etc., used the souls of such objects. The Indians knew well enough that the kettles, furs and weapons buried with their warriors remained in the tomb, but they explained that the souls of such objects went to the dead who used them.⁵ So the Polynesian Islanders explained to inquiring whites, that there was a spiritual as well as a material part to the food presented to the dead, and that spiritual part was for the use of the spirits.⁶ And thus we understand the spirit world of rude tribes generally. "The dead Karen with the soul of his axe and cleaver,

¹ Schoolcraft "Indian Tribes," Vol. II., p. 68.

² Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 241.

³ Mariner "Tonga Islanders," Vol. II., p. 129.

⁴ Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 433.

⁵ Tylor *Op. cit.*, p. 434.

⁶ Ellis "Polynesian Research," London, 1859, Vol. II., p. 404.

builds his house and cuts his rice; the shade of the Algonquin hunter hunts souls of beaver and elk, walking on the souls of his snow-shoes over the soul of the snow; the fur wrapped Kamschadal drives his dog-sledge; the Zulu milks his cows and drives his cattle to the kraal.¹

Some people accept the idea that the future life is to be but a continuation of this life in its most literal sense. It was to be a continuation of the condition of the individual at the time of death. The chief continues to rule, the subject to obey. The rich retain their wealth, and the poor struggle with poverty. Hence the Figians, who believe that "as they die such will be their condition in another world,"² are not anxious to experience the infirmities of old age. It would never do to pass into the spirit world with the decrepitude of age, so they destroy their relations and friends long before the natural close of life. It is stated that this custom was so extensive that only one instance of death from natural causes occurred during quite a long period.³ For a similar reason, the Negro fears long sickness before death, since it would send him in an enfeebled condition to the next world.⁴ When an Australian has slain an enemy, he cuts off the right thumb so that the soul may not be able to throw a spear.⁵ And we can understand the feelings of the Indian mother; whose grief at the death of her little child was greatly relieved when its father died also, he would now provide for its wants.⁶

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 69.

² Williams "Fiji and Figians," p. 144.

³ Bariug-Gould "Origin and Development of Religious Belief," p. 86.

⁴ Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II., p. 194.

⁵ Tylor "Culture," Vol. I., p. 407.

⁶ Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 196.

Regarding future life as a continuation of this life, we at once understand scenes witnessed in so many parts of the world, of slaves and attendants being sacrificed to accompany their dead master. This terrible custom is extremely prevalent throughout Africa, especially in Dahomey. Hundreds of attendants are slain to serve the departed monarch in the spirit land.¹ But this same custom re-appears all over the world; in Figei, in our own country among the Peruvians, Mexicans and Southern Indians. It survived into higher stages of culture. Traces of it are recognized in China, and widow burning in Hindoostan shows that the Aryans themselves advanced through this stage of thought.² The genesis of these horrid customs is not hard to find. Believing in a future life like their own, they wished to provide the departed lord with attendants, companions, wives and slaves.

Here we must stop to notice one line of development of belief in a future life, which has no immediate connection with our present subject, yet this belief re-appears so extensively in some of the higher systems that it is necessary to speak about it. That is the doctrine of transmigration of souls. Amongst the confused notions that the Indians entertained of souls we saw, some pages back, that one was supposed to remain with the tribe and pass into the body of a new born child. In one tribe the medicine-man places his hand upon the breast of the dying or just dead, and then upon the head of a near relative. The child next born is supposed to have the soul of the dead relative and receives his name and rank.³ In order

¹ Ibid, Vol. II., p. 192.

² The laws of Menu do not favor widow burning, and in this respect the custom may be said to have been foisted on the Aryans.

³ Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 195.

that the mother's spirit might pass to the child, the Seminole Indians held the new-born babe over the face of the dying mother.¹ For a similar reason, "the women among the Algonquin Indians generally flocked to the couch of the dying, so that the new soul might enter some one and thus find a new home in the body of some unborn child."² This belief re-appears amongst the most widely separated people.

The Greenlanders along with their other notions hold it. It is said that "as soon as a person dies, his soul is supposed to animate a new-born infant."³ It is the same with African tribes. "The Yorubas greet a new born infant with the exclamation, 'Thou art come,' and look for signs to show what ancestral soul has returned."⁴ We saw some pages back that the Khonds of India believe that one of the four souls of human beings is re-born in the tribe, the priest knows how to determine which one has returned. Some tribes account in this way for the resemblance of the child to the parent.

We have seen that savage philosophy allows that both animals and material objects have souls. That being so, it is not strange that we should find the belief that the souls of the departed sometimes re-appear in animal and even material shapes. The Australians quite generally believe that the whites are simply the re-appearance of the ghosts of the blacks. The explorer Howett was frequently greeted as a "walking ghost."⁵ An Australian condemned to death comforted himself with the belief that he would rise a white man and have plenty of money.⁶ They sometimes recog-

¹ Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 253.

² Ibid.

³ Crantz "Greenland," London, 1820, Vol. I. Note p. 342.

⁴ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 4.

⁵ "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 248.

⁶ Spencer "Sociology," p. 186.

nize a departed relative in some white person. Governor Grey was wept over by a native woman as her deceased son come back to life.¹ A settler having a bent arm was at once recognized as a native not long dead.² A shipwrecked woman was adopted by a native tribe. The children would sometimes tease her, when the men would tell them to let her alone, "poor thing! she is nothing only a ghost."³ This belief is widely prevalent in Polynesia,⁴ and re-appears in Africa.⁵

As to re-appearance in animal shape, the evidence is equally abundant. Such a belief was quite common among the Indians, who generally found a place for one of their souls in some animal. In some cases we find the belief that after the funeral feast, one of the souls takes the form of a turtle dove.⁶ The same conception, that is of doves being the residence of human souls after death, re-appears in Brazil.⁷ A trace of this belief is to be seen in a beautiful custom among the Iroquois Indians; they captured a bird and freed "it over the grave on the evening of the burial, to bear away the spirit to its heavenly rest."⁸ The Powhattans of Virginia held that a certain small bird received the souls of their princes at death,⁹ but the souls could pass into other animals as well.¹⁰

It is scarcely necessary to show how widely this idea prevailed in the ancient world. We find it generally stated of Negro tribes, that they believed that souls of the dead

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 159.

⁴ Bastian "Mensch," Vol., III., p. 362-3.

⁵ Spencer "Sociology," p. 187.

⁶ Müller "Urreligionen" Basil, 1885, p. 56.

⁷ Brinton "Myths of the New World", p. 102.

⁸ Morgan "Iroquois," Rochester, 1851, p. 174.

⁹ Brinton "Myths," p. 102.

¹⁰ Waitz "Anthropology, etc," Vol. III., p. 419.

could take the form of animals.¹ The Zulus held that a snake was the form most assumed by the departed.² If the snake has any particular mark corresponding to some scar or other deformity of some departed one, it is at once recognized as his ghost.³ Should a native see one near a grave, he at once speaks of "seeing" the person buried there.⁴ But when the idea of object souls arises, nothing is to hinder the conception of human beings passing after death into such objects. The Dyaks of Borneo speak of "the human soul entering the trunks of trees where it may be seen damp and blood-like, but no longer personal and sentient,"⁵ and some of the tribes in Bengal believe fruit trees are the abodes of the souls of good men.⁶ One more observation on the belief of a Mexican tribe will bring this part of our subject to a close. We read "they worshiped every stone as a god, as they said that all men were converted into stones after death, and that a day was coming when all stones would be raised as men."⁷

Let us not at present dwell on these suggestive facts. We seem to be in position to understand and discuss the worship of animals, plants and stones, but we are not yet ready. Neither do we care at present to show how extensively this theory of transmigration enters into some of the higher systems of religion. In reviewing the ground thus far gone over, let us bear in mind only the main points. Many experiences of savage life led them to believe in the existence of "another-self" ordinarily invisible, at times however visible, residing in the body. Death is the pro

¹ Waitz *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 177.

³ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 7.

⁴ Andover Review, 1886.

⁵ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 7.

⁷ Spencer "Sociology," p. 194.

² *Idid*, 411.

⁶ *Ibid*,

longed absence of this "other-self," which is thought of as still in existence, leading a life the same as his previous one, in some unknown place, generally far away; though he sometimes seeks again the land of the living, now in human form, now in animal shape, and yet again as some material object, as tree, plant or stone.

We have examined the first stage of savage belief, that is, that the future life was to be but the continuation of the present life, or a life in all respects like it. This conception soon gives way to slightly contrasted views. In general, mankind forms the conception of a future world which is to be the idealization of earthly good. The conception of what is good, varies, of course, with the culture and surroundings. The Greenlanders hope for a land of clear sunshine abounding with fat seals and reindeers which can be caught without trouble.¹

The language of the Indian tribes was exhausted in picturing forth the happy hunting ground; plains dotted with lakes, through which rolled great rivers, on which grazed herds of buffalo, elk and all manner of game. The tree dwelling tribes of Brazil hope to find a forest full of Calabash trees and game.² Further south the Patagonians hope to be "eternally drunk."³ We need not illustrate with quotations from other sections. There is, however, another and sader side to this picture which consists in representing the other world as a dismal abode, "where the soul experiences neither joy nor sorrow."

We have seen that not all the dead are able to reach the spirit world. The Greenlander who died in Winter runs great danger of perishing on his way, while the unmarried

¹ Crantz "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 186.

² Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 70, ³ Spencer "Sociology," p. 201,

Figian was doomed to the second death. The Tonga islanders thought that immortality was to be the lot of the chiefs only, the ordinary folks were denied this boon.¹ In general, among rude tribes, we find a trace only, of the belief that a person's condition after life depends upon his manner of life. It is most interesting to notice how this belief in a life after death just like the present, to which all are admitted, gradually changes with advancing culture, until finally two future worlds are presented to our view; one of happiness to which the good souls go, one of misery the place of the doomed. The theory that the future state is dependent on the manner of life lived here seems to be an outgrowth of the older theory. If it be true that the rich will continue rich, the poor remain in poverty, the servant to serve and the master to rule; why then it follows that the kind of life that would lead to success and happiness here, will be equally effective there. Then surely it is but a step to the further belief that the possession of those qualities leading to success and happiness here would pre-eminently fit their possessor for a residence in the happy land of spirits.

At this stage of development, which is pre-eminently the savage stage, the question of morality does not enter. Indeed, the student who takes a comprehensive view of religion will quickly make the discovery that morality and religion are strangers to each other in the ruder states of society. The savage pays very great regard to bravery, cunning and other qualities leading to success in hunting or in war. It is only in higher states of society that the gentler virtues of morality are appreciated. We must furthermore observe, in order to understand savage belief,

¹ Mariner "Tonga Islanders," p. 128,

that those not worthy of entrance to the better land were not by any means peremptorily shut out; they were simply left to shift for themselves, if they could overcome the great difficulties of their journey thither well and good.

The Greenlanders admitted to their heaven only those who were good workers and successful hunters.¹ These were excellent qualities, but observe that no question of morality was considered. The general belief of the Indians was that the "good" were in some way assisted by the good spirit, while the bad were left to shift for themselves;² but to understand what the Indians meant by "good," we must notice the Pawnee chief's definition that "The good are good warriors and hunters."³ The assistance they are supposed to receive is largely in overcoming the dangers incurred in the passage to the spirit land. One idea that constantly re-appears in the Indian belief is that of a stream to be crossed in some portion of the journey, the only passage of which is over a slippery log with the bark peeled off; or sometimes a writhing, twisting snake takes the place of the log,⁴ but the good are assisted in these passages.

In short, without going all over the ground, we can assert at once that the characteristic savage conception of the spirit land shows only the beginning of the idea that the future life was to be, in any important sense, a place where the individual would answer for the deeds done in the body. Advancing intelligence, which finally carried the White and Yellow races out of Savagery into Barbarism and Civilization, gradually united morality and religion, and so permitted the rise and progress of what is known as

¹ Crantz "Greenland, Vol. I., p. 186.

² Brinton "Myths," p. 242.

³ Ibid. 300, ⁴ Waitz "Anthropology," etc., Vol. III., p. 197.

the "Retribution" theory of future life, a theory embraced by all the great systems of religion of the present.

We have been considering what we might call natural religion. Probably few would take exception to what has thus far been said. We have both revealed and natural religion. Rude tribes the world over are found to have ideas of a human soul, a spirit world and generally a belief in immortality. The problem is to account for the existence of such ideas and beliefs. There is, of course, a temptation to solve the question by looking on such beliefs as the fragments left of purer religious beliefs, referring to a time of primeval innocence, before death, sin and unbelief entered the world. This is to claim for religious culture a position long since abandoned for culture in general. We have no desire to discuss this question in detail. In our opinion it is unwise to make any such claims. Nature takes her feeble children by the hand and in many ways leads man, even while yet a savage, to hope for immortality, and dream of infinite good. It is not surprising that man should have mistaken many parts of Nature's teachings, and missed many points of her lesson. These errors are corrected with advancing culture. But man is finite, the question before him partakes of the infinite. It is only when here and there great and good men climb so high in thought that they stand bathed in the sunshine of inspiration, that a clear and consistent explanation is given to man.

Belief in immortality has exercised a tremendous influence on the culture of the world. This influence among the lower races has not always been healthy. A few moments reflection will show us why, as far as the savage world is concerned, this should be the case. Largely because savages failed to connect morality with this belief, or perhaps

we had better say, because their conceptions of morality were still of such a low grade. Nothing is clearer than that what constitutes morality changes with advancing culture. Communal marriage—a perfectly innocent mode of life for the Australians—appears to civilized man as the very cess-pool of iniquity. The cruel massacre of the Amalekites receives the sanction of Samuel, civilized man at the present day condemns it. Savage morality, like savage culture in general, is of a very low grade. But such as it is, it is virtually unconnected with the belief in immortality. Only in a rudimentary form does the belief appear that a man's actions here influenced his life hereafter.

When the belief prevails, as it does among the majority of savages, that the future life is simply a continuation of this life, it can exercise little influence for good. Such people, like the Indians of Yucatan, look on death almost with indifference. It is with them only an "accident of life." On the other hand, indirectly it has had an enormous and disastrous influence on people in the lower stages of society. It leads to the slaughter of slaves, wives and companions, and the destruction of property. Those who regard the future life as like the present only surpassing it in excellence may have less reason to fear death than those who look forward to a gloomy hereafter, but in both cases we see how old and sick people are put out of the way so that they may not enter the spirit world burdened with infirmities. Finally, when in the higher range of Savagery, the idea prevails that the exercise of those qualities conducing to success here influences for good the life hereafter, then also we see that this belief, which in subsequent stages of culture exercises a power for good, here fails of that effect for it simply exalts sav-

age virtues, such as bravery, success in hunting and in war. But when the idea prevails, as it does among the higher races, that the exercise of morality leads to a life of happiness hereafter, then the belief in immortality has a tremendous influence for good.

A large part of our subject has not yet been touched upon. We have now to see how the belief in beings possessing supernatural powers arose; and, going along with this belief, many superstitious beliefs and customs, such as witchcraft, magic, astrology, on the one hand; and, on the other, the appearance of great systems of belief, first in a crude and savage stage, but assuming higher forms as civilization advanced. A most interesting field of research lies before us, and even a hurried examination of it will enable us to understand many otherwise dark points in the early culture history of mankind.

Many savage experiences conduce to the belief that the "other-self" has mysterious powers. In the course of a few hours sleep, it goes a distance of many miles, has most exciting adventures, and returns in an inappreciably short time when called by name or at the shake of a companion. Conceptions of the savage brain are doubtless more grotesque than those of civilized man. Now this "other-self" is flying in the air, now, armed with superhuman strength, it easily defends itself against most formidable enemies. Clearly, then, this "other-self" has powers greatly superior to those possessed by the real self in the body.

Death is the abandoning of the body by this mysterious "other-self," which is still conceived of as existing in the near neighborhood. Is there not danger of it exercising its mysterious power in favor of, or adversely to, its old neighbors and associates? Certainly there is. It

has now become a being to be propitiated, its anger is to be dreaded, its favor sought. A great host of savage customs clearly show that this is the prevailing idea in the savage world, and we can trace these ideas into higher stages of thought. Many savage customs are very foolish, for savages, like children, are not consistent in their conceptions. Conceiving the "other-self" as absent from the body yet lingering near it, let us notice the treatment of the body in some instances. The Tupis, among our Indian tribes, tried in several ways to prevent the dead from bothering them. In some cases they tied all the limbs fast so that they would not be able to rise and trouble their friends.¹

In another tribe they hurried the scarcely dead body to the nearest pool of water and tossed it in.² Probably in this case the idea was that water would drown the spirit. This was the belief of the Lapps who consigned the bodies of their enemies to a watery grave.³ So also the Matiamba Negroes believe that the souls of the dead are destroyed if the body is flung in the water.⁴ But, in general, the dead are not thought of as being gotten rid of in any such way as this. So the place of death is simply abandoned along with the body. The Akanzas burn the lodge and its contents with the body.⁵ The Kamtschadals often abandon the hut and the body together.⁶ African tribes quite generally abandon the hut or even the village in which a death occurs.

Here we have clearly expressed the fear of the dead. In some cases this fear finds expression in a group of

¹ Spencer "Sociology," p. 168.

² Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 238.

³ Bastian "Mensch," Vol. II., p. 378.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 238.

⁶ Spencer "Sociology," p. 217.

strange customs, which can be explained only as an effort to confuse the "other-self" so that it can not find its way back. From the most widely separated parts of the earth we find the custom of carrying the body from the house, not through the door, but by an opening made on purpose. Williams could not understand why the side of the house in Figi was broken down to allow the king's body to pass through when there were sufficient doorways close at hand.¹ This was so that the ghost might not find its way back and annoy the living. The Algonquin Indians generally carried it forth by a hole cut opposite the door, beating the walls with sticks to frighten away the lingering ghost.² Of the Greenlanders Crantz says, "The corpse is carried out, not through the usual entrance, but through the window. If they are living in tents at the time an opening is made for it by loosening one of the skins in the back part."³ Perhaps an echo of this world-wide custom is found in some German states, where a window of the house must be opened after death.⁴

The instances we have now quoted show us that among savage people there is a fear of the dead. In some instances this assumes a sad form, as when some New Zealanders suppose that death so changes the nature of the soul that it will hate and try to injure those who were its dearest friends in life.⁵ Such conceptions, however, are but seldom formed. The savage doctrine of continuance exercises a stronger influence than this, and fear of the dead is not the universal rule, though they are everywhere

¹ "Figi and Figians," p. 154.

Brinton "Myths of New World," p. 238.

² "Greenland," Vol. I., p. 217.

³ Wuttke "Volks Aberglaube," Hamburg 1860, p. 209.

⁵ Tylor "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 102.

regarded with awe. The loves and hates of this world are transferred to the spirit world. The interests of kindred will be watched over by departed kindred, the welfare of the tribe guarded by deceased tribesmen. The dead chief guards the interests of his people. He uses his mysterious powers to reward his friends and punish his enemies. His favors must be invoked, his blessing sought, his anger placated. Here we come at once on the simplest form of worship known, one that meets us low down in Savagery, continues into higher levels of thought, co-exists side by side with other systems. That is Ancestor worship. This will be found to be the starting point from which other systems diverge. It is the key which will explain many bits of superstition. Let us first gather some facts showing its extremely great prevalence in the earlier stages of culture.

No matter where we begin, we find plain traces of this ancient world-wide culture, and to-day it is the basis of belief of the larger portion of the world's inhabitants. We read that the Micronesian Islanders "worship the spirits of their ancestors,"¹ and "in Tahiti the dead are elevated to the ranks of the gods."² The Tonga Islanders believe that their chiefs after death become gods. They consider their graves sacred places and there invoke their aid.³ The Australians believe quite fully in the wandering ghost theory of dead ancestors, but they had no established worship. In many cases they were supposed to be able to warn their friends of approaching danger, and the natives invoked their aid in this connection.⁴ In New Zealand the spirits of the dead are supposed to attend the army and di-

¹ Dunlap "Spirit Hist. of Man," New York, 1858, p. 8.

² Ibid. p. 9. ³ Mariner "Tonga Islands," p. 100.

⁴ "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 244.

rect its movements while on the march by communicating advice or warning. In battle they inspire courage in the hearts of the combatants.¹

In Africa Ancestor worship prevails almost universally.² The Zulus charge all their ill luck to their dead brothers, who at times appear in the form of snakes, to conciliate them cattle are offered up in sacrifice.³ Among the Maravi the principal objects of worship are the souls of the departed, all good and ill luck are ascribed to them, to them the first fruits of the harvest are offered.⁴ In southern Guinea the worship of ancestors is one of the leading features of their religion.⁵ They are noted for the very great respect they show to aged persons. This respect outlasts life itself. "It is not supposed that they are divested of their power and influence by death, but on the contrary, they are raised to a more powerful sphere of influence, and hence the natural disposition of the living, and especially those related to them in any way in this world, to look to them and call upon them for aid in all the emergencies and trials of life. It is no uncommon thing to see large groups of men and women, in times of peril or distress, assembled along the brow of some commanding eminence, or along the skirts of some dense forest, calling in the most piteous and touching tones, upon the spirits of their ancestors."⁶

The like belief re-appears among the Zulus who explain that they do not worship all the dead of their tribe. "Speaking generally, the head of each house is worshiped

¹ Bastian "*Ethnologischen Forschungen*, Vol. II., p. 341.

² Waitz "*Anthropology, etc.*," Vol. II., p. 181.

³ Bastian "*Mensch*," Vol. III., p. 406.

⁴ Waitz *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

⁵ Wilson "*Western Africa*," New York, 1856, p. 220. ⁶ *Ibid.* p. 393

by the children of that house, for they do not know the ancients who are dead, nor their laud giving names. But their father whom they knew is the head by whom they begin and end their prayer for they know him best, and his love for his children, they remember his kindness to them whilst he was living, they compare his treatment of them, and say 'He will treat us in the same way now he is dead. We do not know why he should regard others besides us; he will regard us only.'"¹ Among the Kaffirs generally, "the principal object of religious veneration is the spirit of the deceased chief, which appears in the form of certain harmless snakes. On many occasions they are invoked, thanks are rendered and offerings given to conciliate them."²

Turning to Asia, we find everywhere evidence of this primitive Ancestor worship. The statement is made that the "worship of ancestors appears to be more or less prevalent among all the aboriginal tribes of Central India."³ Of the Santals, we are told that "each household worships the ghosts of its ancestors."⁴ In Ceylon, the spirits of the dead were honored as gods.⁵ In every calamity and want, the Dyaks "call for aid on kindred spirits, and especially the shades of departed children."⁶ Among the northern Turanian tribes, the same state of affairs is shown to exist. In some cases, though outwardly Mohammedans, their belief consists in reality of worshipping at the shrine of "holy men."⁷ The Tartars make pilgrimages to the tombs of the Mohommedan saints in the ruins of Balghars.⁸ The

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 106.

² Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol II., p. 411.

³ Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 229. ⁴ Spencer "Sociology," p. 307.

⁵ Bastian "Mensch," Vol. II., p. 402.

⁶ Tylor "Culture," Vol. III, p. 107. ⁷ Bastian *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 402

⁸ *Ibid.*

Mongol tribes generally worshiped as good deities the princely souls of Genghis Khan's family.¹

Among American Indian tribes, this same cult was wide spread.² The Nachez went so far as to erect temples to the honor of noted chiefs.³ One form in which their anxiety to show honor to the dead found expression was by means of feasts to the dead.⁴ Schoolcraft relates that among the Dakotas the natives sometimes refrained from murder for fear of the departed soul.⁵ Similar conceptions exist in South America.⁶ The Patagonians greatly fear the souls of their magicians, who, after death, are supposed to be transformed into evil demons, and all misfortune is charged up to them.⁷

It may not be out of place to show how persistent this Ancestor worship is. It survived into far higher stages of culture, and the most numerous sect of the Christian church has not wholly abandoned it. As is well known, this is the principal religion in China to-day. Among this people, the worship of ancestors is no simple rite of affection. They want the help of the ancestral spirit who rewards virtue and punishes vice.⁸ To this day, the Emperor of China formally invites his dead ancestor to sit with him in banquet.⁹ Of all religious ceremonies, the Chinese think Ancestor worship the most important. To look upon his ancestral "tablets is to a Chinese like an appeal to his honor.... It is reverence for them that constitutes the most powerful religious sentiment in his mind."¹⁰ If no help comes in time of need, the Chinese will reproach his an-

¹ Tylor *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

² Müller "*Urreligionen*," p. 73.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ "*Indian Tribes*," Vol. II., p. 195.

⁶ Müller *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁷ Bastain "*Mensch*," Vol. III., p. 406.

⁸ Tylor "*Culture*," Vol. II. p. 108

⁹ Edkins "*Religion in China*," Boston 1878, p. 23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 75.

cestor saying, "Father, mother, ancestor, how could you calmly bear this?"¹

Turning to the White Races, we have just as abundant testimony that they all passed through this stage of culture. The Egyptians, as is well known, made offerings to the dead and invoked their aid. The Semitic Bedouins to-day offer sacrifices at the tombs of deceased ancestors, and it is well known that this statement is true of the Arabs in general.² More than one passage in the Bible indicates that this was one form of Idolatry in which the Hebrews sometimes fell.³ As for the Aryans, the evidence is full and complete. "Among the Hindoos the Vedas distinctly recognize the ancient religion of the Pitris or fathers. The Pitris are invoked almost like gods, oblations are offered them."⁴ It is an active feeling among the Hindoos to-day. The worship of famous ancestors is still prevalent and all their heroes are more or less deified.⁵ In the Tinnevely district the natives are known to make offerings of cigars and brandy upon the grave of a noted British officer, to concilliate his ghost.⁶

So the ancient Persian worshiped the ghosts of their departed. "There cannot be any doubt that the worship of the spirits of the dead played an important part with the Iranians, though perhaps more in private than in public." Hero worship was certainly general, and perhaps there was combined with it the worship of the ghosts of the royal dead. Ancestor worship was of a more private character. These departed souls are considered of very great

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 108.

² Spencer "Sociology," p. 317.

³ Ibid. See Deut. XXVI., 14.

⁴ Hearn "Aryan Household," p. 41.

⁵ Spencer "Sociology," Appendix.

⁶ Bastian "Ethnologischen Forschungen," p. 341.

help to the living, but they must be propitiated, they must be called upon, and have oblations offered to them.¹

Passing to the Aryans of Europe, this is one of the most pronounced features in their religion. Their great mythological systems of belief cut very little figure in practical life compared with Ancestor worship. The



Aryan Ancestor Worship. Offerings to the Lares and Penates. dead were held to be sacred beings. To these the ancients applied the most respectful epithets that could be thought of. Cicero warns his countrymen to consider them as divine beings. Tombs were the temples of these divinities. Be-

¹ Spencer "Sociology," Appendix.



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OAK OF THE SAXONS.

fore the tomb, there was an altar for the sacrifices, as before the temples of the gods. This worship existed among the Greek tribes, the Latins and the Sabines.¹

In the early culture history of the other European Aryans, this worship appears with less distinctness, but there is no doubt about its reality. Ralston observes of the Russians "that there is no doubt about their belief that the souls of the fathers watched over their children and their children's children; and that therefore departed spirits and especially those of ancestors ought always to be regarded with pious veneration and sometimes solaced by prayer and sacrifice."² Without extending the discussion farther, we need simply repeat that Ancestor worship is very conspicuous in the early culture history of all the Aryan people.

One form of survival of this old world-wide belief may be worth glancing at. We refer to feasts for the dead. This custom prevails among barbarian people and lasts well on into Civilization. We have seen that primitive people suppose the dead "other-self" needs the provisions, clothes and other comforts, which surviving friends place on his grave. From hence the custom arises of furnishing supplies at varying intervals of time, which is apt to assume the form of feasts for the dead and in this form the custom long outlasts the stage of culture in which it arose. In the month of December, called the month of shades, the Karens make a general feast for the dead.³ Other tribes in this section make the feast at the end of the harvest.⁴ In Africa, the Gold Coast Negroes hold a general feast for the dead at the time of yam-harvest which is a season of merry

¹ Coulanges "Ancient City," Boston, 1874, p. 23-25.

² Ralston "Songs of Russia," p. 126.

³ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 32.

⁴ Ibid.

making.¹ After an abundant harvest, the head man of a Zulu village sometimes dreams that an ancestral ghost appears to him and says; "How is it when you have been given so much food that you do not give thanks," in consequence a feast is offered for the dead.²

But now let us notice the survival of this custom into higher stages of culture where we would scarcely look for it. In China, we have a description of an elaborate feast which wealthy individuals sometimes furnish for the spirits generally. The spirits are notified by the beating of drums and ringing of bells. Lighted lanterns and charms drawn on paper show the spirits the way. Arriving at the house, the spirits find water provided for a bath, and paste, wine and cake for a repast. Headless spirits are given spoons with which to put the nourishment down their throats.³

This custom long survived among the Aryan nations. The ancient Persians believed that about the end of the year the spirits returned to earth for about ten days and expected to be met with appropriate offerings of meat and clothes.⁴ It is well known, and we shall show in another part of this work, that the public festivals of the ancient Greeks and Romans were of this nature. "In their midst their ancestors are present, and the protecting gods share the meal."⁵ The Russian peasant to-day still celebrates his feast for the dead. The inhabitants of a village join in this act. They spread the tables and then go forth to meet their invisible guests. The master of ceremonies

¹ Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II. p. 194.

² Spencer "Sociology," p. 283.

³ Doolittle "Social life of the Chinese," New York, 1865, Vol. II., p. 94.

⁴ Spencer "Sociology," Appendix.

⁵ Coulanges "Ancient City," p. 209.

greet them, saying; "Ye are tired, our own ones, take something to eat." Entering the house he continues; "Warm yourselves, our own ones, at the stove." At the conclusion of the feast, he adds; "Now it is time for you to go home . . . in God's name farewell."¹

Christian Europe, in its festival of All-Souls Day, gave new life to old superstitions. The East Prussian believes that on midnight of said day the souls of the dead gather in the parish church and listen to a sermon from the dead pastor.² In Tyrol, food is left upon the table, and the room made warm and comfortable for their convenience.³ In northern France, this superstitious custom is at its height. "The crowds pour into the church yard at evening, to kneel bareheaded at the graves of dead kinfolks, to fill the hollow of the tombstone with holy water, or to pour libations of milk upon it. All night the church bells clang, and sometimes a solemn procession of the clergy goes round to bless the graves. In no household that night is the cloth removed, for the supper must be left for the souls to come and take their part, nor must the fire be put out where they will come to warm themselves."⁴

The importance of our subject has justified us in making this part of our examination somewhat thorough. To avoid descriptions that may become tedious, we must desist. Let us examine our surroundings. We have seen how, among primitive men, the idea of soul, the spirit world and personal immortality might originate. We have now shown that the mysterious powers supposed to reside in the "other-self" tend to give birth to a form of worship, which is properly called Ancestor worship. We

¹ Ralston "Songs of Russia," London, 1872, p. 322.

² Wuttke "Volks Aberglaube," p. 616.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 34.

have also shown by numerous quotations from writers of acknowledged ability the wide extension of this worship. We meet it low down in culture, we found it exerting its influence among higher civilizations and in one form find that it survives extensively in civilized countries to-day. Let us, therefore, conclude with a recent writer, that among all races of men, as far as can now be determined, this was the earliest form of worship known.¹

From this conclusion as a new basis, let us proceed on our way. We are now in position to understand savage philosophy in general and see how this philosophy has changed with advancing civilization. We shall see how it has been freed from error little by little, and here and there given place to higher forms of belief; and we are confident that this philosophy, once thoroughly comprehended, will show us how easy and natural it was for men to entertain the superstitions of the past; superstitions from which the civilization of to-day, and the highest and best form of religion known, Christianity, have but partially freed the world.

Previous to the passage of descent into the male line, as explained in a previous chapter, the savage has very little conception of ancestors, or pays but little regard to them. Practically the child was not regarded as related to his father. Therefore, though he might recognize a confused mass of ancestors to whom he should pray, and from whom he might expect assistance, yet he formed no clear conceptions of his duty to them, or in what manner they exercised their power. The savage's memory is short. His father and the recent dead of his gens and tribe are borne in mind; he dreads their power, he makes suppli-

¹ Fiske "The Idea of God," Boston, 1886, p. 69.

cation to them. "Ask the Negro where is the spirit of his great-grandfather, he says he does not know, it is done. Ask him about the spirit of his father or brother who died yesterday, then he is full of fear and terror."¹

But these forgotten dead, though they may thus pass out of mind, are not supposed to be powerless. Though, as we have seen, many of these people entertain conceptions of a spirit land far away, yet with equal facility they imagine spiritual agents as ever swarming about them. These spirits may be either friendly or hostile, and by them everything is supposed to be accomplished. Success in hunting or in war, sickness, death itself and the thousand ills to which flesh is heir; fruitful seasons, pleasant weather, rain, sunshine, cold, heat,—are all under the control of spirits. The great burden of savage life is to avoid giving offense to these spirits, which are so all-powerful, to gain the protection of some spirit who will watch over his interests and guard him against those spirits who would do him injury.

In order to understand how he proceeds to accomplish his purpose, we must point out some of his peculiar beliefs. We have seen what confused notions savages generally entertain of the soul, some supposing it to reside in one part of the body, some in another; some dividing the various parts of the body among different souls, as the Caribs who lodged one soul in the heart, one in the head and one in the arms;² or, indeed, as some assert of these people, they think a soul resides wherever they find a pulse.³ But the general savage belief is that all parts of the body are connected with the soul; and, indeed, that some mysterious con-

¹ Chaillu from Lubbock "*Primitive Man*," p. 139.

² Waitz "*Anthropology, etc.*," Vol III., p. 387.

³ Müller "*Urreligionen*," p. 208.

nection exists between the soul and external objects such as clothes worn, weapons used, footsteps, images, names, etc.

These are, indeed, singular ideas to hold, but let us be careful in passing judgment since many such superstitious ideas still exist among civilized man; wonderous acts of healing can be performed at a distance, given only a lock of hair to operate on. This connection between the body, soul and external objects receives a further meaning when we reflect on the doctrine of continuance. The old, sick and feeble in this life are subject to the same infirmities in the future life. Bodily mutilation here is repeated in the spirit world. Now bearing all this in mind, we can understand many superstitious customs everywhere observable. In how many parts of the world do we find the belief that the pairing of the nails, the hair and beard cut off, and all the natural excretions of the body must be carefully concealed? The savage method of reasoning is plain—suppose they are left exposed and some enemy find them; a charm might be said over them, or they might be misused in some way and thus the life, health and fortune of the individual might be endangered.

One illustration will suffice. In the Island of Tanna, in the New Hebrides, Mr. Turner observed a singular custom. The sorcerer collected what they called rubbish of a person. "Such as the skin of a banana he had eaten, wrapped it in a leaf like a cigar, and burnt it slowly at one end. As it burnt the owner got worse and worse, and if it was burnt to the end he died. When a man fell ill, he knew that some sorcerer was burning his rubbish, and shell trumpets which could be heard for miles, were blown to signal the sorcerer to stop and wait for the presents which would be sent next morning."¹ Similar examples

¹ Turner "Polynesia," from Tylor "Early Hist. of Mankind," p. 128.

could be quoted from books of travel throughout Polynesia, Africa, India and North and South America.¹

Even death does not break the connection. It is true savages conceive the soul as existing apart from the body, but still the spirit can be operated on through the body or parts of the body. Perhaps no further illustrations are needed on this point when we recall the instances of bodily mutilation, done with the professed object of mutilating the soul. Remember the Australian cutting off the thumb of the right hand of his fallen enemy so that he might not be able to throw his invisible spear; or the Chinese, who prefers death by crucifixion to decapitation, for his spirit will then have a head; or the Figian, who believes if the body is eaten the soul is destroyed entirely; or the African, who fastens the skull of his enemy to his big drum, in order that every crash may send a thrill of agony through his ghost.² Hence the widely extended belief that, if you can only get possession of some relic of the departed, you, in effect, exert an influence over his spirit. You are, at any rate, put in communication with his ghost and can expect him to aid you provided you pay him due reverence. Several grades of this conception appear. Savages, the world over, carry about with them some of the bones or other portions of deceased ancestors and friends. The Australian carries with him the hand of a deceased ancestor; "The belief being that such a hand on the approach of an enemy would pinch or push the wearer."³ So "the soul of a dead Carib might be thought to abide in one of his bones, taken from the grave and carefully wrapped in cotton, in which state it could answer questions,

¹ Ibid. ² Tylor, "Early Hist. of Mankind," p. 129.

³ "Kamilaroi and Kurni," p. 244.

and even bewitch an enemy if a morsel of his property were wrapped up in it.¹

One step further and such relic worship as this passes into what is known as Fetichism. This step is taken when the conception is formed that the souls of the dead may be induced to take up their abode in some immaterial object. We saw, some pages back, that certain Indian tribes of Oregon believed that the souls might leave the body without the owners knowing it.² In such cases, the priest entices them back in the shape of little bones, stones and splinters. In some cases, objects are taken to the grave for the express purpose of becoming the receptacle of the soul, which can then be carried around as an object of worship. Thus, the Malays of Keeling Island take a wooden spoon to the grave, which spoon is afterwards dressed up as a doll.³ But the air swarms with invisible spirits. What now is to hinder such spirits from taking up their abode in some material object no matter how insignificant it may be? To the savage, there is no difficulty at all; for, as we have seen, all objects have souls, and some wandering spirit may easily usurp the place of such a soul. This introduces us to Fetichism, which is simply an extremely low form of idolatry.⁴

Fetichism exists over a wide region of the world. The material object supposed to contain a spirit may be any strange object which strikes the individuals fancy. In the lower stages of Fetichism, the belief freely prevails that possession of the object in which the spirit resides gives the possessor power over the spirit. Armed with this, the individual imagines he can compel the spirit's service.

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 138.

² Page 270.

³ Tylor Op. cit., Vol. II., p. 139.

⁴ See Baring-Gould "Origin of Religious Belief," p. 176.

Such is the belief of the African fetich worshipers.¹ A Negro thus explained to the traveler Bosman in regard to their Fetichism. "If we resolve to undertake anything of importance, we first of all search out a god to prosper our designed undertaking, and going out of doors with this design, take the first creature that presents itself to our eyes, whether dog, cat, or most contemptible animal in the world, for our god, or perhaps instead of that, any inanimate object that falls in our way, whether a stone or piece of wood or anything else of the same nature. This new chosen god is immediately presented with an offering, which is accompanied with a solemn vow, that if he pleases to prosper our undertakings, for the future we will always worship and esteem him as a god. If our design prove successful, we have discovered a new and assisting god, which is daily presented with fresh offerings, but if the contrary happen, the new god is rejected as a useless tool, and consequently returns to his primitive estate—we make and break our gods daily."²

In all this, however, we must understand that the Negro can distinguish the spirit from the object itself.³ Practically, however, in the lower stages of thought this distinction is largely lost sight of. The fetich is supposed to "see and hear, and understand and act, its possessor so worships it, talks familiarly with it as to a dear and faithful friend, pours libations of rum over it, and in times of danger calls loudly and earnestly on it as if to wake up its spirit and energy."⁴ The traveler in Africa, says Wilson, finds fetiches "suspended along every path he walks, at every junction of two or more roads, at the crossing place

¹ Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 165.

² Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 166.

³ Waitz "Anthropology," etc., Vol. II., p. 174.

⁴ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p. 144.

of every stream, at the base of every large rock or overgrown forest tree, at the gate of every village, over the door of every house, and around the neck of every human being."¹

Fetichism was a large part of the religion of our Indians. Catlin assures us that every Indian in a primitive state carries his *medicine* bag, which is nothing else than his fetich, "to which he looks for the preservation of his life, in battle or other danger." He differs from the Negro in this, that he chooses his fetich once for all. When about fifteen years of age, the boy wanders forth on the prairie, and prays and fasts until he dreams of some animal, bird or reptile. Such animal is his *medicine*, and from the skin is made his medicine bag.²

It is apparent to all that the same state of belief which gave rise to Fetichism gave rise also to witchcraft, magic sorcery, etc. The belief, like the custom, survives into higher stages of culture; and, just as at the present day there is still among the ignorant classes a lingering belief in witchcraft and magic, so, in many ways, you can still detect a survival of Fetichism where you least expect to find it. The potato carried in the pocket to ward off rheumatism, is a fetich; the horseshoe over the door for good luck, is also one. Amulets are still carried in the most civilized countries of the world; and, to this day, the Tyrolese peasant objects to using grass for tooth-picks because of the demons that may have taken up their abode in the straw.³

Quite a number of writers seem to think that Fetichism is the lowest of all religions, that it is the starting point from which other systems have diverged. We have

¹ "Western Africa," p. 214.

² "North American Indians," London, 1866, Vol. I., p. 36.

³ Wuttke "Volks Aberglaube."

tried to show that it is only an outcome of Ancestor worship. Fetichism really is a form of idolatry. It is the symbol only. Travelers the world over have witnessed the worship of immaterial objects of all sorts of shapes and sizes, of all sorts of materials. They have too often failed to notice the accompanying belief of a spirit residing in this object, which was really the thing worshiped. When we come to consider the steps leading to this belief, we at once detect its true standing.

Let us notice another outcome of this primitive Ancestor worship, which has occasioned a great deal of discussion, we refer to the worship of animals and plants. No one needs be told how extensive is the worship of animals. There is scarcely an animal of any importance which is not especially honored, or even worshiped, in some parts of the world. Monkeys, tigers, leopards, hyenas elephants, crocodiles, all find their worshipers in Africa.¹ A similar state of affairs in regard to other animals exists in other parts of the world. Some animals, such for instance as serpents, and among the birds the dove have had a very extensive worship. In regard to trees and some other varieties of plants, similar statements can be made.

Now we must not forget that conceptions from many different sources have frequently united to form a worship; so, without denying that a number of grounds exist for the worship of animals and plants, it seems to us that one principal ground is simply Ancestor worship. One of the constant elements of tribal society, remember, is the presence of gentes. And each gens, remember, has a common name. Except in very rare instances, these names are those of animals and plants peculiar to the

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 146.

region in which the gens is located. The information is conclusive that each gens regards itself as descended from the animal or plant for which it is named. Perhaps the genesis of this belief comes from a confusion of ideas. Believing in transmigration of souls, the members of a lion gens, for instance, might readily suppose that after death the members of their gens would assume the form of lions. In this way lions generally might be regarded as the ancestors of such a gens.

When we add to the foregoing the fact that the members of a gens universally honor their totem,¹ and will not kill it, if an animal, unless pressed by hunger, and then always apologize for the violence done,² it seems to us that we are here simply dealing with one of the results of Ancestor worship. But, of course, what would be regarded with veneration by one gens, was not at all venerated by the next. Hence the fact that animals regarded as sacred in one section lost all their sacred character a few miles away. And we can also see how some animals would come to be regarded with greater veneration than others, simply because the gens bearing its name was stronger than others.

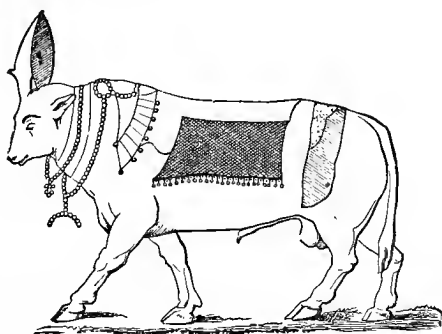
Take for instance the serpents. There would scarcely exist a rude tribe from Australia, Africa or America, which would not contain gentes named after some variety of snakes, so the world over snakes assume a sacred character. Of course, there are other peculiarities about serpents which would greatly increase this feeling. Casting its skin from time to time, it seems to be typical of immortality. Many of them by a bite, can soon destroy life; savages know nothing about poison, all they can see is

¹ Waitz "*Anthropology*," etc., Vol., II., p. 178.

² Above page 143

that some powerful spirit is working through that serpent. Without further discussion, we may pass this part of our subject by. The worship of animals and plants is simply a necessary consequence of the belief of gentes in regard to their totem, and Ancestor worship.

It is further evident, that at this stage of thought, any striking object in nature, such as a river, lake, precipitous cliff, singular shaped stone or commanding tree, would surely be regarded as the abode of some spirit, and would be wor-



Egyptian Animal Worship—The Bull Apis.

shiped accordingly. That such objects are worshiped the world over, we have abundant testimony, and it will be found in all such cases that there is some peculiarity about these objects which would be sure to catch the eye of savages. Take, for instance, the case of tree worship, Erman observes of a tree worshiped by the Ostyaks that "the peculiar sacredness of the tree was due to the singularity of its form and growth, for about six feet from the ground, the trunk separated into two equal parts and again united."¹ In some cases it is trees of a venerable appearance, or of great size, or standing in commanding positions.² Such conceptions, regularly framed in Savagery, long outlast that stage of culture. The Semitic and Aryan tribes long held to this superstition. Passages in the Old Testament show its survival among the Hebrews; and spread-

¹ "Travels in Siberia," Vol. I., p. 464.

² Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 198.

ing Christianity in Europe frequently exercised its power to destroy the sacred trees of the barbarians.

We have made the statement that fetich worship is a low form of idolatry. It can be traced from this stage into higher forms. Of course, if the wandering spirit of some departed one may take up its residence in some insignificant object, still more readily would savages think of it choosing as its abode some especially prepared object. Thus, the Dakotas pick up most any round boulder and after painting it red, address it as grandfather and ask of it aid.¹ Some African tribes set up simply a stake in the ground to which offerings are made and prayers are addressed.² The Polynesian Islanders were observed to dress up rude logs in native cloth and anoint them with oil for their gods.³ We must here understand that worship is paid, not simply to the uncouth image itself, but to the spirit supposed to reside in it.⁴

Of course, we can see that, with advancing intelligence, such images will come to be more and more refined; but throughout the old fetichistic idea, that possession of the fetich gave one a power over the spirit residing therein, survives. The Negro beats or destroys his idol if it does not give him good luck; the Ostiak treats his image well, but, if it brings him no sport, tries the effect of a good thrashing. In China, also, if the people after long praying to their images do not obtain what they desire, they try a different course. "How, now, dog of a spirit," say they, "we give you a lodging in a magnificent temple, we gild you handsomely, feed you well and offer incense to you, yet, after all this care, you are so ungrateful as to refuse us

¹ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 147. ² Ibid. 148.

³ Ellis "Polynesian Research," Vol. I., p. 337.

⁴ Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. II. p. 183.

what we ask of you," so they pull them around through the mud and filth. Should they receive what they ask for, they pick up their image again and clean it up, with many apologies for being so hasty.¹ So too, but recently, "a prince of Nepaul, in his rage at the death of a favorite wife, turned his artillery upon the temples of his gods, and after six hours heavy cannonading, effectually destroyed them."²

Here we have shown how worship of ancestral spirits leads finally to idolatry and the worship of sticks and stones. There is another line of observances which leads in a more direct way from the worship of ancestral spirits to idolatry. Let us notice them because we want to make it very clear that Ancestor worship really underlies all these conceptions. We saw, some pages back, that savages suppose some mysterious connection to exist between an individual and parts of his body, or even the excretia and clothes worn. The connection is supposed to extend in other directions. A picture or an image of a man is held to be part of the individual. It is scarcely necessary to illustrate this statement. Savages, the world over, object to having pictures made of them, since the possessor of the picture thus has a mysterious power over him. And as for images, rude tribes, everywhere, believe that an image of a person, no matter of what material made, has so intimate a connection with the individual himself, that anything happening to the image, the like fate will befall the individual.³

Here, then, is one reason for making an image of a deceased ancestor, so as to control his soul in the spirit land and to furnish a convenient home for his soul. That such

¹ Lubbock "Primitive Man," p. 168.

² Hearn "Aryan Household," p. 25.

³ Tylor "Early Hist. of Man," p. 119.

conceptions exist is very certain. "The New Zealanders set up memorial idols of deceased persons near the burial-place, talking affectionately to them as if still alive, and casting garments to them when they passed by."¹ Another observer tells us that "they preserve in their houses small carved images of wood each of which is dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor," who is believed at times to enter it.² So the Sandwich Islanders make and worship an image of a dead ancestor,³ and so of the tribes in Northern Siberia. We read that the relatives of an Ostiak "make a rude wood-image representing and in honor of the deceased, which is set up in the yurt and receives divine honors for a greater or less time, as the priest directs..." These images are preserved for several generations.⁴

We have investigated but one branch of savage philosophy, but have seen how true it is that Ancestor worship is the underlying principle. We want to speak more at length of one part of this belief. We have seen that, in forming an idea of fetich worship, savages come to the conclusion that the wandering "other-selves" take up their abode in material objects. Many savages form the conception that each individual has several souls. What is to hinder the belief that these wandering souls may take up their residence in some human body? No good ground for rejecting such a belief exists, hence it is held by widely separated people. How are we to tell when a foreign soul has entered a living body? Savages answer this question very easily. It is presumed not to be friendly to the body, hence a person who is possessed by a foreign soul, will

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p. 159.

² Shortland "New Zealand," London, 1854. p. 54.

³ Spencer "Sociology," p. 333.

⁴ Ernian taken from Spencer Op. cit., p. 332.

be sick or crazy, or act in some very unusual way.

This belief that sickness, and all the ills of humanity are caused by some unfriendly spirit that has taken up its abode in the body, is the almost universal belief among savages, and it survives into far higher stages of culture. As all is owing to the intrusion of some spirit, the means of cure are very simple, either drive away, or coax the spirit to depart. Among our Indian tribes, the priests were generally the ones sent for in case of sickness. They proceeded to scare the evil spirit away. They sat down opposite the patient and barked like a dog for an hour at a time.¹ They drowned the groans of the sick one with the beating of drums or other rude instruments. They recited charms and incantations over him. They manufactured little images to represent the spirit of sickness and then destroyed them. They blew upon the part afflicted, rubbed, sucked, and then generally showed some hard substance which they claimed to have extracted from the body, and was the cause of the sickness; it was taken some distance off and thrown away with the exclamation; "Go thy way, devil."²

Similar accounts can be drawn from rude tribes everywhere.³ Sometimes gentler means are tried, and the offending spirit is talked to, coaxed and urged to leave the body. In New Zealand, each sickness is caused by a spirit gnawing and feeding inside the victim. The priest, however, finds the path by which such a spirit has entered, and persuades it by a charm to get upon a stalk of flax and go away.⁴ The Siamese take a little basket, put in it provisions and fruit and a little figure made of clay, and persuad-

¹ Spencer "Sociology," p. 259.

² Brinton "Myths of the New World," p 265. Spencer Op. cit.

³ Bastian "Ethnologischen Forschungen," Vol. II. p. 320,

⁴ Shortland "New Zealand," p. 97.

ing the offending soul to enter this, consign the basket and its cargo to some river.¹

We will glance at only one other corollary of this savage theory of disease. It is, however, important since it shows us in a very instructive way how superstitions sometimes survive. We refer to what is known as Demoniacal possession. Prone as the savage is to ascribe all maladies to the action of spirits, we are not at all surprised to find that all extraordinary mental states, such as insanity, convulsions and nervous inflictions generally, are at once referred to such agency. Surviving into the barbaric stage of culture, the tendency is to limit such possession to the case of severe afflictions, such as epilepsy, hysteria, delirium, idiocy and madness. The general belief of the barbaric world to-day is that such attacks are caused by some demon gaining control of the body. This is the accepted belief among most Asiatics to-day. And it can be shown that a similar view was held among the Greeks and Romans of classical times.²

The Jews, at the time of Christ, were not an exception, and abundant passages in the New Testament show that some of the miracles of Christ were understood as the casting out of devils. The Bible being in no way given to teach science, the Great Teacher allowed this common explanation, and common error, to go unrebuked. When Christianity passed into Europe it found the partially civilized people firm believers of this demon-possession theory. It is no wonder, then, that finding this theory apparently sustained by the Bible, it should have held its way in civilized Europe until very recent times. Less than a century ago, seven clergymen at Bristol, England, succeeded, as

¹ Bastain "Reisen in Siam," London, 1867, p. 486.

² Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p. 125.

they thought, in delivering a poor epileptic of seven devils;¹ and, even so late as the year 1861, in South Europe, there was an outbreak of such belief.²

Now let us return to another department of savage philosophy. We have already referred to the belief that possession of some article of the dead gave one power over the disembodied spirit, we have seen this develop into Fetichism and have observed that this same state of mind would inevitably give rise to a belief in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. It is instructive to notice that in the lower stages of thought the power ascribed to these arts was not believed to be necessarily dependent upon the co-operation of spiritual beings. It rested down on the older belief that you could influence an individual by means of anything belonging to him, even a representation of him, or a knowledge of his name would suffice. Thus an Australian believes that he can poison his enemy by pouring poison into the tracks of his footsteps.³ Savages even assume that there is some such a connection between an object and its name. In Borneo, they change the name of a sickly child to deceive the evil spirit that has been tormenting it.⁴ The Indians generally had a very great dislike to disclose their names, for fear that the inquisitive stranger would use them to bewitch them,⁵ and thus it is that many savages have a "secret name," to divulge which "would be a serious breach of custom and good manners."⁶

But the conception that finally passes into the barbaric stage of thought is that the witch, magician or sorcerer, is powerful, because of some evil spirit which is helping him.

¹ Ibid. 126.

² Ibid.

³ "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 250.

⁴ Tylor "Early Hist. of Mankind, p. 125.

⁵ Spencer "Sociology," p. 293.

⁶ "Kamilaroi and Kurni," p. 191.

It is wonderful how persistent such superstitious notions have been. Amongst all savages and barbarous people, short work is generally made of any unfortunate individual



The Druid Priestess.

supposed to have such powers. It is, however, instructive to see how this belief kept alive in christian Europe. "For

more than fifteen hundred years, it was universally believed that the Bible established in the clearest manner, the reality of the crime, and that an amount of evidence, so varied and so ample, as to preclude the very possibility of doubt, attested its continuance and its prevalence. The clergy denounced it with all the emphasis of authority. The legislators of almost every land enacted laws for its punishment. Acute judges whose lives were spent in sifting evidence, investigated the question on countless occasions, and condemned the accused. Tens of thousands of victims perished by the most agonizing and protracted torments, without exciting the faintest compassion." As late as 1780, a sorcerer was burned at the stake in Spain.¹

Let us now refer to the savage priest-hood. Amongst the Siberian tribes, the priest is the *Shaman*, from whence comes the word *Shamanism*, and by this title savage religions, above the lowest ranks of Fetichism, are sometimes known. It seems to us, however, that this is but a department of savage philosophy in general. Throughout the savage world, Fetichism maintains its hold, and indeed far on into Barbarism and Civilization. We shall now see how the same line of thought, which led to Fetichism, would also lead to the setting aside of a select body of men, of the nature of priests.

The dividing line between a magician and a priest, in savage conception, is certainly very narrow. The savage has become familiar with the idea of spirits swarming everywhere. He stands in fear of them and believes that they can enter his body and produce sickness, destroy his reason or take away his life. He believes that they can be coerced to do his bidding, provided he knows powerful

¹ Lecky "History of Rationalism," New York, 1872, Vol. I. p. 28-30,

charms, or can only get in his possession some relic of the deceased with which to control them. But not all of these disembodied spirits are enemies. Some are his relations, friends and tribesmen. They come to him in dreams, warn him of danger, teach him magic charms. Can he not now attach some of these friendly spirits to his service, can he not so prepare himself that he can almost any time put himself in communication with them, and not wait for some chance dream? Being thus favored with direct communication with the spirits, he, of course, becomes an object of veneration to his tribesmen, his power is feared, his influence sought.

Savages answer the above questions in the affirmative. It is true every one cannot get this power, but some can, and the fortunate individual does become a man of influence and is treated with great respect. The above is a fair idea of a savage priest. He is simply a great magician. One who knows such powerful charms and songs, or has such wonderful "medicine" that he can put himself into communication with spirits generally, or with some higher and more powerful spirit. He can foretell the future events and perform many wonderful things. As a material consequence, he is able to perform many cures, for by his superior strength he can exorcise the evil spirits producing the sickness. The question of morality is not considered.

Let us notice, first of all, that the savage priest claims to derive his power directly from intercourse with spirits. Among the Greenlanders, a priest is an *Angekok*, or diviner, and before assuming his office, he must enlist in his service one of the spirits of the air. He goes through a cruel novitiate, he forsakes the society of his fellow men, he subjects himself to prolonged and repeated fastings and he must fix his mind constantly on what he desires. We,

of course, see what results are sure to follow. His disordered imagination usurps the place of reason, and figures of men, beasts and monsters throng the chambers of his troubled brain. Finally a trance state is produced, and he wanders through the Greenlander's heaven and receives supernatural instructions and attaches to his service a familiar spirit, who will henceforth come at his bidding.

When his services are wanted hereafter, the proceedings are about as follows: The priest drums and dances until he has worked himself up to a proper degree of excitement. He is then securely bound and placed in a darkened room. All persons then retire, songs are sung and the priest works himself up to frenzy. If his familiar spirit does not appear, he falls into a trance state and his soul leaves his body to search for it. He soon returns and then he stands ready to answer all manner of questions. The answers are generally vague and uncertain. If the waiting audience cannot unravel them, the spirit is requested to make his answers more definite, or perhaps the priest, leaving his body behind, soars with his familiar spirit to the highest heaven and there learns the fate of a sick person, or has decided other momentous questions. When the audience is terminated, the priest is found unbound in his darkened room.¹ Let us see how it was among our Indians. The general title is "Medicine-men," but the Indians gave them various titles, such as "dreamers of the gods," "masters or guardians of the divine thought." They may be roughly divided among the northern Indians into two great classes. The *Medawin* is essentially the magician, who seeks to propitiate events; the *Jesukawin* is the prophet, who foretells events. Both appeal to spirits

¹ For details see Crantz "Greenland." Vol. I., p. 194-5.

for their powers. Both make use of some fetich, by means of which the power is exercised. In the ruder tribes, this power was strictly personal. Approaching puberty, the youth was expected to fast and meditate until in dreams or vision some fetich appeared to him. These dreams and visions might be of such a nature as to indicate that he was destined to be a priest, thereupon the other priests took him in hand to continue his training. "For months and for years he is condemned to entire seclusion, receiving no visits but from the brethren of his order." Sometimes the novitiate fasted in his solitary lodge until in vision he is taken to the Indian heaven, there to be taught unutterable things.

One of the highest exhibitions of their power is to summon a spirit to answer inquiries concerning the future and the absent. Accordingly a lodge is built under the priest's directions. When he enters it, all openings are carefully closed. The priest now begins his songs and incantations. He works himself up to a state of frenzy, or perhaps, falls in a death like trance; but finally "the lodge trembles, the strong poles shake and bend as with the united strength of a dozen men, and strange unearthly sounds, now far aloft in the air, now deep in the ground, anon approaching nearer and nearer, reach the ears of the spectators." At length, the spirit is considered to have arrived and questions are asked and answered.¹

The same conception re-appears in Australia. Among the Kurnai, of South Australia, we read of the *Birraark*, men who profess to hold communion with the ghosts, and learn from them about absent friends and other information. When his services are wanted, the evening is de-

¹ Details in Schoolcraft, "Archives etc.," Vol. I., p. 358 et. seq. Brinton "Myths of the New World," Chapter X.

voted to the work. The fires are allowed to go down, and silence is maintained. The magician cries coo-e e, coo-e e, at short intervals. At length, a distant reply is heard, and soon the sound of some one jumping to the ground signifies the arrival of the spirit. Questions and replies follow, and, at the conclusion of the audience, the Birraark is found, perhaps, in the top of some nearly inaccessible tree, whither the spirits had transported him while he was sound asleep.¹

So, of the New Zealanders, we read of the worship paid to spirits of deceased ancestors, and that some individuals are supposed to be able to command their attention. And observers tell us how the stillness of the hut, only faintly lighted, is at length broken by the noise of some heavy body falling on the roof, and the spirits make communication in a thin, whistling voice, apparently proceeding from the roof.²

In the Figi Islands, the priest, fixing his attention on a whale's tooth, soon goes into strong convulsions, and the spirit of his god is supposed to enter into him, and questions are asked and answered. "While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman."³

The Zulu diviners show that in Africa we once more meet with this characteristic savage priesthood. Certain symptoms appear to individuals which are universally ascribed to possession by "*amatonga*," or ancestral spirits. Some let the affection take its course and become an *In-*

¹ Details in Howitt's Memoir on the Kurnai in "Kamilaroi and Kurnai."

² Shortland "New Zealanders," p. 61 et. seq.

³ Williams "Figi and Figians," p. 176.

yanga, or this power may be developed. For this purpose, fasting is necessary. "The continually stuffed body," say they, "cannot see secret things." A person who wishes to develop this power sleeps only by snatches, he dwells much on his dreams and becomes, as the natives say, "a house of dreams." He has waking visions of objects that are not there when he approaches them, songs come to him without learning. He has many illusions, such as if he



The Pythian Priestess.

were flying through the air. Such a person is now an *Inyanga*, that is, one who is at times possessed by a spirit and has great power in finding hidden things and giving apparently inaccessible information.¹

¹ Details in Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 120. Spencer "Sociology," p. 256.

These observations could be greatly extended, but we have now seen the true savage conception of a priest. A few words, now, as to the power possessed by these priests. At the present day, only ignorance will contemptuously class them all as imposters, knaves and scoundrels. Modern science comes far short of a thorough understanding of the human mind. It has mysterious powers, the nature of which is but little understood. We do not know across what distance one mind exerts an influence on another. In the lives of all, there are mysterious incidents which our present science cannot explain. Other mysterious events happen, vouched for by witnesses of undoubted veracity, which we cannot explain. We have a number of words to express this unknown power, such as clairvoyance, *mésmerism*, animal magnetism, *odylic force*, etc.

Such force or power is lodged more plentifully in some men than in others, it may be developed by cultivation. Now, we have only to notice that savage priesthood, everywhere, picks out for its profession men endowed with this power. They cultivate it by every method known to them. They withdraw from the society of men, they fast to the utmost of human endurance, they hold the mind constantly on this one subject. In all ways they strive to bring on a morbid condition of the mind. Any physician knows that such states of mind can be brought about. The savage, as well as the civilized man, will then have dreams and visions of wonderful force. When the powers of the priests are sought, one of the first steps is for the priest to bring on this morbid state of the mind; and, when this state is brought about, results are sometimes obtained that our present knowledge is unable to explain.

The foregoing presents one side of the case. There is, of course, a vast amount of humbuggery and cheating,

sleight-of-hand tricks and ventriloquism abound, and many of the tricks of the Indian jugglers are known to savage priests, but this does not explain all. Often the amazed missionary is ready to conclude that the "Evil Spirit" is helping his savage disciples. If it were deemed advisable, examples could here be given of well attested exhibition of unknown force among the savage priesthood, fully as wonderful as anything known to civilized man. In many parts of the world, these priests have, when occasionally converted to Christianity, stoutly maintained that their former protestation of power was not wholly affected. They still claimed that it was something real, though entirely inexplicable to themselves.

We have but one further observation to make. We have several times shown how savage beliefs survive even to the present day. It must be evident to all, that the savage doctrine of the spirit world, the future life so like our own, the spirits of the dead everywhere about us, the power of communication with them under certain conditions, by means of certain persons, has but lately sprung into new life, and is to-day firmly believed in by thousands of individuals in America and Europe. We refer to modern Spiritualism. This statement is, of course, entirely independent of any question as to the truth or falsity of Spiritualism. We are simply concerned to point out the striking similarity of belief. There is not a phenomenon connected with modern Spiritualism, which has not its counterpart in savage philosophy. Each reader must decide as best he can whether this be an argument for or against Spiritualism.¹

¹ See a most interesting article "Spiritism amongst uncultured people compared with Modern Spiritualism," by Charnock F. S. A., in "Anthropologia," Vol. I., p. 458, and discussion of the same. See also Tiele "History of Religion," p. 9.



A ROMAN HARUSPEX.

C. BLASHFIELD.

We are now approaching a difficult part of our subject, and it is necessary for us to constantly bear in mind that no one key serves to explain the various religious conceptions framed by man to account for the mysteries he everywhere sees about him. When we take a comprehensive survey of these conceptions, we perceive that from two main sources have come the lines of thought, the results of which lie before us. Of these, one is the primitive Ancestor worship, which, in some instances, conducts directly to Polytheism and, indeed, to Monotheism; ¹ the other is from Fetichism, which, taking a firm hold on men's minds, at length carries them to the same end. In both cases, we notice the tendency is from many to one. Let us show the truth of these statements.

First, in regard to the development of the idea of Ancestor worship. At an early stage, the idea prevails that the deceased members of a tribe look out for the wants of that tribe. In New Zealand, this explains the treatment of slaves. It is not supposed that the ancestral spirits of one's own tribe will follow him in the midst of the enemy to care for him. Still less will the ancestral spirits of his captor's tribe have anything to do with him. He, therefore, is under the oversight of no spirits.² Hence, the invisible spirit world is considered as divided into two great classes of spirits, the hostile and the friendly; the dead of their own tribe, and those of others. It seems to us, that here is a simple and consistent explanation of the incipient dualism, the conflict between good and evil, which can be

¹ This statement might be called in question by some, but we must recall that the political institutions of a people certainly influence their idea of God, and this must be a result of Ancestor worship. See Goldziher "Mythology among the Hebrews."

² Shortland "New Zealand," p. 62.

detected in most tribes, however low they may be;¹ but, at first, notice that no question of morality is connected with this dualism.

Let us follow this thought. Of all the various tribes of men on the earth, some are powerful and arrogant, the great majority are self-conceited, and some are feeble and conscious of their inferiority. How will these states of feelings affect the beliefs we have just noticed, for it is manifest that they will greatly influence them. Those tribes possessing power and conscious of it, worship the good (*i. e.*, friendly) spirits and defy evil (*i. e.*, foreign.) The weak and feeble tribes will, on the contrary, reverse this worship. That savage tribes are found, in the lower ranges of culture, who thus worship what they regard as the evil spirit or spirits is well known. In Mesopotamia, there is a sect of devil worshipers to-day.²

But, in another direction, this Ancestor worship clearly gives rise to Polytheism. Is it not clear that with development of tribal society there will arise conceptions of gods of various ranks? Will not the tribal chief be a god superior in rank to the chief of the phratry, and will not this latter out-rank the chief of the gens? So also, when the joint family develops itself, it will indeed have a family god, but this will be a grade lower than the god of the gens. Each and every step of the above can be found in the records of the the ancient Aryans. Every family has its house god, who is nothing but the deceased house-father. Above them was the god of the gens, who was nothing but the supposed common ancestor of the gens. As the descent passes into the male line, the custom of naming the gens after some animal is abandoned, and some hero is taken in-

¹ See on this point Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 287 et. seq.

² Layard "Nineveh and its Remains," Vol I., p. 297.

stead as the supposed starting point, and to him worship is directed. Above these lesser gods, were ranked the tribal gods.¹

We can turn to collected accounts of the beliefs of savage tribes and find this principle in active operation to-day. Take the Zulus. The clan chiefs pass on into deities, but back and beyond all these stands the first man, the supposed progenitor of all the Zulus. He is the "old-old one," the one who "broke off in the beginning," he is regarded as the all powerful god, the creator of all things.² So, among many other Indian tribes, the first man, the one from whom they feign descent, stands forth as a great god.³ And so it is generally in Polynesia, where we would naturally look for such a result among a people who regard the heads of the families and chiefs as sacred persons.⁴ We are told that there is good reason for connecting this first man in Polynesia with the first king of Hawaii.

Here, then, we see, how in a very natural and simple manner, Ancestor worship might pass into Polytheism. And we think that all must recognize the force of this tendency. To further help us in this matter, let us refer to one more class of facts. Where Ancestor worship prevails, any noted personage, inventor or warrior, medicine man or prophet would surely receive special honors after death. We have mentioned this tendency among the Hindoos to-day. We may well believe it exists elsewhere. Therefore, when Galton says the Damaras showed him the grave of the god Omakuru, we may possibly see here an instance

¹ Details in Coulanges "Ancient City," Hearn "Aryan Household." See also "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 111.

² Tylor "Culture," Vol II. p. 284.

³ Müller "Urreligionen," p. 133.

⁴ Shortland "New Zealand," p. 84.

of savage apotheosis.¹ In this connection, let us recall what was said as to certain Mexican deities in the preceding volume.² Among primitive people, the great and successful war-chief would almost surely be raised to the ranks of the gods. Perhaps this was the origin of the Aztec god of war.³ Most of the Chinese gods and goddesses are of this character. Their birth-days are held sacred. Tales are told of their early life. As might be expected, the war god is the spirit of a famous warrior.⁴

Among most people, however, the line of development seems to have been from Fetichism to Nature worship, and so to Polytheism and, eventually, Monotheism. And in all this, it has followed a perfectly natural course. From out the great mass of fetich gods, there gradually emerges more important nature fetiches, if we may so call them. Among these greater fetiches, are heaven, earth, water, sea, fire, sun and moon. The blue, over-arching heaven is regarded, in a primitive stage of thought, as a great fetich. Advancing culture serves to distinguish more and more clearly between heaven itself and the powerful spirit residing therein. The like process takes place with others of the more powerful nature fetiches. The results come before us in Polytheism. And we see how true it is, that only comparatively advanced people can thus originate a pantheon.

Let us illustrate the truth of this statement by reference to some items of primitive belief. The Iroquois prayed to *Garonhia* which is simply the word for sky,⁵ but a more advanced stage of thought is implied in the

¹ Spencer "Sociology," p. 422.

² Vol. I. This Series, p. 713.

³ Müller "Urreligionen," p. 591 et. seq.

⁴ Doolittle "Social Life of the Chinese," Vol. I., p. 266.

⁵ Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 48.

name, sometimes used, of *Garonhiawagon*, literally meaning, sky-comer. This illustrates the separation of the indwelling spirit from the fetich itself. Equally significant phrases occur among the more civilized nations of the South.

In Africa, also, we perceive the worship of the heaven as a fetich, giving place to the worship of a spirit residing in heaven. The Zulus sometimes speak of heaven as able to punish evil doing, and then again of a Lord of heaven, who exercises this power.¹ We find that, in East Africa, the same word may be used for the name of the highest god or heaven or cloud.² So the ruder Siberian tribes scarcely, if at all, separate in thought the visible heaven and the divinity residing in it, using the same word for both.³ The same transition of thought can be traced in China. *Tien*, or heaven, is by many spoken of as the Ruler and Lord of the universe.⁴ The Ayrans also show a similar stage of belief. "We find a Zeus, chief god among the Greeks; a Jupiter, among the Romans; we have a Zio, an important divinity with the Teutons, and a Dyaus with the old Indians."⁵ All these names are derived from one word meaning sky.⁶

This idea of a heaven-god, which we find thus rising from a conception of heaven as a fetich, presents different forms amongst different people. It is not strange that meteorological phenomena should often be thought of as attributes of this heaven-god. Thus, the winds, tempests, thunder and lightening, though sometimes thought of as

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 232.

² Waitz "Anthropology, etc., Vol. II., p. 169.

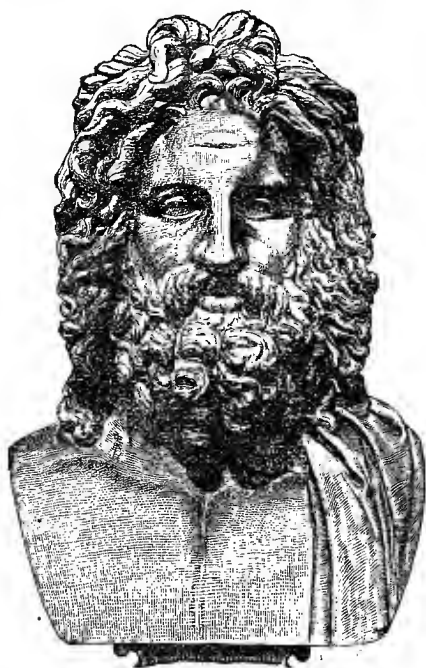
³ Tylor Op. cit., p. 233.

⁴ Doolittle "Chinese," Vol. II., p. 396.

⁵ Keary "Primitive Belief," London, 1882, p. 41.

⁶ Muller, "Science of Language," Second Series.

the functions of a separate god, are more often conceived as the heaven-god himself exercising a special function. All these commotions of the elements herald their approach by appearances in the sky, hence they are generally regarded as significant of various states of feeling of the heaven-god—the thunder-storm, significant of wrath; the genial showers, of goodness. Sometimes other conceptions appear, and the storm-gods and wind-gods are regarded as separate beings but under the control of the heaven-god.



Jupiter.

Much the same course can be traced in regard to earth worship. Among many of the ruder tribes of men, the earth is regarded as a great fetich, The Incas worshiped the earth as a goddess.¹ The Algonquin Indians in the north would sing medicine songs to the earth, whom they styled the "great-grandmother of all."² A similar conception is found in West Africa, where the earth is worshiped as a goddess second only to the heaven-god.³ Throughout

Asia, the same conceptions re-appear, and we detect the same change—from the worship of earth as a fetich, to

¹ Müller "*Urreligionen*," p. 369.

² Tylor "*Primitive Culture*, Vol. II., p. 244.

³ Waitz "*Anthropology, etc.*," Vol. II., p. 170.

the worship of a god of the earth.¹ The Aryans entertained the same views. "The Vedic hymns commemorate the goddess Prithivi, the broad earth;"² and, from the primeval home, the migrating tribes carried this belief with them. To his surprise, Tacitus observed the ancient Germans worshipping the earth even as his own countrymen did.

We have now spoken of but two of the greater nature fetiches and have seen how natural is the transition from them to Polytheism. We do not wish, in this chapter, to speak at any great length about Mythology, but the subject cannot be entirely passed by since "no religion which has any hold on the affections and imaginations of men can be without a mythology."³ A myth is a story that has gradually grown up to account for certain observed phenomena. A vast number of them are nature-myths, to explain the most ordinary occurrences of nature. It is evident, that as religion passes out of the stage of Fetichism to Nature worship and, subsequently, Polytheism, that myths will, at once, make their appearance.

It was so with the two great nature fetiches we have examined. A very common conception, meeting us among tribes low in the scale and continuing to exert an influence far along in Civilization, is to regard the over-arching heaven and the fruitful earth as father and mother; whose offspring are the living creatures, men, beasts and plants. Throughout Polynesia, this myth is found; and interesting stories of native origin are given to account for their separation.⁴ The same conception exactly re-appears in China, which illustrates how true it is that the human

¹ Tylor Op cit., 246-7.

²Ibid.

³ Baring-Gould "Origin of Religious Belief," p. 171.

⁴ See on this point Tylor "Culture," Vol. I., p. 290 et. seq.

mind, everywhere, obeys the same law of thought. Among the primitive Aryans, we are continually told of the two great parents, Father-heaven and Mother-earth. The conception of earth as a mother is more general than that of heaven as a father. "The Caribs, when there was an earthquake, said it was their mother-earth dancing and signifying to them to dance and make merry likewise, which accordingly they did."¹

We have still two other important fetiches to treat of, and show how the worship of them passed into Nature worship and Polytheism, these are fire and water. In that stage of thought, where any striking object may be worshiped as a fetich, it is, of course, not strange that rivers, lakes and springs, and especially whirlpools, rapids and cataracts should be worshiped; and, finally, that worship should be paid more directly to the spirit residing therein. Such worship meets us everywhere. Our Indians were observed to make prayers to the deities of rivers and lakes. In times of sickness or drought, sacrifices are made to them. Examples of barbaric customs in this respect could be gathered from the most widely scattered portions of the earth.² Traces of this world-wide superstition still exist as survivals among the more ignorant people of Europe. "The Bohemians will go to pray on the river bank, where a man has been drowned, and then they will cast in an offering, a loaf of new bread and a pair of wax candles." The Bulgarian throws some water out of every bucket full brought from the well, so that if any harmful spirit be floating thereon, it may not be taken into the house.³

Let us here take notice of the steps which, in some

¹ Ibid. 295.

² Details in Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 190. et. seq.

³ "Positive Philosophy," Martineau's Translation, New York, 1853, Vol. II., p. 204.

cases, conduct directly from Fetichism to Polytheism. It is simply, a process of generalization. Comte says; "When certain phenomena appeared alike in various substances, the corresponding fetiches must have formed a group, and at length coalesced into one principal one, which thus became a god: that is, an ideal and usually invisible agent, whose residence is no longer rigorously fixed. Thus when the oaks of a forest, in their likeness to each other, suggested certain general phenomena, the abstract being in whom so many fetiches coalesced, was no fetich but the god of forests."¹ We can now see how difficult it was for primitive man to frame the conception of a water-god; the difficulty of bringing the many different forms of water under one conception.

But the sea, as being the greatest body of water known, naturally enough gives rise to the conception of a sea-god or gods. And here, we see the same stages of thought as before pointed out. The first thought is of the sea as a fetich, something alive, animated by a spirit. Many instances of this worship are known, as among certain African tribes who sacrifice directly to the sea. It survives into higher stages of thought,



Neptune.

and even Xerxes thought to chastise the sea for destroying his bridge. But the higher stage of thought is where the sea is no longer a person but is ruled by indwelling spirits; finally appears the conception of a god of the sea, who con-

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 253.

tinues to play an important part in the mythology of the ancient world.

The worship of fire is one of the most important of primitive worships. We can only briefly examine it. It presents the two stages noticed in reference to the great fetiches. Perhaps, all that is necessary is to point out that the worship of fire, in one sense or the other, is certainly very general among the barbarous races of men. In some localities, it is "conspicuous for its absence." In the South Sea Islands, there is scarcely a trace of fire worship,¹ and but one instance is recorded of its worship as a fetich among the Africans. In Dahomey, "A pot of fire is placed in a room and sacrifice is offered to it, that fire may 'live' there and not go forth to destroy the house."² It will be observed, that the worship of fire is lacking in warmer regions of the earth. This may be nothing but a coincidence, however.

In other sections, we are sure to come on traces of fire worship. It is true, however, that a great many rites of other worship require the use of fire, and we are liable to confound this use with worship paid to fire. Still it remains that worship was paid to fire. The Indians were extensively given to this worship.³ It is almost general throughout Asia.⁴ The Semitic people were extensively given to it. The worship of Baal was extensive throughout Assyria, Phœnicia and Chaldea, and passages in the Old Testament show how prone the Hebrews were to fall into this species of idolatry. The primitive Aryans were very extensively given to fire worship. It survives to-day among the Persian Parsees. When the

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 253.

² Ibid. ³ Müller "Urreligionen," 54.

⁴ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p. 254.

Aryans entered Europe, they brought with them this fire worship. Each joint-family had its sacred fire, which was carefully screened from the gaze of strangers and never supposed to go out.¹

It is interesting to trace the survival of this ancient fire worship in Europe. When a Russian family is about to move, after everything else has been taken from the house, a brisk fire is lighted for the last time in the stove at the old house. Precisely at midday, the embers from this fire are raked, by the oldest women of the family, into a clean jar, covered with a napkin and taken to the new house. There the jar is greeted with; "welcome grand-father to the new home."² The Esthonian bride consecrates her new home by casting some money into the fire for the "Fire-mother."³ "To the Bohemian, it is a godless thing to spit in the fire,—'God's fire,' as he calls it. It is not right to throw away the crumbs after a meal, for they belong to the fire. Of every kind of dish, some should be given to the fire."⁴ To have luck, the baker must daily throw pieces of bread to the fire.⁵

From fire worship, the transition is easy and natural to sun worship. Indeed, the sun would be worshiped as a great fetich from early times; but any well developed fire-worship would almost certainly lead its votaries to the worship of the sun. Sun-worship, like fire-worship, is very

¹ Coulanges "Ancient City," p. 46. Keary "Primitive Belief," p. 132. It should be observed, however, that among the Aryans, fire seems early to have passed the fetich stage and was regarded simply as the means of communion with the spirits of deceased ancestors. The Parsees, usually regarded as fire worshipers, disclaim this title and maintain that fire is only the symbol of the deity. [American Antiquarian] March 1887, p. 119.

² Ralston "Songs of Russia," p. 138.

³ Tylor "Primitive Culture" Vol II., p. 259.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Wuttke "Volks Aberglaube," p. 86.

extensive though not universal. It is certainly significant that, like fire-worship, the worship of the sun is not extensively prevalent in warm and torrid countries, though here again we must accept this statement with caution.¹ Sun-worship was certainly very extensive among the Indians of America, though there may be some uncertainty as to the rank of this worship. One writer concludes that all the Indian tribes were sun-worshippers,² but Dr. Brinton tells us, that the Nachez alone, among the North American Indians, were true worshippers of the sun.³ It certainly remains that great honor was shown the sun, by a great number of tribes.⁴

In Mexico, Central America and Peru, the worship of the sun was well established; especially is this true of the Incas, where it was, what might be called, the state religion.⁵ Passing into the old world, we find sun-worship still prevalent among the northern Turanian tribes, where sacrifices are still offered to him.⁶ The aboriginal tribes of India, likewise, continue his worship. It is scarcely necessary to recall that the Egyptians and Semitic inhabitants of Western Asia were likewise given to the adoration of the sun. The Hebrews themselves, were continually relapsing into this idolatry.

We have seen that the ancient Aryans were fire-worshippers. We, therefore, expect to find among them the worship of the sun. There are probably no exceptions to this rule. All nations of the Aryan stock worshiped the sun under various names and aspects. It was part and

¹ On this point, Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 260.

² Carr "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," p. 56.

³ Brinton "Myths of the New World," p. 142.

⁴ See on this point Waitz "Anthropology, etc.," Vol. III., p. 180. Müller "Urreligionen" p. 116. Tylor "Culture," Vol. II. p., 261.

⁵ Brinton Op. cit., p. 142.

⁶ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 265.

parcel of the ancient religion of Europe, and it presented a most stubborn barrier to the spread of Christianity; and, in fact, the great sun-festivals were adopted by the infant church, too weak to abrogate them. Easter, St. John's Eve and Christmas are but ancient sun-festivals now doing duty for another faith. In Saxony, the peasants still climb the hills on Easter morning to see the sun dance.¹

Moon worship follows almost as naturally as sun-worship. It is significant to note that in Africa, for instance, over a large section of country where sun-worship is virtually unknown, the moon is regarded with great veneration. They dance and sing all night in her honor, when shining at her full; they shout greeting to the new moon and make prayers to it.² In the new world, the worship of the moon was spread over a large extent of country, and she was generally regarded as the goddess of water.³ Many are the myths relating to the sun and moon and eclipses of these bodies, but we must pass them by at present.

We have in the last few pages endeavored to show how from a stage of Fetichism gradually arises Nature-worship, and, from that, Polytheism, or the religion of many gods, arises. We can see that we have now largely passed out of the stage of primitive religion. Savage people, indeed, worship the great nature fetiches, sky, earth, sun, water and fire. But it is only the more advanced people who come finally to separate the indwelling spirit from the fetich body; and, only when that stage is reached, does Polytheism proper begin.

Nor is it singular that confusion at once begins to show itself in such advanced religion. As soon as the sky-

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 269.

² Ibid. ³ Brinton "Myths," p. 130.

god becomes dis-associated from the fetich-sky, various conceptions will begin to be formed, and he is represented in different ways. Now, he is represented as the storm, wind, rain or thunder god; and, again, he is simply a god that controls and governs these lesser storm gods. So the sun; in how many different ways it is represented. It may be the rising or setting sun, or the sun of midday; and, in connection with all this, there goes that tendency of the human mind which, in the childhood of a race, leads to the formation of myths; and these mythical stories, being constantly changed from time to time, serve only to increase the confusion.

We have yet before us a most important part of our subject. Quite low in the scale we come upon savages having dim conceptions of one supreme deity, and it is necessary for us to examine this subject to some extent to see how such conceptions might originate. It is plain that here, also, Ancestor worship, logically carried out, must land its followers in Monotheism. Back of the ancestors generally, back of the deceased chiefs and kings, there looms up, in thought, the idea of the deceased first ancestor, the one from whom the race first sprung. One striking illustration has already been stated; viz., that of the Zulus. It is equally apparent that, even where Ancestor worship has not been carried to its logical development, still it has greatly influenced savage conceptions of the future world. When people have developed far enough to have a regularly organized tribal government, they must conceive of a government of the future, framed on substantially the same model; and, of necessity, there is a head of authority somewhere. So it is not at all singular that, even among quite rude tribes, we come upon evidence of a belief in some Supreme Spirit, who exercises dominion over all the

others. This belief, in its first stages, is, of course, shadowy, ill-defined and contains contradictory features.

We would make a mistake, however, to conclude that this was the only road leading to Monotheism. The savage begins by adoring as a fetich each individual tree or bush; he ends by forming the conception of a god of trees or of agriculture. As a savage, he worships for his fetich the individual lake, fountain or spring; he ends by adoring the God of water. From this belief in a number of gods, each ruling his own department—water, vegetation, animal life, winds, etc.—it is but another step to the conception of one force back of all.¹ The trouble is for partially civilized men to give this thought expression.

It finds vent, however, in two directions. One is to conceive of a spiritual entity, far removed from all the affairs of men, too mighty and benevolent to care for the praise and adoration of men, knowing little about their affairs and caring less. The Indians in Texas believed in such a one “who does not concern himself about things here below.”² A great many of the African tribes believe in such a being “who, they suppose, is too far removed or is too indifferent to feel much concern in the affairs of men.”³ So too, of the supreme God of the Figians, *Ndengei*. “He is the subject of no emotion nor sensation, nor any appetite except hunger . . . giving no sign of life beyond eating, answering his priest, and changing his position from one side to the other.”⁴

To satisfy this same longing, one of the great nature or fetich gods is sometimes raised to the primacy. The

¹ Baring-Gould “Origin of Religious Belief,” p. 241.

² Brinton “Myths of the New World,” p. 54.

³ Wilson “Western Africa,” p. 73.

⁴ Williams “Figi and the Figians,” p. 170.

sun or the heaven-god is often assigned to this place of honor. In the case of the heaven-god, this has taken place over a wide region of the earth. It appears among the South American Indians;¹ throughout the Polynesian Islands,² the same idea is found; it is also wide spread in Africa.³ The same conception comes to the front in Asia, and especially among the Turanian tribes and among the Chinese;⁴ and we have already pointed out that all the Aryan people had a heaven-god for the supreme deity.

We have, in this chapter, been investigating the religion of savage people generally. We have examined the superstitions of the lower races and have seen how they have developed with advancing culture. We have had to pass by a good many subjects of interest and must here drop the discussion. We have space only for a brief summary of our conclusions. We have found that the savage theory of dreams, shadows and reflections naturally gives rise to the belief in "another-self," possessing mysterious powers, capable of living apart from the body; and that death is, simply, the prolonged absence of this "other-self." From this as a starting point, we have investigated the savage theory of the future world and savage philosophy in general. We have found that the key which unlocks vast numbers of their superstitions is a belief in spirits swarming around them. This explains the savage theory of sickness, also the belief in magic, witchcraft, sorcery, etc., and it also explains the savage theory of the priest-hood.

We have seen that, at first, worship was paid to the spirits of the dead and have seen how persistent such belief

¹ Tylor "Culture," Vol. II., p. 306. But see Brinton *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

² Tylor *Op. cit.*, p. 312.

³ Waitz "Anthropology, etc., Vol. II., p. 168.

⁴ Tylor "Op. cit.," p. 318.

is, since to this day more than half the world are worshipping the spirits of the dead. But, at different stages of culture, this worship crystalizes into certain systems. Amongst the lowest tribes we find Fetichism, which, indeed, survives into the higher stages of culture. It is no exaggeration to say that the majority of the world's inhabitants to-day are fetich-worshippers. Amongst the higher tribes, Fetichism gives place to Polytheism. This result takes place in two directions, either by fusing the conceptions of a number of individual fetiches into one general fetich; forming, for instance, the idea of a god of water from the individual fetiches of fountains, lakes and rivers; or disassociating the indwelling spirit from the great nature fetiches, as, for instance, the idea of a sun-god from the fetich-sun.

We have further seen, that the same line of reasoning which conducts from Fetichism to Polytheism, leads on to Monotheism and have discovered still other lines of thought leading thereto. Even Ancestor worship, logically carried out, leads to the same end, and examples of this are given. Yet again, the tendency of the human mind to seek for some first cause, influenced, no doubt, by the savage idea of a future life like the present, induces even savages to form some vague, shadowy conception of a Supreme Being. We have to notice, in all this, that savage religion has but very little to do with morality. It is only advancing intelligence and civilization that finally unite morality and religion. Savage idea of the future life failed to exert its great influence for good, because of this. It is only in advanced stages of thought that the future life is held to be one in which happiness or misery is held to be conditional on the life led here. Savages conceive of friendly and hostile spirits, but only advanced civilization finally

changed these conceptions to others in which the question of morality, good and evil spirits, enters. Our subject has called for no discussion of the higher religions, such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Brahminism, Mohammedism or Christianity; it would be found, however, that these religions were the first and only religions that assigned the right place to morality, have made that, indeed, the corner stone of their system.

What shall we finally say of the results thus spread before us? They raise questions, the discussion of which would be very much out of place in this book. At least two results seem plainly indicated. The first is that even savages and but partially civilized people are so constituted that they come by entirely natural means to the fundamental conceptions underlying all religions, such as belief in God and immortality. The second shows us how far they come short of framing worthy conceptions on these and kindred topics. Christianity abandons arguments from nature and rests down upon the revealed will of the Most High, imparted to inspired men of old.

This chapter has been written solely for the purpose of enabling us to understand the religious beliefs of the Ancient World. Leaving the Hebrews entirely out of the question, for they play but a small part in the Ancient World, we have a difficult task before us to show how the great people of antiquity, who certainly did not derive their religion from the Hebrews, came to possess their great Polytheistic systems of religion. This question we have now attempted to answer. We can but notice how true it is that in religious culture, as in everything else, man has lived a life of progress. This affords room for the cheering hope that the world will grow better as well as wiser; and we can look forward to the time when Christianity will pre-

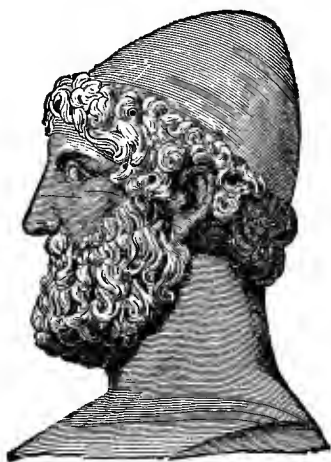
vail over the entire earth and free mankind from the superstitious depths of primitive religion, even as the science and Civilization of to-day extend their benignant sway.

We now bring to a close this series of introductory chapters and will turn to consider the development of culture in each of the three great groups of races. We have ranged over quite a number of topics not necessary for the mere historian to consider, but they are indispensable for one who would learn of the growth of Civilization. Two persons may both admire a flower, but the one who understands the outlines of botany is fitted for a higher enjoyment than one ignorant of it. Civilization is a beautiful flower, blooming on the vine of progress; all can certainly admire it in its present form, but he who has taken some pains to acquaint himself with the laws of its development and growth, and can compare the present results with those of an earlier age, derives a much higher enjoyment than one destitute of this knowledge, knowing only of the present.

We trust that all who have followed us will be impressed with a sense of the worth and dignity of man. In realizing the depths from which he has ascended, we can look forward with hope to the future. If it be true, that the elements of our present Civilization are simply the results of unknown years of progressive efforts, then let us trust that, as the years go by, Civilization will steadily grow higher, nobler and, in all ways, more in keeping with that life which the highest, purest, holiest instincts of man teach him he should live.

Let us not take a gloomy view of Civilization. The scholar, who laments that there is so much ignorance in the world; the philanthropist, who sighs over the many cases of man's inhumanity to man; the moralist, who sees

so many ways in which human conduct should improve; the philosopher, who views in amazement the thousands of superstitious customs of the world: should bear in mind that that which they severally deplore was once the universal rule of action. If we may judge the future by the past, we may see in the distant future the dawning of a better day. The Golden Age, of which the poets sung, is no myth, but instead of looking for it in the past, we are to look for it in the future. Each should so live that when his brief day on earth is past, his influence, which lives after him, will be felt as an elevating and ennobling one and thus contribute to the bringing on of that better Civilization of the future.



Pluto.


PART II.

An
Historical Study
of the Races at the Dawn of History,
and their Development
in Culture.

THE YELLOW RACES.

THE EGYPTIANS.

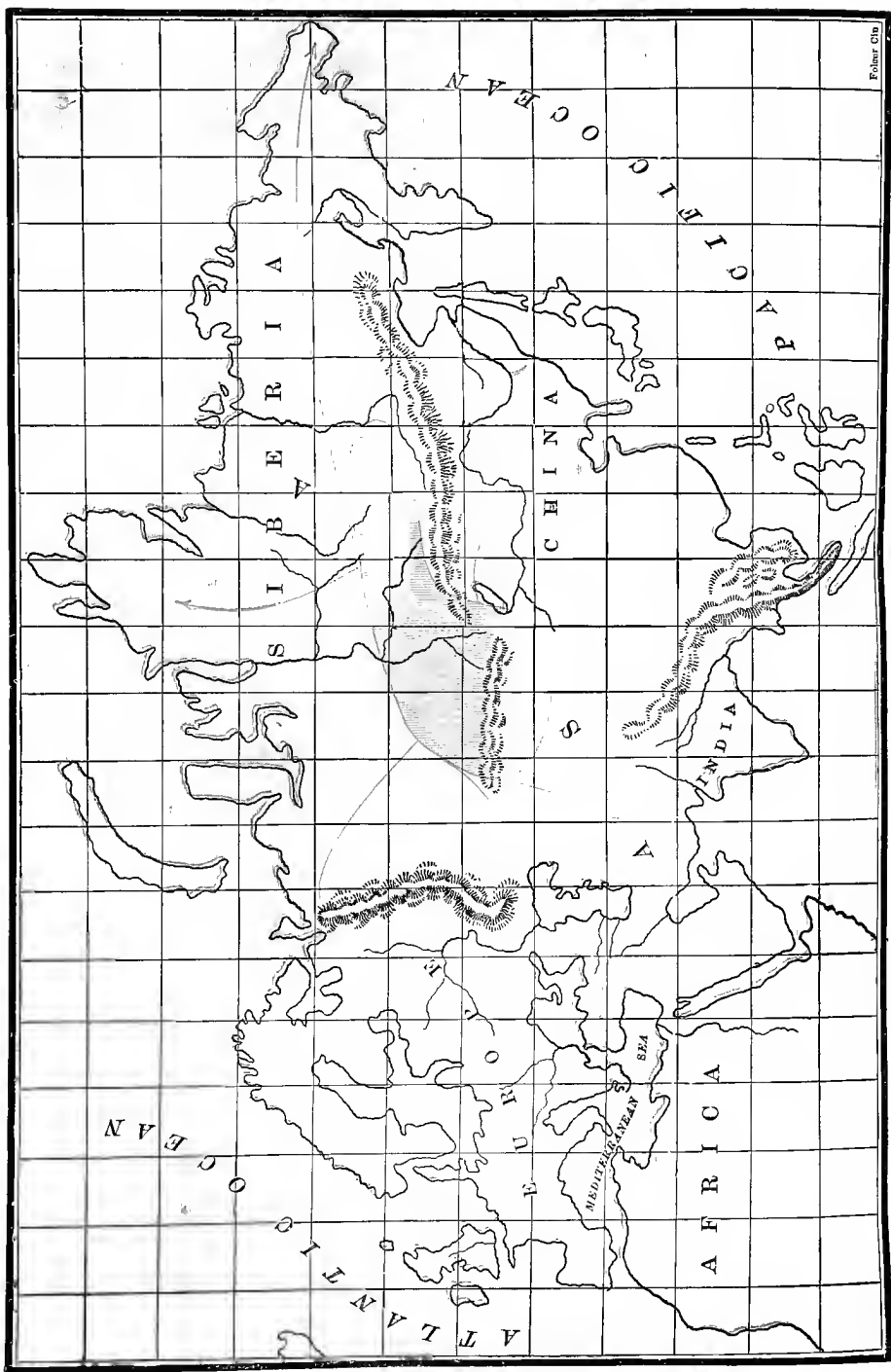
THE SEMITES.

UR CLOCK strikes when there is a change from hour to hour; but no hammer in the Horologue of Time peals through the universe, when there is a change from Era to Era.

CARLYLE.

THE BIOGRAPHY of a nation embraces all its works. No trifle is to be neglected. A mouldering medal is a letter of twenty centuries. Antiquities which have been beautifully called history defaced, compose its fullest commentaries. In these wrecks of many storms, which time washes to the shores, the scholar looks patiently for treasures. The painting around a vase, the scribble on a wall, the wrath of a demagogue, the drollery of a farce, the pomp of an epigram, each possesses its own interest and value.

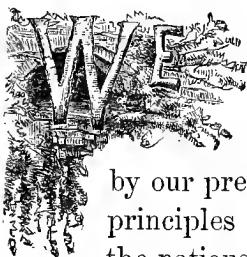
WILLMOTT.



CHAPTER V.

THE YELLOW RACES.

Introductory—Development of the Black Races—Origin of the Yellow Races—When—Where—Home of Yellow Races—The Dravidians—The Accadians—Results of recent research—Beginning of Civilization in Mesopotamia—Divisions of the people—The Accadians, Turanians—The Kushites or Cushites—Accadian Civilization—Accadian Religion—The Proto-Median Tribes—The Hittites—First History—Bible References to the Hittites—Egyptian References—The Alarodians—The Vannic Inscriptions—Hittite Religion—The Finns—Finnic Mythology—China—Early Chinese History—Chinese Classics—Probable Chinese History—Civilization of the Chinese Tribes—Writing—Sketch of their Development—The Aboriginal Tribes of China—The Chow Dynasty—Traces of Tribal Society in China—General Conclusions on the Yellow Races.



HAVE now reached an important point in our work. We are like travelers, who have been toiling up a long ascent, but are now in position to profit by our previous exertions. Let us now apply the principles we have examined and pass in review the nations and races of the world. Let us ask what part each one took in the work of Civilization. This research ought in no wise to fatigue us. We are not to sojourn along some beaten and dusty highway, we are not concerned with dynasties and the march of armies, but with the growth of Civilization. Whether we gaze on the monumental ruins of Egypt, over which unknown chiliads of years have winged their flight; ponder over the but just recovered cylinder of some Chaldean king inscribed with records already ancient when first the light of history lit up the Mediterranean area or scrutinize the records of Chi-

nese sages of unknown antiquity and meaning—our main purpose is to see how, in each case, Civilization was advanced.

We must, however, proceed in some definite order, or else, as the records of the past unroll before us, we will become confused and so miss the many details which make up the beauty of the whole. We will, therefore, take up the second great group of races and in this chapter inquire as to the part they have taken in the great work of human progress. We have seen that, for convenience, we may divide the many races of men into three great groups of races, the Black, Yellow and White Races. On the supposition that the the Black Races were the first to people the earth, we may ascribe to them the invention of the first language, the artificial production of fire and the utilization of stone for implements and weapons. They must have made the first beginnings in social life, carrying this organization forward at least as far as the class division of the Australians. In short, they must have advanced through at least the lower stage of Savagery.

It is, perhaps, not strange that at this stage the Black Races halted. The advance they had achieved, though small in the aggregate, was relatively great. As they spread from their primitive home, going forth to possess the earth in that primitive long-ago, they, of course, became exposed to greatly different surroundings. The descendants, then, of this primitive people would in time diverge from the ancestral type. In a former chapter,¹ we have suggested that the Yellow Races were the first to diverge from the primitive Black Races. We shall, probably, never be able to solve this and similar questions referring to the

¹ This Volume, p. 78.

morning time of human life with certainty; the only way for us to do is to accept the solutions as convenient working hypotheses, ready to exchange them for any other theory that will best explain all facts requiring explanation. At present, however, we may assume that the Yellow Races represent the second great stock of people; and now let us see what was their condition in the Ancient World, and what they did to advance Civilization in the ages lying near the dawn of history.

The origin of the Yellow Races must be placed far back in time. No petty term of years will suffice. We are not able to give a definite answer, but everything connected with the antiquity of the Neolithic Age compels us to assume the passage of thousands of years.¹ Can we, in any way, determine the primeval home of the Yellow Races? On this, as on other points, all we can do is to come to some provisional answer, one that will do until we obtain further light. At the present day, the Black Races are found in Africa, Australia and the islands of Western Polynesia.² In accordance with present light, it seems reasonable to assign the primeval home of the Black Races to South-eastern Asia; bearing in mind, however, that the outline of the continent of Asia when man first appeared, was, doubtless, considerably different from what it is to-day.³ The migrations of the first men, suited as they were for only warm and tropical regions, were mainly in a direction east and west; and hence it is, that we detect traces of their presence in Southern India,⁴ and that they finally found a most congenial home in tropical Africa.

We may, of course, assume that they made extensive migrations into the temperate regions of the north. As

¹ Vol. I., p. 261.

² This Volume, p. 80.

³ p. 64.

⁴ See Keane appendix to "Asia," London, 1882, p. 704.

Paleolithic tribes, we seem to have caught sight of them in Preglacial times in Europe,¹ and they probably spread into the New World as well.² A recent writer assures us that Chinese immigrants found them in the center of what is now China, at a date preceding 2000 B. C.³ But it becomes equally evident that, in their new homes, they would certainly be exposed to greatly different surroundings; and, in process of time, divergence from the original type would certainly take place.

More than one scholar has pointed out the influence of elevated, dry regions of land and of mountain ranges. A glance at the map of Asia will show that no great advance towards the interior could have been made, starting from the south-eastern section, before the spreading tribes of primitive men would come upon elevated dry table lands, bounded by great mountain ranges. In the course of time, then, it is not singular, that to the north of the center of Asia, a second great stock of races, the Yellow Races, make their appearance. This seems to be the original home of the Yellow Races. It corresponds well with all that is known of their movements in early times. If we are justified in assigning any considerable portion of our Indians to some original home, that home was Northern Asia. The Neolithic invaders of Europe, quite probably, came from that same section, and certain it is that the movements of all the great bodies of Turanian or Mongolic people, known to history emanate from that source.

Changes, both mental and physical, have taken place. There is, probably, now no longer a doubt that the new race type was the superior in both structure and intellect

¹ Vol. I., p. 98. ² Ibid.

³ Prof. T. De La Couperie, *Introduction to Colquihoun "Amongst the Shans,"* p. XLII., London, 1885.

to the Black Races. Living in a dryer and cooler habitat the color tends to become lighter.¹ But a more important change has taken place in mental endowment. In this respect, the Yellow Races occupy a higher scale than the Black; and, probably, the dryness of the climate serves to advance them in this direction also.² The Yellow Races had a great work to do in developing nascent Civilization. Taking up the work where the Black Races had come to a stand, they carried it forward. They are the childhood races of mankind. The period of infancy was past; but, just as the child is impatient of restraint, is moved by impulse but not by judgement, begins many things but carries few through and soon comes to the limits of his powers—so do we find it with the Yellow Races of mankind.³

We do not know how long a time elapsed, during which the Yellow Races remained near each other in this second center of dispersion. Yet increasing numbers and gradual separation in search of new locations, gradually tended to the formation of sub-stocks. Strife would, in time, spring up between them, and so from this center great bands would sally forth to escape the tyranny of more powerful tribes. But tribal organization appears to have been fully developed before these migrations began; and that peculiar system of relationship, which we have designated the Indo-American,⁴ was developed and carried by migrating members of this race—on the one hand, to America, on the other to India. However, on this matter, we must exercise caution. The results just stated seem to be in keeping

¹ This Volume, p. 24.

² Spencer "Sociology," p. 22, et. seq.

³ See "Anthropological Review," Vol. II., 1864, p. 179-80; Vol. III., p. 246, and Vol. VI., p. 122 and 298.

⁴ This Volume, p. 109.

with our present knowledge. Treating of these far-away times of which we have absolutely no record, we need not be over sure in our statements.

As to their general culture, not much is known, that is of the period preceding their migrations. Assuming, if we choose to, that the Neolithic inhabitants of Europe were among the first to leave, they had by that time attained to the possession of some domestic animals and at least the rudiments of agriculture, though they were as yet in the Stone Age of culture. These invaders were, probably, allied to the Turanian division of the Yellow Races,¹ though they might have formed a family apart by themselves or might have been closely allied to some of the other families, as, for instance, the American. Several scholars have thought this last suggestion reasonable, and some even have supposed that the Indians came from Europe to America.²

The Turanian division includes the most typical and important members of the Yellow Races. Its home seems to have been along the Altai mountain range. Its language has been sufficiently discussed.³ At a very early time, some thousands of years before the Christian era, they began to send out great bands of migrating people and, from time to time, during the historic era, similar movements occurred. They not only sent one stream to Europe but at that same early date, they sent great streams of invading people into South-western Asia; and here they reached a comparatively high stage of culture, which exercised a great influence on the Civilization of both Europe and Asia.

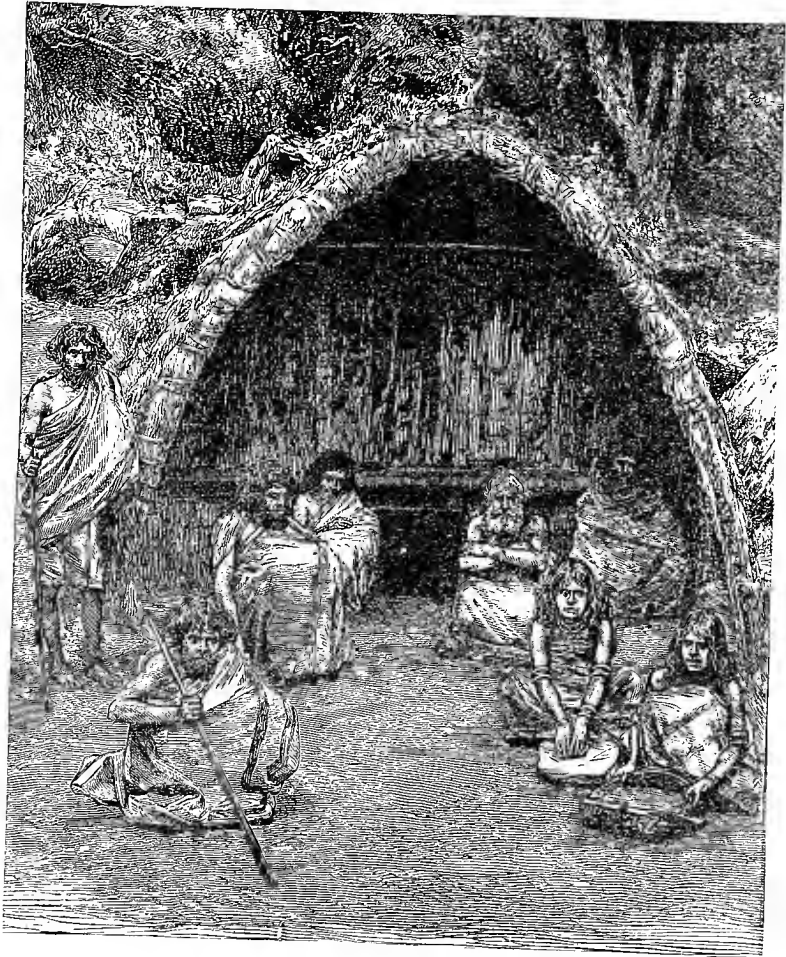
Let us first see what traces we can find of this south-

¹ Vol. I., p. 210.

² Hale "American Antiquarian," 1883.

³ This Volume, p. 41.

western migration which took place at a time long before the dawn of history, doubtless earlier than five thousand B. C. In this cut, we have represented Dravidians from Southern India. The race to which they belong,



Dravidians.

doubtless much changed from the original stock, is one of very great interest. We do not know when they entered India. The evidence is to the effect that they invaded the

country from the north-west. After the lapse of many centuries, the number of which we can not now determine the Aryans entered India from the same direction and commenced a long-continued and stubborn contest with the Dravidians for the country. The result was the latter were continually pressed to the south. In the time of Solomon, they still held possession of Ophir, the country at the mouth of the Indus.¹

At the present day, the Dravidian language is spoken by over forty millions of people in Southern India.² As far as we can now determine, the Dravidians did not reach any very high stage of culture. What they were able to accomplish in this direction was more an imitation of the higher culture of the Aryans. Thus, in comparatively modern times, they have developed considerable of a literature "which is in some respects unique in the East."³ Some would assign to them the origin of the Indian architecture,⁴ but we have the very best of reasons for concluding that this is a mistake.⁵

It is a most interesting question, who were these Dravidians? The Vedic hymns of the Aryan invaders speak of them collectively under the word "Dasyus."⁶ This, however, was not a race name, it simply meant "enemies." More significant, perhaps, are the hymns describing the personal appearance of the non-Aryan Tribes. The flat-

¹ Sayce "Ancient Empires of the East," New York, 1884, p. 189.

² Brandeth "Non-Aryan Languages of India," in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1876, p. 3.

³ Pope "Study of South Indian Vernaculars" in *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII., N. S., p. 165.

⁴ Ferguson "Hist. of Modern Architecture" and "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 477.

⁵ "Anthropological Review," 1863, p. 222. Rajendralala Mitra "Indo-Aryans."

⁶ Geiger "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians," p. 35.

nose, so descriptive of the Asiatics generally, is especially dwelt upon.¹ We must remember, that at the present day, the Aryans and Dravidians of India have become greatly mixed.² The main distinction between them is that of language.³ Perhaps this point is not sufficiently considered by some of our more modern scholars, who are inclined to class the Dravidians among the White Races.⁴ As a general thing, the Dravidians are classed among the Yellow Races. Perhaps they represent one of the very first emigrations out of the common home of the Yellow Races.

Passing more to the west of the Dravidians, there came, probably at a subsequent period, another great invasion of Turanians. Perhaps it was the march of their tribes, which forced the Dravidians out of the territory lying to the east and south of the Caspian Sea, into India. For the Dravidians themselves were intruders; when they entered India, the country was already filled up by Kolarian tribes, who came probably from the south-east and were related to the Black Races.⁵ Be all this as it may, we have excellent reasons for saying that Turanian tribes were early settled in Mesopotamia and the country to the south and east of the Caspian. The Avestas, the epic books of the Aryan Persians, contain many references to Turanian tribes in that vicinity.⁶ It was the Turanian tribes that finally occupied the country around the lower courses of the Tigris and Euphrates that possess great interest for any one who studies the origin of Civilization

This brings us to one of the most interesting discoveries of modern times. It is only within the last few years

¹ "Encyclopedia Britannica," Article, India.

² Keane "Asia," London, 1882, p. 286. ³ Ibid. 704.

⁴ Flowers in "Nature," Vol. XXXI., p. 364. ⁵ Keane "Asia," p. 704.

⁶ Geiger "Eastern Iranians," p. 41.

that our scholars have become convinced that at a time long preceding the beginning of history, a Turanian people dwelt in Southern Mesopotamia as well as in the fertile portions of modern Persia. Let us see how they have been able to satisfy themselves of this.

Probably all are aware that Mesopotamia, the strip of land through which flow the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, has all evidence of being one of the centers of early Civilization. Through pestilential marshes, can still be traced the remains of ancient canals, which once made this now desolate land a fruitful valley.

Here were the cities of Babylon, Ur and Calneh and many more cities mentioned on the pages of Holy Writ, and the country itself was none other than the plain of Shinar.¹ This is not the place to recite how such explorers as Rich, Botta, Layard, Smith and others, finally succeeded in partially recovering for us the history of these extinct cities. The veil of oblivion has been here and there



Cuneiform
Writing.

lifted, and we read of doings of kings, descriptions of their conquests, their worships and sacrifices, at a time removed from us by several thousands of years. These results have been attained only by the exertions of men who devoted their lives to the cause of science. Who followed one clew after another, until they succeeded in wresting from mysterious arrow-shaped inscriptions, such as are here shown, their hidden meaning.

We are here trenching on a subject that will be considered later.² Thousands of inscriptions have been deciphered, and, thus it is, that we are now enabled to see

¹ Genesis, X. and XI. ² See Chapter IX.

clearly on many points in the history of these far away times and places. But still the unknown is greatly more than the known; and, further, nearly every day brings some new discovery to light, so that it becomes us to speak with great caution on all points connected with this ancient land. The following may be considered as the present conclusions, and the probabilities are that future discoveries will not greatly change them.

The beginning of Civilization in this section of country was along the lower reaches of the rivers, near the old shores of the Persian Gulf. This was the home of numerous closely related tribes, who had mainly adopted a sedentary life, possessing each a fortified citadel, or city, and each under the government of its own chief,¹ who, like all such officers in primitive times, was not only the head of the tribe, but the head of the religion as well. These tribes did not live together in peace and amity any more than do rude tribes generally. Some of them continued in a nomadic state of life, and thus a distinction was early known between them of highland (Accadian) and lowland (Sumerian) or, better still, the *nomadic* and *sedentary* inhabitants.²

Among the Sumerians there was, of course, the usual scenes of tribal rivalry. One tribe endeavoring to bring the others under its sway, and the supremacy resting now with one tribe and now with another. We may well suppose, also, that, at times, the sedentary tribes had to unite their forces, under the leadership of some noted tribe, to repel the attacks of the more savage nomadic tribes. But, as time passed on, the nomadic tribes, which might have included tribes of various races, gradually adopted the culture of the settled tribes; and now the rivalry for leader-

¹ A "Patesi" Ragozin, "The Story of Chaldra," N. Y. 1886, p. 203.

² See Rawlinson "Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great," in J. R. A. S.

ship among the tribes was transferred to a wider field. As for the language spoken by these tribes, there were, of course, numerous dialects,¹ because, in general, different tribes denote a difference in dialect.² The most numerous stock language in this section was of an agglutinative type and belonged to the Turanian class.³ The evidence is to the effect that to the west and south-west of this early civilized area there were vast numbers of nomadic tribes, and certainly a large proportion of them were Semitic tribes. They might have formed an important element among the nomadic tribes that the more settled sedentary ones had to contend with. Be that as it may, it was Semitic tribes that commenced at an extremely early day to exert a pressure upon Turanian tribes. We have no reason to suppose that this pressure was exerted in a peaceful way only.⁴ We may suppose the usual scenes of inter-tribal warfare ensued. Sudden and unexpected raids, cruel massacres, crops destroyed and people carried away to captivity. As time passed on, these nomadic Semites grew in culture, adopted

1880, p. 71, Note, where he takes this view of the meaning of the two divisions. See also Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 411. There seems to have been an ancient division of these people into Accadians and Sumerians. Some think this division indicated dialectical divisions, but more think it a geographical division.

¹ On this point see Rawlinson's Article in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for 1880. Also Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 412.

² This Volume, p. 146.

³ On this point see Pinches "Language of Mesopotamia," in *J.R.A.S.*, 1884, p. 301. He points on the monosyllabic tendencies as displayed in Chinese, p. 309. See also Sayce "Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 189. By same Author, "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments, London, 1884, p. 20. Also, "Babylonia," 1885. But especially see Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," Chapter XIX. and XX., where both resemblances and differences are pointed out. The contrary view is maintained by M. Halevy, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1879.

⁴ The contrary view seems to be the opinion of many writers. See Ragozin "Story of Chaldea," *N. Y.*, 1886, p. 202 et. seq. Yet this is opposed by all that we know of Ancient Society.

more and more the ways of sedentary life and so settled among the Turanians, whom they doubtless reduced to a more or less completely subject condition; and now commenced that long interchange of culture, the old, arrested, perhaps decaying civilization (such as it was) of the Turanians sprung into new life and activity, when it felt the infusion of new blood. The language and culture of the Semites gradually prevailed, but they prevailed greatly modified by the older culture of the Turanians.

We are here only concerned with these people before they became thus "Semitized," so let us not trace the development of culture in this section of country to a later stage but make further inquiries in regard to these aboriginal inhabitants. In the first place, where did they come from? Reasoning from general principles, we have already stated that their original home was the Altai mountain range. There are several significant features of their culture which bear out this supposition. In the first place, as we shall see later, they were the inventors of the cuneiform system of writing. This, in its earlier stage, was picture-writing,¹ and in many cases the original form of the hieroglyphic can be made out. Now if we inquire as to the origin of the one hundred and eighty elementary characters of the cuneiform writing, we are told that they bear all evidence of originating in a more northern country than ancient Chaldea.

For instance, in Chaldea, the lion was a most common animal, but no hieroglyphic of the lion is met with; but the hieroglyphics of both the bear and wolf, animals unknown in Chaldea, are found. In Chaldea, palms and the vine flourish; but, in the country where this writing was first

¹ This Volume, p. 247.

invented, they were unknown, their place being taken by cone-bearing trees. In Chaldea, no metals are known to exist; but, among the elements of Turanian writing, there is a sign for copper and another for precious metals such as gold and silver. Their name for camel is only true of the double humped camel of Upper Asia.¹

Equally significant, are the directions of the points of the compass. The evidence is to the effect that their east, west, north and south were not the same as our points, but just between them. Thus east was what we call north-east; their south, south-east, etc.² The easiest explanation is that they marched from north-east to south-west and took those two directions as two cardinal ones. This supposition is rendered extremely probable by another inscription which said, in substance, that the right of the moon was north, the front west, the left south and the back east, showing that they were marching in a westerly direction, when the cardinal points received their names.³

Still another coincidence is to be noted. We have suggested in another place that, when a migrating people begin to lose the recollection of the land from whence they came, it straightway becomes to them a legendary land and the special home of the blessed. So in the case before us. The mountain peak of Rowandiz in Western Persia, to the north-east of Babylon, has been connected by Prof.

¹ Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 359-363. Ragozin "Story of Chaldea," p. 147.

² See Pinches "Language of Mesopotamia" in J. R. A. S. 1884, p. 301. An ancient inscription reads; "The South is Elam, the North is Aecad, the East is Su-edin and Guti, the West is Martu." It is a most interesting and highly significant coincidence that Prof. T. De La Couperie points out that early Chinese immigrants placed their cardinal points the same way—see his article "Beginning of Writing about Thibet" in J. R. A. S., 1885, p. 449, Note 1.

³ See Pinches' Article just referred to.

Sayce with the mountain of Nizir, where, according to the traditions of the early settlers of Babylonia, the Chaldean ark rested. This mountain was a veritable Olympus, here was the home of the gods and here was the happy land of Aralli, where the spirits of the most blessed were allowed to live a happy existence, though the majority descended by way of the setting sun to an under ground world of spirits.¹

We seem, therefore, justified in concluding that these early settlers were Turanian tribes from near the Altai mountain range. Can we now form any conclusion as to the date of this migration? At present, all we can do is to make certain general statements. We notice that when they left the home land, they worked at least some of the metals, since the sign of copper occurs. They were, therefore, probably leaving the Stone Age behind them. They were later in time, then, than the majority of the Neolithic inhabitants of Europe. It is an almost hopeless task to give any definite date. From what we have seen to be probably true of the slow Semitization of these inhabitants, we conclude that the process was certainly a very slow one. After this process was completed in Northern Chaldea, a king ruled at Agade² that is generally known by the name of Sargon I. The date of his reign is now generally acknowledged to be about 3800 B. C.³ Yet at this early date Northern Chaldea had become completely Semitized. The ancient language of the country existed only as a sacred language. The mass of the people did not understand it. It was, however, the language of their sacred books, their magic formularies, their myths and

¹ Sayce "Freshlight from Ancient Monuments," London, 1884, p. 32 and 35. Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," London, 1877, p. 132 and 168.

² The Accad of Gen. X. 10.

³ How this date is arrived at will be explained in a future chapter.

legends, their hymns and prayers. In order, therefore, to provide against the calamity of losing its knowledge altogether, great compilations were made together with a translation of the same into the Semitic language. Grammars, vocabularies and reading exercises were also made in short, it is by these means that our scholars have been able to come to an understanding of Turanian Chaldaea.¹



Engraved Stone with Sargon's
Name.

It is evident that this early date, 3800 B. C., by no means goes to the beginning of Civilization in ancient Chaldaea. Long, long before this date, a tribe in the southern part of Chaldaea, with headquarters at what is now Tello, evidently raised themselves to a high pitch of culture. M. DeSarzec, making explorations there, uncovered the statues of one of their *patesi* or priest-king, literally their chief, bearing the inscription of Gudea. This belongs, not to the most ancient, but still to an early period, when the Semite was not yet in the southern part of the land. The inscriptions are in a Turanian language only, and the characters in which they are written stand very close to the hieroglyphics, out of which they were developed. The heads of the statues show the typical Asiatic features, and they are shaved and turbaned like the Asiatics of to-day.²

¹ Ragozin "The Story of Chaldaea," N. Y. 1886, p. 208. We do not think Sargon should be given this credit. See Hommel Babylonian und Assyrian, p. 305-7.

² See Ragozin Op. cit., 214. See also Sayce in "Contemporary Review" for 1886, p. 104.

We call these early tribes Turanians, but what did they call themselves? As a matter of course, each separate



Gudea Statue.

tribe bore a special name but, generally, related tribes have a race name as well. Now on such a subject as this, no one is entitled to express an opinion who has not made an especial study of Assyriology. We will, however, make a mere suggestion. Classical literature knew of many tribes dwelling in the eastern part of Armenia, whose names all commence with some sound of K. For instance, we have *Kardakes*, *Kardouchoi*, *Karduaioi*, *Kurtioi*, *Kosceans*, etc., and, in modern times, the *Kurds*.¹ This is ad-

mittedly the direction from whence the Turanian tribes entered Chaldea. One of the principal tribes of Turanians in Chaldea was the *Kaldi*, afterwards of sufficient importance to give their name to the whole country. We would suggest that collectively these tribes were the *Cushites*, and that this was the race name of the Turanian Accads. None of these Cushite tribes, we must remark, were strong enough to retain their race qualities. Those in Armenia became Aryanized, just as those in Mesopotamia became Semitized.

¹ Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 361.

This however is not given as a "result" but as a suggestion worth considering.¹

Now, what was the culture of these Turanian tribes, that is, before they became mixed with the Semites? This point is a difficult one to decide, yet it is important. We think it has been overestimated. Not sufficient care has been taken to separate the pure Turanian culture from the same culture improved by contact with the Semites. We see no reason to suppose that the literary compilations, of which we spoke, give us a faithful picture of Turanian cul-



Heads from Tello.

ture, but rather of the mixed culture of the Semitic and Turanian tribes. Let us try and set forth what we think the culture was. In regard to tribal life, it was doubtless well developed. Turanian tribes, generally, had con-

¹ This rather bold suggestion has some facts in its favor. See Mr. Pinches' article in *J. R. A. S.* for 1884, p. 302; and especially see Lenormant *Op. cit.*, p. 362. He shows that in classical times the inhabitants of Armenia possessed the same legend as those of ancient Accadia about the Chaldean ark resting on Mount Nizir [Rowandiz?] and remarks "The inhabitants of these same mountain regions, who have kept the name of Kurds up to the present time, became Aryanized many centuries ago .. but before that ..the Cuneiform Monuments exhibit their country as occupied exclusively by Turanian tribes closely allied to the Turanian tribes of Chaldea." [Lenormant, however, does not accept our statement.] We submit that such a suggestion as we make above removes many difficul-

siderable ability in this direction.¹ In full accordance with this, is the fact that the Semitic tribes copied to some extent the organization of the Turanians. This is shown by the names of officials adopted from the Accadians. The general-in-chief of the Semitic forces bore an Accadian title.² The Accadian word *sak*, meaning officer, re-appears in the title of a number of Semitic officers, amongst others in Rabsha-keh or prime minister.³ The old title for chief *Patesi* becomes the Semitic title for vice-roy.⁴

In their social life, we must notice several things. Though the Turanians were one of the first people, probably, to change to male descent, yet, in several ways, the former higher rank of the mother is shown. "The son who denied his father was sentenced to a simple fine, but he who denied his mother, was to be banished both from land and sea."⁵ It might be remarked, that this feature of social life is still a distinguishing feature of the Turanian race. As the Turanian people early adopted the descriptive form of relationship,⁶ which probably did not originate until monogamy became fully established,⁷ it is interesting to know that, apparently, the Turanian Accad could form a legal marriage with but one wife.⁸

ties about the Kushites, or Cushites. Amongst others it would settle the dispute so hotly waged between the French and German Assyriologists whether the Cushites or Semites were the ones who brought a higher culture to the Turanian tribes [See Ragozin p. 186.] Notice that all the cities mentioned in Gen. x. 10, as Cushite cities were, at least in their first stage, Turanian cities.

¹ Lenormant Op. cit, p. 373. The Mongols, at a subsequent date, founded the greatest world-wide empires that ever existed. See Prof. Jüly in J. R. A. S., 1882, p. 43.

² Tur-Tanu. See the title of Senacherib's general, sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem, 2 Kings XVIII. 17.

³ Ibid. ⁴ Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 354.

⁵ Ibid. 385. See also Sayce in "Records of the Past," Vol., III., p. 21.

⁶ This Vol., p. 100. ⁷ Ibid. 104. ⁸ "Chaldean Magic, p. 384."

In other directions, they seem to have made considerable advance. The joint family was certainly well developed and possibly the individual family as well. The father seems always to have had authority over his son. There appears the same sacredness about the house as among the Aryan nations, arising, as we have seen in a former chapter, whenever the joint family was well developed.¹ This house was a "sanctuary." A house-father could settle on



Origin of Cuneiform Writing.

a member of his household a portion of land but could not compel him to leave the community. On the other hand, the power of the house-father had not gone to the despotic length it subsequently did among some branches of the Aryans. Thus, he could not disown his son without risk

¹ Page 217.

of banishment, and he was even held responsible for his treatment of slaves.¹

In the direction of practical knowledge, we have seen that they brought with them the elements of cuneiform writing. It was certainly in a very crude state and perhaps owes its development to Semitic influence. In this cut, we have a specimen of this early Writing. It is considered as proved that the Turanians also introduced the system of irrigation by means of canals and brought agriculture to quite a high stage.² They probably possessed but the rudiments of astronomy.³ In this matter, the culture mostly came from the Semites. On the other hand, inasmuch as other branches of the Turanian race, such as Uigers, Mongols and the mantchoos, as well as the Chinese, based their calculations of time upon the number sixty, and as this is also the base of Chaldean mathematics, we conclude that the Turanians were the inventors of the system.⁴ Tables of the cubes of numbers from one up to ten have been found.

In their calendar system, it is difficult to decide just how much of it was Turanian and how much was Semitic. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each. Then every six years an extra month was added.⁵ In early times, this month seems to have been added, sometime at one period of the year and some-times at another,⁶ showing

¹ These results are drawn from a tablet of ancient Accadian laws, translated by Prof. Sayce, in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., also by Lenormant in "Chaldean Magic," p. 382.

² Lenormant Op. cit., 364.

³ Ibid. Also, note on page 365. Compare with this, Sayce "Babylonian Life and History," London, 1885, for the contrary view, which is perhaps the more usual opinion.

⁴ Lenormant note, p. 366.

⁵ Sayce, "Babylonian life, and History," 107.

⁶ Records of the Past, "Vol. VII, p. 158.

a lack of system, Each day of the month was assigned to some particular god or goddess, and further considered as lucky or unlucky.¹ The most interesting fact is that, commencing with the first of the month, every seventh day of the month was a holy day, in fact, the same as the Sabbath of the Jews.²

We now approach an interesting part of our subject, the religious culture of the old Turanians, and, in this connection, we must constantly bear in mind the conclusions reached in a former chapter. Perhaps nothing will give us a truer idea of their real state of culture than a knowledge of their religious development. We have pointed out, perhaps with tiresome emphasis, that savages and but partially developed people are of the opinion that the surrounding world is swarming with spirits,³ and that this belief leads to several collateral beliefs. It is not singular to learn that the Accadians believed in the surrounding spirit world also. According to their philosophy, spirits were at the bottom of everything. "They caused evil and good, guided the movements of the celestial bodies, brought back the seasons in their order, made the winds to blow and the rains to fall and produced by their influence atmospheric phenomena, both beneficial and destructive. . . There were spirits everywhere. In the starry heavens, in the earth and in the intermediate regions of the atmosphere: each element was full of them, earth, air, fire and water; and nothing could exist without them."⁴

¹ Compare with Vol. I., p. 731-2.

² Sayce "Assyria," London, 1885. p. 74. "Records of the Past," Vol. VII., p. 157, et seq.

³ This Vol. p. 307.

⁴ Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 144. See also Sayce in "Records of the Past," Vol. I., p. 131. Sayce "Babylonian Life and Hist." p. 131. Sayce "Assyria," p. 55. "The Accadians believed that every object and phenomena of nature had its *zi*. or spirit."

We may look, then, for the usual accompaniments of such belief, and we find a splendid exhibition of barbaric and savage philosophy. As might be expected, all kinds of sickness were thought to be the results of evil spirits that had taken up their residence in the body. We can see, then, that the theory of medicine in Chaldea was very simple. Care must be taken to guard against evil spirits, or, if they had fairly taken possession of a body, to drive them hence. To drive away the evil spirit, prayers were made to good spirits or their services were commanded by means of charms and incantations. The following prayer was made over a sick man. "May the goddess wife of the god.....turn his face in another direction, that the evil spirit may come out of him and be thrust aside, and that good spirits and good powers may dwell in his body."¹

Sometimes the images of gods were brought into the chamber, for the belief was very firm that these fetiches could expel the evil spirits. In one place we read the following direction; "Place the guardian statues of Hea and Marduk at the door, on the right hand and on the left." In addition to this, holy texts, were to be employed. The people were commanded to place to the right and left of the threshold "holy texts and sentences, and to place pieces of parchment or papyrus inscribed with holy texts on the statues." The following very definite directions are recorded: "In the night time bind around the sick man's head a sentence taken from a good book." In still more serious cases, recourse was had to a mysterious substance called the *namit*, but we are ignorant of its nature. It was to be used as follows; "Take a white cloth. In it place the *namit*, in the sick man's right hand, and take a

¹ Fox Talbot in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 139.

black cloth, wrap it round his left hand. Then all the evil spirits, and the sins which he has committed, shall quit their hold of him and shall never return."¹

Now without extending this part of our subject, it is sufficient to remark that the belief in magic and sorcery was, as we would expect, fully developed. We have seen that this state of culture necessarily arises, when once the idea of innumerable spirits, swarming everywhere, has been formed. Here is an incantation against a magician. "He who forges images, he who bewitches, the malevolent aspect, the evil eye, the malevolent mouth, the malevolent tongue, the malevolent lip, the finest sorcery; . . . Spirit of the heavens conjure it! Spirit of the earth conjure it!"² In this matter, the ancient Chaldeans were in much the same state of culture as African tribes of to-day. The fear of their life was the magician. In their opinion; "There was no evil which the sorcerer could not work. He ordered at will the fascination of the evil eye or of unlucky words; his rites and formulas for enchantment subjected the demons to his orders; he let them loose upon the person he wished to injure, and made them torment him in every way." He could destroy life itself by means of waxen figures,³ and, by magical imprecations, he could compel to his services both demons and gods.⁴

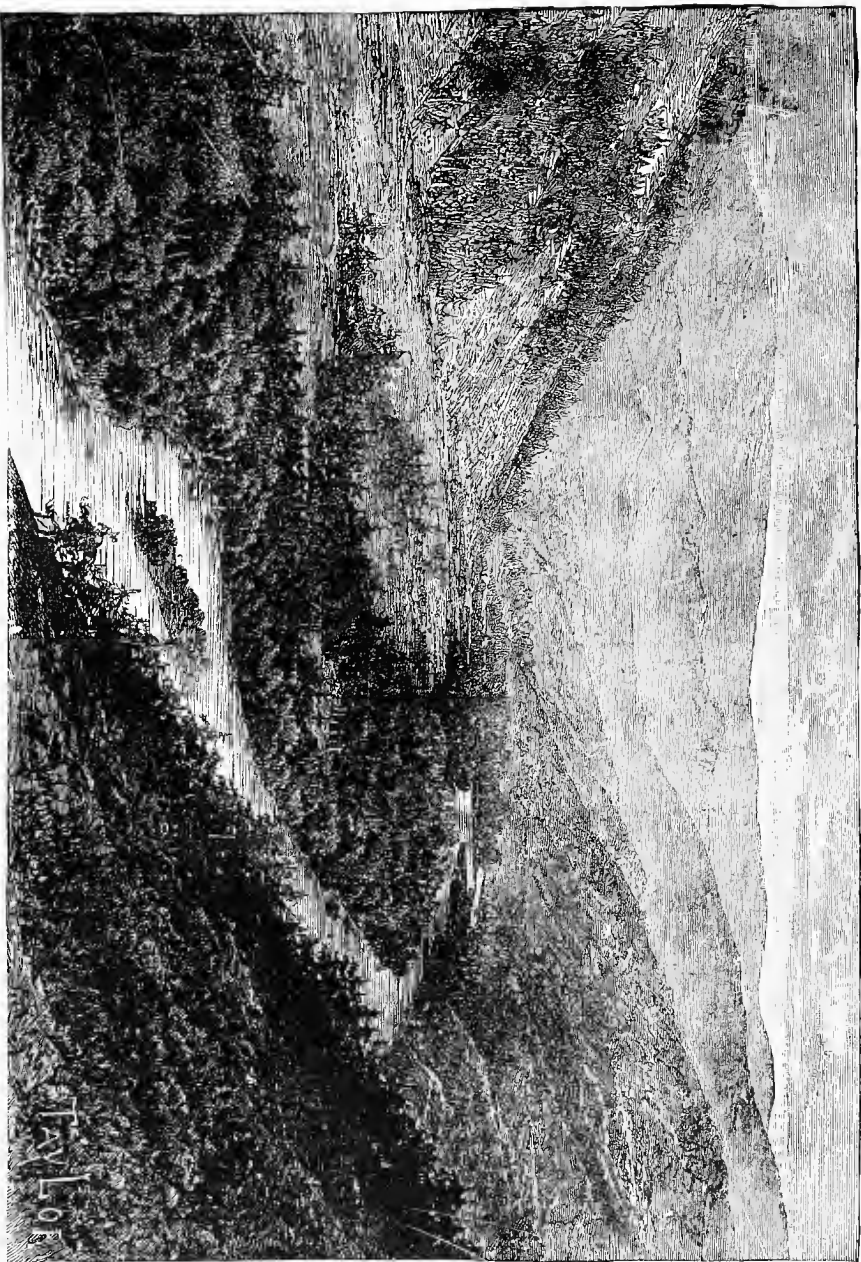
We must hurry on. Let us see what further progress had been made in religious belief. Have we any trace of Ancestor worship. This belief, as we have seen, necessarily accompanies the foregoing philosophy. On this point, we have but very little light indeed. Yet we feel sure that

¹ Ibid.

² Lenormant *Op. cit.*, p. 5. Compare the "forging of images" what is said in this volume, p. 317.

³ Compare with p. 323.

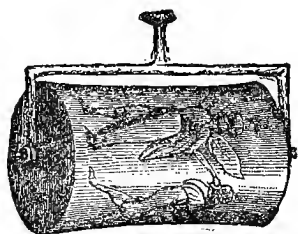
⁴ Our authority for these statements is Lenormant's oft quoted work.



HOME LAND YELLOW RACES.

this was a part of their religious belief. In the first place, this is a fundamental part of Turanian belief at the present day.¹ We know this much that they believed the soul of each individual (there were indeed two souls, a male and a female) was a god, corresponding exactly to the Persian *Fravishis*, and we have seen that they were worshiped after death.² We are of the opinion that when further light shall have been shed on this obscure subject it will be found that ancestral spirits played a most important part.

We are on firmer ground when we talk about Fetichism. There is no doubt that they were firm believers in the power of fetiches. The fetiches of the Accadians were called talismans, and were of very different make. Some of them consisted of bands of cloth covered with written formulæ and were fastened to the furniture or the garments. Amulets of various kinds were worn around the neck as safe-



Cylinder.

guards against diseases, demons and misfortunes. These amulets were frequently of hard stone engraved with figures, and contained sentences of some magical formula. They knew also how to make fetich images, which, placed underneath the threshold of a house, would protect it from all harm. Such images have been dug up under the pavements of palaces.³

It is also thought that many of the sculptures that are found on the walls of old palaces are really talismanic. That is they were fetiches placed there to guard the

¹ This Volume, p. 297.

² Page 299.

³ Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 50.

palaces. Thus the winged bulls placed in the gateways



Winged Bull.

were guardian fetiches.¹ But the Accadians had evidently passed the first stage of Fetichism and had entered on Polytheism. An effort had been made to reduce the innumerable spirits of the first stage to some orderly arrangement. Seven general classes seem to have been formed, and each was further regarded as divided into groups of seven² We know but very little about the ranks of these various gods. Though some were good and some were bad, yet no question of morality was raised. Indeed, inscriptions exist, showing that some

spirits belonging to the evil class are sometimes considered good. Thus, *Utug* is the name of a class of evil spirits; but favorable *Utug* are frequently opposed to evil *Utug*.³ It seems that each class of evil demons had power over a certain part of the human body; one upon the forehead, one upon the chest, etc.⁴

It is interesting to trace the development of the great fetich gods, which afterwards became the greater gods of their polytheistic pantheon. We are not surprised to learn that the fetich-sky was their chief god. The sky,

¹ Ragozin "Story of Chaldea," p. 164.

² Seven, it will be noticed, was a sacred number. The seven classes consisted of two good classes, *Mas* and *Lamma*, and five evil classes, viz: *Utug*, *Alal*, *Gigim*, *Telal* and *Maskim*.

³ Lenormant, p. 148.

⁴ Ibid 36.

according to their notion, was a solid substance separating the celestial waters, which at times descend as rain from the waters beneath, that is the all-surrounding ocean, on which the hollow earth floated. The sky was *Ana*, or as a fetich was spoken of as *Zi-ana*, literally, *spirit-heaven*. In this form he is always addressed in the inscriptions that have come down to us. "Spirit of the heavens conjure it" is always the acclaim. At a later date, *Ana* re-appears as a chief god.¹

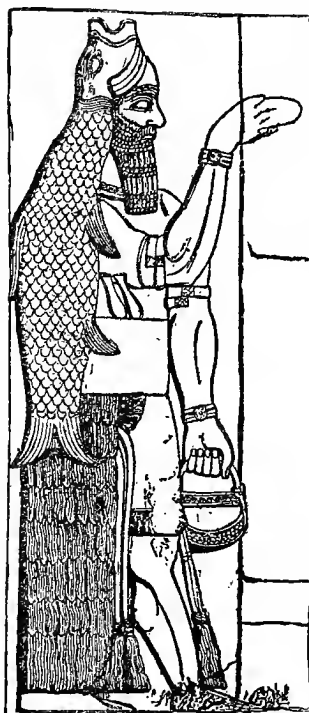
We saw, further, that rude tribes make a great fetich-god of the earth. This is often considered the beneficent mother of all and takes high rank as a fetich. It was just so among the Accadians. The inhabitable surface of the earth was *ki*, under the form of *kia*, it meant both land and water. The incantation against the magician, given some pages back, ends with the phrase "Spirit of the earth conjure it." Here the original is *Zi-ki-a*, "spirit of earth and water." But this fetich-god early became separated from its material object, and so received a separate name. In this case the name was derived from one of the titles of this god. He was called first *In-ki-a-gi*, meaning "Lord of the earth's surface;" then, in course of time, it was gradually shortened, first to *In-ki-a*, then to *I-a*, which is usually written *Ea* or *Hea*. This god *Hea* or *Ea* is spoken of as the god of the waters or the deep.²

It is interesting to note the great importance of this god derived from the fetich-earth, the mother of all. As

¹ Now, that a number of scholars have pointed out the connection between Chaldean culture and that of the early Chinese, it is safe to point a resemblance between the name of "*Tien*" or "*Thian*" the chief god of the Chinese, and *Zi-ana*. Thus *Thi-ana* and *Zi-ana*.

² See Sayce "*Assyria*," p. 56. Also "*Babylonia*," p. 128, or "*Ancient Empires of the East*," p. 146. We follow Hommel. *Op. cit.*, p. 254. Ragozin, "*Chaldea*," p. 154, says that *Hea* was the great spirit of earth and water which is exactly the conception.

all was derived from him, he was the god of wisdom. He especially cared for his children, men. His care preserved them from sickness and charms. Even when under the influence of the most powerful sorcery, *Hea* could release them, for he knew all things. He was invoked when other gods failed. He was god of both earth and water, and in Chaldea water was a most precious element. So the ocean was regarded as his especial home. Hence we understand how they came to represent him as part fish and part man,



Fish God.

and we understand the old legendary story that Berosus had to relate of the early Babylonians; how a monster, part fish and part human, came up out of the Persian Gulf and instructed them in all things pertaining to Civilization.

It is, perhaps, not necessary to say more of the Chaldean gods. We can understand how the sun, moon, fire and the planets would all give rise to greater polytheistic gods. Let us now see what was their ideas as to the future world. There is the usual confusion which we notice in the beliefs of rude tribes generally. That the first stage of belief was that the spirits of the departed

continued to reside in the near neighborhood, seems indicated by several considerations. One is that the various classes of evil spirits are supposed to reside, some in near deserts, some on the neighboring heights and some in the

towns.¹ At a later stage they believed in an especial place of abode for the dead. This was the hollow interior of the earth. Here the great majority of disembodied spirits went to reside. The entrance to it was across the waters, by the mountains of the west, where the sun set.

This abyss or *ge* was ruled by a god and goddess *Mul-ge* and *Nin-ge*. Their conception of the life led here was certainly of a most gloomy kind. Here was "the home which one may enter but never leave, towards the road from which there is no return." This was the home of all. The same fate awaited all "whatever may have been their conduct during life." It was only at a later stage, under the influence (we think) of Semitic culture that the idea began to prevail of a happy home for those deserving it. Then did the righteous man, who had been constant in the duties enjoined by the gods, comfort himself in his last sickness by the thought that the god Marduk and the goddess Ishtar would approach his chamber, that he should hear the voice of Hea, and that like a bird his soul would fly to a lofty place, to the holy hands of its god.²

Let us now sum up some conclusions on the ancient Accadians. They played their part in the great drama of the world's history and disappeared from the stage of action a number of thousand years before the Christian era. Yet we feel confident that they wandered forth from the great home land of the Yellow Races, the vicinity of the Altai mountain range in Asia. They were doubtless far in advance of the majority of the world's inhabitants at that far away time, but their culture was indeed crude, judging from their religious conceptions. Further, just as Mr.

¹ Lenormant, p. 49.

² Talbot "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 34, 135 and 141.

Pinches has shown, that, even at the earliest stage in which we can detect them, their language shows all signs of being a decrepid worn-out language, so we conclude they had reached the limit of development for the Yellow Races. Just as these tribes lost their purity of blood and disappeared in an ethnic sense and became merged in the ranks of the advancing White Races, so did their culture become merged in the culture of the new comers. The tendency has been, we think, to give too high a value to the influence of their culture on that of the ancient world. They formed but one element of the culture of ancient Chaldea, and that not the most important one.¹

The Accadian tribes, however, formed but a small part of the Turanian tribes migrating to the west, and Chaldea was but a small part of the territory they settled. To the east of Chaldea, was Elam, and further north, Media. We are certain that the original inhabitants in these countries were Turanian tribes.² It was among these tribes, that the Aryan Persians made their appearance about the middle of the ninth century B. C.³ But these Aryans only constituted the ruling tribes. One striking point, showing their superior energy, is the fact that they succeeded, in time, in Aryanizing all these tribes. Their language and culture supplanted the language and culture of the Turanians. We have no good account of the culture of the latter, having the most complete details in respect to their religion. This was, as we would expect, thoroughly Shamanistic. The worship of fetiches, especially the fire, was very pronounced; and, of course, they believed in

¹ Lenormant, *Op. cit.*, p. 377.

² See Lenormant who states that the labors of Westergaard, De Sauley, Norris, Oppert and Mordtmann establish this opinion.

³ Rawlinson "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. II., p. 430.

magic and spiritism. The power of their magicians, Shamans or priests was very great. They were called magi. It is sometimes stated that they formed a distinct tribe by themselves. This is so improbable a statement that we have no hesitation in rejecting it. Each and every tribe had its own priests, and they doubtless took care that the youths admitted to their ranks should be the ones most fitted for the duties. And in this respect, mental fitness was regarded.¹ This was exactly the state of affairs among our Indian tribes and is to-day true of the Shamans of the Siberian tribes. Of course, as Civilization advanced, and the tribes became more closely connected, they would tend to form a class or caste by themselves; and, finally, when, as in the case of the various Armenian tribes, their very existence was threatened by the conquering Persians, they would present a united front and so might be spoken of as a tribe, but they could never have formed a tribe in the proper sense of the word. In Chaldea, the Turanian inhabitants exercised a great influence on their conquerors by means of their religious views; so in Armenia, the magi succeeded in greatly influencing the Persian religion.²

From what we have now seen to be the distribution of Turanian tribes just before the dawn of history, we would naturally expect to hear of their further extension in Asia Minor. We think the probabilities are that all South-western Asia was inhabited by them. But the Semitic tribes had dispossessed them of large parts of this area long before the dawn of authentic history. However, we have within the last few years, within a decade in fact, become

¹ See page. 326.

² See This Series, Vol. III., Chapter II. For a general view of Magian religion. See Rawlinson work cited, p. 60 and 62. Herodotus mentions the magi as a tribe. Also Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," Chap. XV.

aware of a warlike branch of this people who, under the name of the *Hittites*, held a controlling influence in Asia Minor and Palestine. This is one of the most unexpected results of modern research. The Hittites were, probably, the chief among a great many allied tribes; or, perhaps,



Hittite Confederacy.

it was but a general name for all the tribes. According to our view, they were all Cushite tribes. The Assyrian monuments speak of them as the *Khattai*, the Egyptian as *Kheta*, the Bible as *Hittites*.

Classical history knew nothing about these people

and never mentions them ; Homer speaks of them once as *Khateioi* ;¹ and yet, thanks to the efforts of recent scholars, we now know of the existence in the territory pointed out, of this powerful tribe or confederacy, which, for some thousands of years previous to its final overthrow at the hands of the Assyrian Sargon in 717 B. C., held the balance of power. They were strong enough to cope with Egypt on equal terms and compel a commercial and social alliance. Egypt, in her most palmy days, could not wholly reduce them, and Assyria only accomplished it after some centuries of warfare. In their culture, they greatly influenced the culture of the Aryan tribes on the western shores of Asia Minor and through them the Greeks of classical times. It is a striking commentary on the transitory nature of human fame, that this erstwhile mighty people had so completely disappeared from the pages of history that all knowledge of them was lost.

Probably the oldest account referring to the Hittites is from Chaldean sources. At the time of Sargon I of Agade (or Agane) whose reign, as we have seen, probably goes back to 3800 B. C., the Hittites are mentioned as being a great power in the land,² in an astronomical tablet of this king we read ; "The king of the Hittites plunders and on the throne seizes ;"³ and, on another tablet, we are told of a strong enemy spoiling the country and placing the Accadians under tribute.⁴ The enemy is said to "tyrannically march through the land," and we are told that this subjection lasted thirty years. The suggestion is made that these references are to the Hittites.⁵

¹ Gladstone "Homerie Synchronisms," p. 174.

² Wright, quoting Sayce in "Empire of the Hittites," London, 1884, p. 37.

³ Sayce in "Records of the Past," Vol. I., p. 160

⁴ Ibid. 161. ⁵ Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 36. It should be added that there are serious doubts whether these references are really

The writer of Genesis represents the land of Canaan as in the possession of the Hittites at the time of Abraham¹ and represents the latter as moving among these more settled tribes. In Egyptian history, the Hittites first come before us in the records of twelfth dynasty; when we have a record of towns and palaces of the Hittites destroyed on the very borders of Egypt. This shows that they were, at that time, the ruling people in Southwestern Asia; there is some authority for concluding that the Hittites were the mysterious Shepherd kings of Egypt.² Passing this point by for the present, it suffices to point out that the Hittites were, at that early time, a great people.

It is interesting to show references to the Hittites in the pages of the Bible, as this is the only source of reference to them except from Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. We have already pointed out a few references above. Hebron was, in fact, a Hittite city. The Canaanite who had betrayed his fellow citizens at Bethel to the Israelites, dared not entrust himself to his countrymen, but went away "into the land of the Hittites."³ We read also of wars between David and the Hittites,⁴ but the relations between the Jews and the Hittites were often pleasant. They intermarried, even the mother of Solomon is said to have been the wife of a Hittite.⁵ Commercial dealings were common. Solomon imports horses from Egypt which he sold to the Hittites.⁶ In later years, the Syrians fled panic stricken from the siege of Samaria, for they fancied they heard the Hittite army coming to the assistance of the Israelites.⁷ These Bible references are at a late date in the

of the same age as Sargon, Hommel "*Babylonien und Asyrien*," p. 304-8.

¹ Gen., X. 15.

² See Wright "Empire of the Hittites," quoting Mariette, p. 14.

³ Judges, I. 23 ⁴ 1 Sam., VIII. 9-14. ⁵ 2 Sam., XVII. 24.

⁶ 1 Kings, X. 28-29. ⁷ 2 Kings, VII. 6.

history of the Hittites. Before the migrating Hebrews entered Canaan, it was largely in possession of the Hittites. They were the leaders in the coalition of tribes that met to oppose the invading Semites.¹ Jerusalem itself was, probably, an ancient stronghold of this people.² We have referred to the statement that, probably, the Hittites were represented among the dynasties of the Shepherd kings. At any rate, when Egypt succeeded in freeing their land from these hated foreigners and became an invading and conquering people themselves, the people against whom they directed their vengeance was principally the Hittites. The eighteenth dynasty, which finally drove out the Shepherd kings, was a warlike family. Thothmes I., about the middle of the seventeenth century, after consolidating his power in the southern part of Egypt, resolved to "wash his heart," that is to revenge the insults offered to Egypt by invading people from Asia Minor. Now commenced a war between Egypt and the Hittites, which, with varying fortune, lasted for nearly five centuries.

Thothmes III. was especially active in this matter, and from the twenty-third to the fortieth year of his reign, he made some fourteen expeditions against Western Asia.³ He was very successful in reducing the scattered tribes to tribute. Most interesting records of the wars of this king have come down to us. They show us that, at this early time, the Hittites were the leaders in the great confederacy formed to oppose the Egyptians. The opposing forces met in a great battle before the town of Megiddo. We have the details given of a council of war held by the Egyptian king at Ithem. The king informed his generals that the king of Kadesh (Hittite capital) had arrived at Megiddo, that he

¹ Josh., IX. 1., XI. 3., XXIV. 11.

² Ezek., XV. 13.

³ Brugsch "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 363.

had assembled the kings of all the people who dwell from near the waters of Egypt as far as the land of Naharain (Mesopotamia.) The best road to Megiddo was then discussed, and then follows the accounts of the battle in which the Egyptians were successful, and tribute was imposed upon the allies.¹

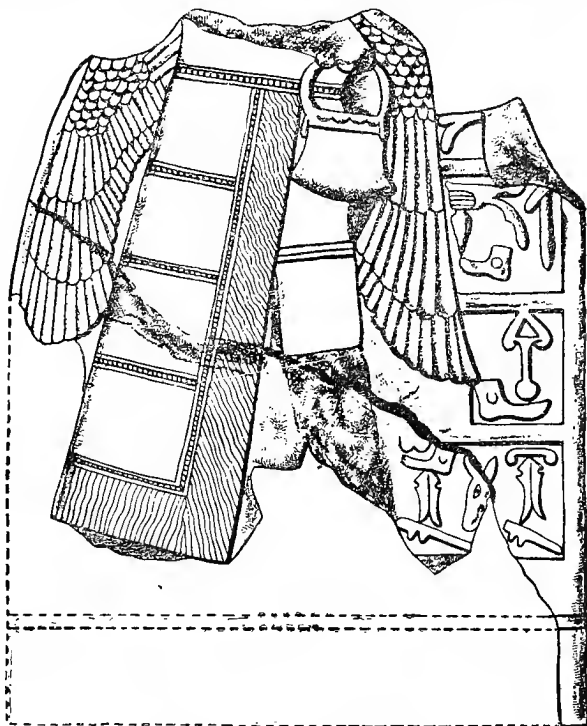
A list is given of one hundred and nineteen towns and nations represented by the confederates. Here we must make allowance for Oriental exaggeration. Though campaign follows campaign, and the "vile Kush," that is the Hittites, are represented as crushed, yet it was only along the borders of the Hittite country generally, that the war raged. About two hundred years past by of comparative quiet between the Egyptians and the Hittites. Finally, about the middle of the fourteenth century B. C., a warlike king, Seti I., reigned in Egypt. With him, commences another series of campaigns against the Hittites and their allies, and the advantage seems to have remained with Egypt. Seti was succeeded by his son Rameses II. We judge that the Hittites had quietly gathered their forces to test the question of strength. In the fifth year of Rameses II., we find him with his forces before Kadesh on the Orontes; where were gathered the forces of the Hittites and, among these confederates, there are some that possess for us the liveliest interest. These are the confederate forces from Western Asia Minor. The Dardani and the people of Ilion, together with the Lycians, Myscians, Carians and others are mentioned.²

The great battle of Kadesh follows, where the forces of Asia and Africa contend for the supremacy. As we are

¹ Brugsch "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 320.

² Schliemann "Troja," New York, 1884, p. 3.

following an Egyptian account, it is not strange that they should represent the Egyptians as the successful ones, but, in point of fact, it was a drawn battle. Only with the utmost difficulty, Rameses himself escaped with his life. After the battle, the Egyptians immediately return to Egypt. There is no list of plunder borne home by them, and the best proof is that a treaty is entered into between



Hittite Art Inscribed Stone.

the Hittites and their allies on the one side, and Egypt on the other, by which both sides agreed to respect the other's territory. As is so often the case in ancient history, a dynastic alliance followed the diplomatic one. Rameses married a daughter of the king of the Hittites, and thus the two greatest nations of the time became friends to each

other, in the Egyptian temple of Abu Simbel, is a sculptured representation of this great battle. We will only notice one point in this scene—that is the representation of races. “In this picture the Hittites and their allies are represented as distinct races with different weapons. The one race (the allies) are bearded, the other, beardless and . . . the Chinese-like appearance of the Hittities who have long pig-tails (!) is very remarkable. They are of a light red color with high caps.”¹ We will have occasion to refer to this great battle scene again.

This treaty between the Hittites and the Egyptians was long respected. About a hundred years later, we find “a great confederacy assailing Egypt by land and sea. *Rameses*² defeated the invaders in a great naval engagement near Migdol, at the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. He then proceeded to wage a campaign of vengeance in the home land of the invaders. He was victorious, and among the names of the conquered on the temple of Medinet Abou is that of the miserable king of the Hittites as a living prisoner.”³

Here they disappear from Egyptian history. These scattered notices show us that, for more than a thousand years, the Egyptians and the Hittites stood facing each other. The shock of invasion from Egypt appears to have exhausted itself along the frontier, leaving the greater part of the Hittite territory untouched. From this time on, we follow their history by means of Assyrian inscriptions.

We have already pointed out that at the time of Sargon I. the Hittites are mentioned with great respect as a mighty people. Many centuries later, under the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I., we again meet with the Hittites as a

¹ Conder “Heth and Moab,” London, 1885, p. 24.

² *Rameses*, III. ³ Wright “Empire of the Hittites,” p. 35.

most formidable power beyond the Euphrates. This king's entire reign was little else than a series of campaigns against the Hittites.¹ In one inscription, he says; "There fell into my hand altogether, between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year, forty two countries with their kings, from beyond the river Zab to beyond the river Euphrates, the country of the Hittites." For about four hundred years, the inscriptions show the Assyrians in continual conflict with the Hittites. Two points are to be noticed.

Semitic culture and influence from the very earliest times had been on the increase in South-western Asia, and the time was drawing near when it was to sweep every thing before it. The Hebrews, Syrians and Assyrians now confronted the Hittites all along their border. While the Semites, and especially the Assyrians, were gathering strength to crush everything before them, the Turanian Hittites were losing ground. No powerful confederacy appears to unite the scattered tribes under one powerful leader. Turanian rule in Western Asia was doomed to defeat before the growing power of the Semites.

In the second case, we must notice the extravagant statements of old annals. Year after year, the same people and cities are represented as being totally destroyed. We must constantly bear in mind the nature of an Oriental conquest. A marauding expedition starts out, the cities along its march are confronted with a demand for tribute. If they yield, well and good. Their name is enrolled among the conquered ones and on the force marches. The danger past, the people throw off the yoke and are ready to be conquered anew the next year. Thus, scattered through-

¹ Here the word *Hittite* is used in a wide sense, meaning the people of Western Asia.

out the Assyrian records for about four centuries, are continual references to Hittite cities destroyed or laid under tribute. At length, we come to the time of Sargon who completely broke the Hittite power and carried away the principal tribe as captives. From this date, 717 B. C., the Hittites disappear from history.

We have been thus somewhat full in sketching the historical outline, because it is such a new field. Slight as is the foundation thus laid for a history of the Hittites, it is all that we now possess, and this has become known only within the last few years. From it we dimly perceive the presence in South-western Asia of a great confederacy of Turanian tribes. This confederacy appears at its greatest strength just as history dawns. We gather, further-more, that the territory was occupied by a vast number of mutually independent tribes, so typical of ancient society in general, that it was only now and then that great and powerful confederacies were formed, such as confronted the Egyptians. From the very earliest times, we detect these tribes gradually being forced back before the advancing Semitic and Aryan tribes.

We have spoken of these tribes as Turanians. Probably this conclusion will be strengthened as time passes on, and more records inscribed on ancient monuments are read by our scholars. We may, however, have to revise this conclusion. We have seen the presence in their name of that phonetic element represented by K. They are the "Hittites of the Old Testament, the *Kheta* of the Egyptian monuments, the *Khattai* of the Assyrian records and the *Khateioi* of Homer."¹ We have seen how the Turanian tribes of Chaldea (Khaldea) are intimately connected with these same tribes. We shall show a few pages further,

¹ Taylor "The Alphabet," Vol. II., p. 120.

that the archaic reading of the name of the first Turanian dynasty in China is *Kutti* or *Kutta*. In our opinion, these tribes with this phonetic element in their name are Turanians; and they are, in fact, the Cushite tribes of the Old Testament.

We have already referred to an interesting observation by Captain Conder on the physical appearance of the Hittites depicted on the Egyptian monuments. Others have noticed the same peculiarities. Says Prof. Sayce; "They were thick-set and somewhat short of limb, and the Egyptian artists painted them without beards, of yellowish white color, with dark black hair."¹ And Sir Charles Wilson; "The sculptures show that the Hittites did not belong to a Semitic race. The features are rather those of a northern people; and, on the temple of Ibsamboul, the Hittites have a very Scythic character, with shaven head and a single lock from the crown."² Captain Conder further remarks, on this point; "It will, in the end, probably be found that the Hittite and the Accadian come of one stock; akin to the old, dark Turanian race, which the Semitic Assyrian subjugated in Chaldea; and the pig-tails of the Hittites seem to point to their kinship with the Mongols and Tartars—the oldest, perhaps, of existing Asiatic races."³

One feature about these Turanian tribes in South-western Asia must now be pointed out. That is their susceptibility in absorbing the culture of more highly organized races. We have already pointed out how the Turanian tribes in Chaldea became, in course of time, Semitized. This points to an extensive intermixture of

¹ "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments," London, 1884, p. 97.

² Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 85. The word Scythic above means about the same as Turanian.

³ "Heth and Moab," p. 27.

these two people. But, when two people thus coalesce, the fundamental elements of their culture unite in various degrees. In the case before us, the language became Semitized. The superior energy of the Semites carried forward the culture of the Turanians, which had probably reached its highest point, to a much greater length; and we have already referred to the influence of the Turanian in the field of religion. In Media, the Turanian tribes became Aryanized, but they were able to exercise a great influence on the Aryan religion. So in India, the culture of the Hindoos spread far among the aboriginal Dravidians, and they became extensively Aryanized, but here also the influence of their religious beliefs greatly affected the old Aryan beliefs.

The bearing of the forgoing becomes apparent when we reflect on the uncertain light afforded us on the vast number of Turanian tribes, of which the Hittites appear as the representative. All along their border, and especially in the land of Canaan, they were subject to Semitic influences. Everyone knows there was a great intermixing of ethnic elements in that section. We suggest that the aboriginal Canaanite tribes represent more or less completely Semitized Turanian tribes. In the meanwhile, from another source, pressure from higher organized races began to be felt. This was from the Caucasian region. Here, is the present home of a large number of tribes of considerable interest to the ethnologist. They are a branch of the White Races, but they are neither Aryan nor Semitic. They constitute what are known as the Alarodian speaking tribes of Caucasia; and, among these, the Georgians are typical.¹

¹ It is difficult to obtain information on the so-called Alarodian

It is considered that the mountainous region of Caucasia may well have been the place where these Alarodian tribes first originated. At any rate, we cannot trace them to another section. They speak inflected languages, though inflected in a way that is neither Aryan nor Semitic.¹ Physically, they are among the very finest representatives of the White Races. It is possible that the white elements might have entered Caucasia from the north; that is, from South-eastern Europe, which we know at an extremely early date was in the possession of Aryans.² Here, they may have coalesced with tribes already occupying the land, and from this cause, aided by the peculiar condition of their surroundings, the Georgian type may have been evolved. But, of course, this is mere theory.³

Be that as it may, there seems to have been a considerable extension of Georgian influence, in prehistoric times, among the Turanian tribes to the south and west of them. In the neighborhood of Lake Van, there arose finally an empire, or powerful confederacy of tribes, which betrays a singular admixture of people and culture. "The sculptures represent the people of Van wearing the same tunics and boots with pointed ends as the Hittites;"⁴ This, we might remark, is the same peculiarity that struck the Egyptian artists.⁵ The language they speak is, how-

family. According to Prof. Hommel's theory, they were once of very great extension, covering large parts of Southern Europe. The Basques on the west he regards as belonging to this family. They further, according to his theory, include the Hittites and all Turanian people to the north and east of Chaldea, such as the Elamites, Cosseans, etc "Archiv für Anthropologie," 1885, Supplement, p. 165.

¹ Sayce "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van" in J. R. A. S., 1882, p 410.

² See This Series, Vol. III., Chapter I.

³ See Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 710.

⁴ Sayce's Article already referred to in J. R. A. S., 1882, p. 410.

⁵ Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. XII. and 84-85.

ever, closely akin to the Alarodian, and, finally, to express that language, they borrowed the Assyrian cuneiform characters.¹ These Vannic remains, which are found over quite an extent of country, are found bearing as late a date as 640 B. C.; and so here we are, face to face, with quite a powerful people of whom history is absolutely silent, and yet, for some centuries, they confronted the growing Assyrian power on the south.

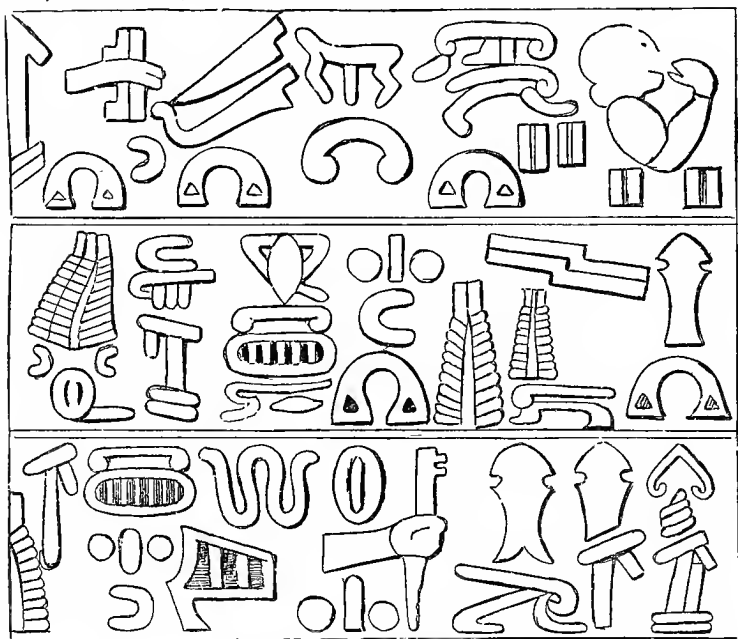
How extensive this influence may have been is, perhaps, uncertain. Down to the last, the Assyrians recognized a difference between the *Urardhians*, as they called the people or tribes composing the Vannic confederacy, and the Hittites. It may be that the ancient language of the Hittites belonged also to the Alarodian family. Prof Sayce, in one place, has expressed himself in favor of that view.² As to this, we have to observe that the Georgians, who are the modern representatives of tribes using this language, are doubtlessly considerably different, ethnically speaking, from their ancient representatives. On this point, scholars are generally waiting for further light.³ We are at present inclined to believe that the Alarodian is distinct from the Hittite language. Should it finally be shown to be the same, however, it will not show that the Hittites, like the Georgians, belonged to the white stock. Similarity of language simply shows a social contact.

¹ Sayce J. R. A. S., 1882.

² "So far as it is possible to infer from proper names, the language of the Hittites belonged to the same family of speech as the language spoken by tribes who occupied the country between the Caspian and the Halys on the one side, and Mesopotamia on the other. This family of speech has been conveniently termed the Alarodian." "Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology," Vol. VII., p. 235. Quoted from Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 83.

³ Conder "Heth and Moab," p. 27. Sayce "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments," p. 97. Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 83.

It now only remains to point out the influence of Hittite culture upon Civilization in general. Here, as elsewhere, the Yellow Races appear as the ones who laid the foundation upon which the White Races painfully reared the superstructure of ancient Civilization. Like other branches of the Yellow Races, their priests had originated a system of symbolical picture writing, which had finally entered upon a phonetic, syllabic stage. Among the Hittites, however, this writing remained a mixed system,



Hittite Inscriptions.

partly ideographic and partly phonetic. This picture writing was the source of an ancient syllabic mode of writing used throughout all of Asia Minor, and, from it, there was rapidly being evolved an alphabet. In the Island of Cyprus, there still remain traces of such a writing. The spread of the Semitic alphabet, derived from various sources, however, put an end to this alphabet.

Commerce, law and civil institutions had early made great advance among the Hittites. They used silver as the standard of value, balances for weighing it and a regular recognized form of sale and conveyance. And it has



been pointed out that Hittite coins continued to be the standard weight throughout Asia Minor and among the Greeks, long after the break up of the Hittite power. Their standards have been found in ancient Troy. In matters of art, Hittite influence has been traced throughout Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago in cylinders, sculptures and seals, long supposed to be Phœnician, but which turn out to be after Hittite models.¹

We have been able to obtain but brief and unsatisfactory accounts of the religious beliefs of the Hittites. We must remember that the Hittite inscriptions, of which we gave an example some pages back, are as yet almost unread, and, until they are deciphered, we are in great doubt as to names and ranks of their gods. They doubtless had the same superstitions that the Accadians did. They had their shamans and fetiches and were devout believers in witch craft and magic and worshiped, to a greater or less degree, the shades of the departed. But it is not safe for us to go farther. One observation only, we will make. The goddess Ishtar, god of war and of love among the Accadians, re-appears among the Hittites as Atargatis. Her worship was "carried by the Hittites to the western coasts of Asia Minor, and, from thence, made its way across the Aegæan sea to Greece. Even the Amazons of Greek my-

¹ See Wright "Empire of the Hittites," p. 67-9.

thology were really nothing more than the priestesses of this Hittite divinity, who wore arms in honor of the goddess. The cities which according to the Greeks were founded by the Amazons were all of Hittite origin."¹

What we have thus far had to say makes plain to us the presence in all the countries of South-western Asia of tribes belonging to the Yellow Races. Everywhere, they appear as laying the foundation of ancient Civilization; everywhere, they disappear before the advancing Whites. From the north-east, the Aryans; from the south-west, the Semitics, and, from the north, the tribes from Caucasia crowd down into their area, impose upon them their language, unite with their culture and are influenced by their religious conceptions: out of that conflict, there emerges the greater nations of antiquity; the Semitic Babylonian, Assyrian and Hebrew on the one hand, and the Aryan Persian, on the other. These are the nations that, together with Egypt whose culture at the bottom is also, probably, Turanian, fill the pages of ancient history. We have tried to show how much they owe to the Turanians who preceded them. Let us now trace the Yellow Races in other regions of Europe and Asia.

We are not yet through with the migrations from the old home land of the Yellow Races. One of the discoveries of this century has been that the Finns of Northern Europe belong to this same Turanian race, and that their mythology, embodied in popular story and song, bears a considerable resemblance to the mythology and legends of old Chaldea. They have not always occupied their present

¹ Sayce "Fresh Light etc.," p. 97. See this same author's article in *E. R. A. S.* for 1882, p. 412. et seq., for what is known of the Vannic religion. See Wright *op. cit.*, page 73 et seq., for Hittite religion; but from both sources it will be seen that but little is known.

rather inhospitable country. Doubtless, in prehistoric times, they spread themselves over Eastern and Central Europe. They have been, however, gradually forced to the north, by the ever increasing pressure of Aryan tribes¹ leaving,

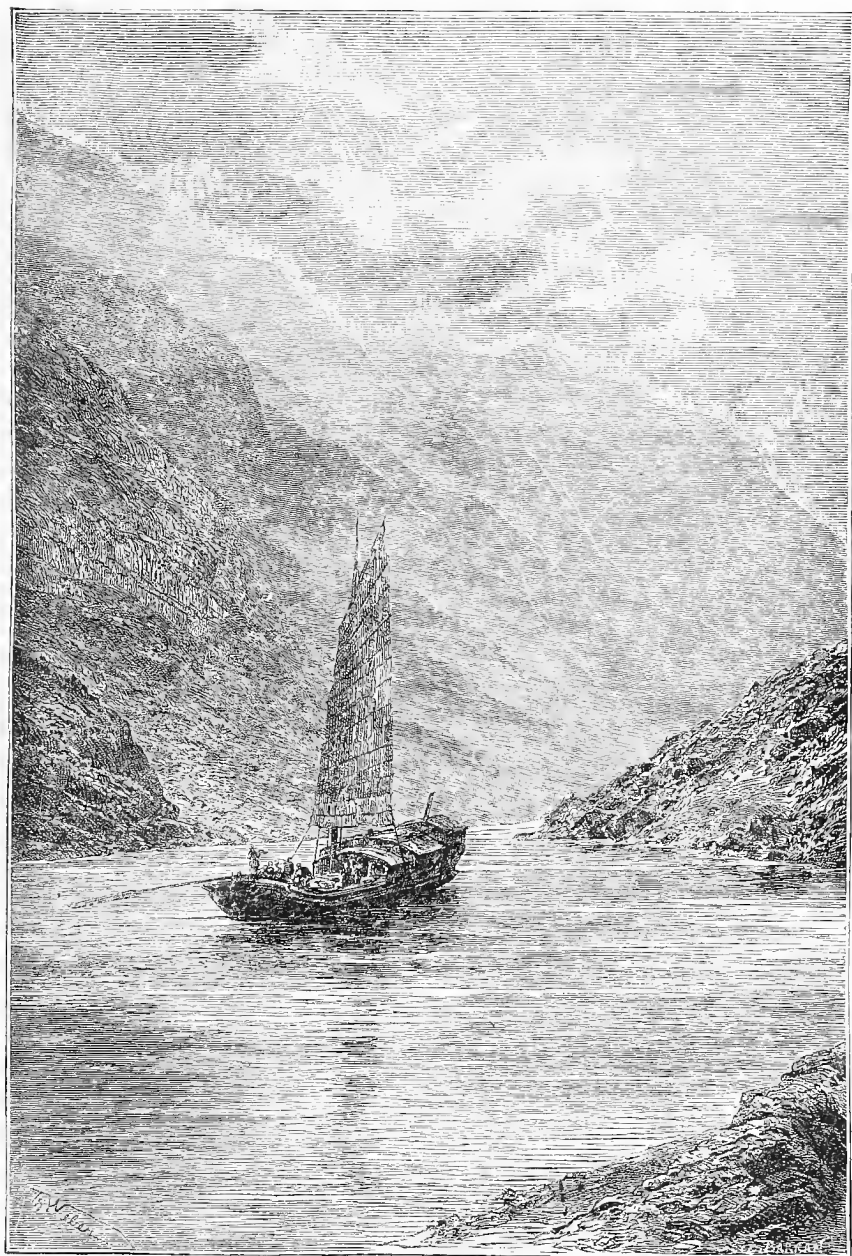


Lapps.

here and there, detached settlements in Eastern Europe.³

¹ Winchel. "Preadamites."

² See Keane in Appendix to "Europe," with Ethnological Map.



SCENE ON THE YANG-TSE-KIANG.

At a far later day, related bands came from this same home land, and, amongst them, the tribes who afterwards became the Hungarians of history.¹ We have, however, no doubt that the Finns came from the Altai district. They consisted of many diverse tribes, differing in time of migration and in culture. Doubtless, preceding the true Finns, were the Lapps. The Finns "may be followed along the Kama and Volga to the most advanced outports on the Baltic seaboard."² These more northern Turanian tribes were certainly not very far advanced in Civilization when they left the common home. They were in numerous small tribes, and we must notice that the chief or war leader was elected from time to time.³

Judging from the evidence of language, they derived considerable of their Civilization from the Aryan tribes. Thus, agriculture and cattle breeding were derived from the Teutons and the Slavs. Before that, they were turf-cutters rather than agriculturists. They must have made considerable advance in metallurgy. Copper was known from the very earliest times. Meteoric iron was also used for ornamental purposes, not until they reached the Baltic, had it become sufficiently common to be used in making axes. Though they had the reindeer, horses and cows, yet not until near the sea coast, did they acquire such animals as sheep, goats and pigs.⁴

When we compare the religious belief of the Finns with the Accadians, we come upon very strong points of resemblance indeed. They believed the universe to be filled with spirits.⁵ Feticism exists to this day among the

¹ Vamberg "Story of Hungary," New York, 1866, p. 31.

² Keane "Europe," p. 577.

³ Sayce "Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 195.

⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Rae "White Sea Peninsula," London, 1884, p. 270.

Lapps.¹ Small natural objects of wood or stone are supposed to represent the gods, or small figures of earth or snow will do.² The belief in magic is particularly strong. An old writer tells that the Finns have many runic verses which are called charms and are supposed to contain healing powers. "With them, they heal bites of the serpent and cure sickness, scalds or burns."³ Since his day, great collections of these songs have been made, and they are found to form a more or less continuous epic, which is very highly praised by our scholars. This collection is known as the *Kalevala*. From it we gather much of our knowledge of Finnish mythology.

"The Finns attributed to the incantation and magic rites, whether used for good or bad ends, an absolute power over the whole of nature and also the elements and spirits. The earth and the air, the visible and invisible regions, water and fire were subject to the power of spells; they brought the dead back to torment the living; they even acted upon the most powerful gods, neutralized their influence, or exerted a sort of restraint over them."⁴

The three higher gods of the Finns are analogues of the Accadian gods Zi-ana, Hea and Mul-ge. In the case of the Finns, the fetich-sky⁵ had received another name. He was sometimes called "god-of-Heaven," "*Taivahan Jumala* ; or called the "first god," *Yli Jumala* ; or, simply, "the ancient," *Ukko*. The god corresponding to Hea, "the spirit of earth and water" appears as the "friend of the waves," *Waia moinen*. He resembles Hea very closely. He is the god of all science. He knew the words which gave life to every-

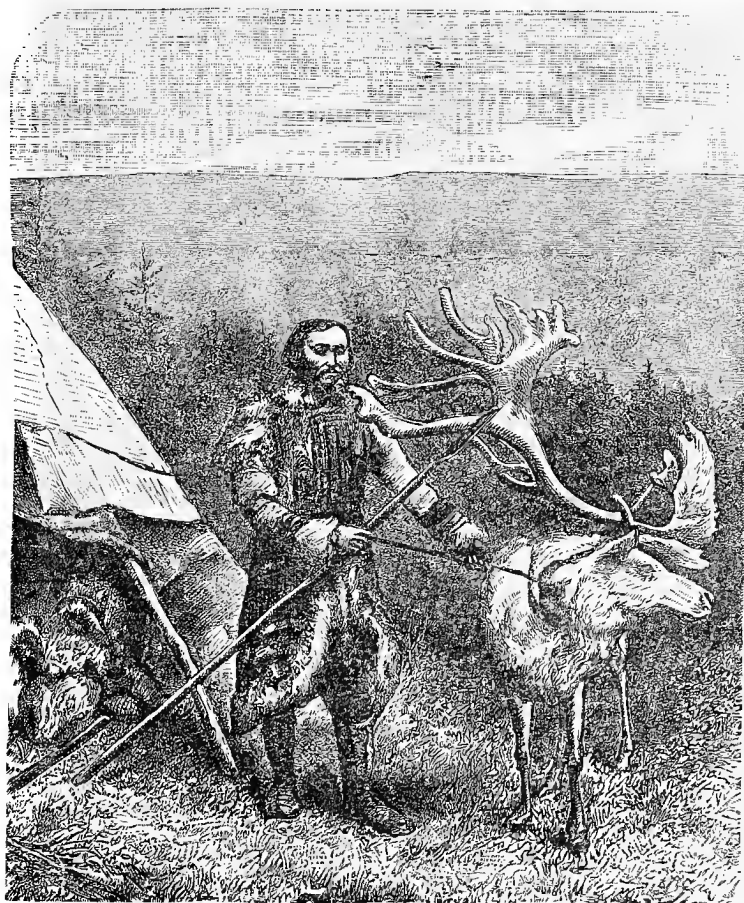
¹ Ibid. 13. ² Ibid. 148.

³ Acerbi "Travels in Finland," London 1802. p. 521.

⁴ Lenormant "Chaldean Magic," p. 246.

⁵ Tai-Vahan, notice the resemblance to Zi-ana,

thing that existed and which had power to bind the gods as well as inferior beings. The god of the lower world was *Llmarinen*, "the eternal forger."¹



A Typical Member of the Yellow Races.

In treating of the Turanians of Chaldea, we said nothing about their legendary stories, because we intend treating of them in another chapter. Prof. Sayce shows that

¹ Ibid.

very similar legends, consisting of long poems on the creation, the deluge and the giants of the ancient world, are found not only among the Finns, but among the Esths, Lapps and half savage Voguls of the Urals.¹ Indeed, we are not sure but the Turanian Accads exerted their greatest influence on the Civilization of the world in this direction through the medium of the Semities.²

We thus see that we find a great resemblance between these two branches of the Yellow Races, though separated in time by several thousand years, as regards what we can gather of their belief. But of their culture in other respects, the Accadians must have made considerable advance before they arrived in Chaldea, or else we will have to more strongly insist that their culture, by itself uninfluenced by the Semites, has been over estimated. We think that, give them time enough, they would make considerable advance by themselves in fertile Chaldea, but we also think they made their rapid advance through Semitic influence. We question whether the cuneiform writing was not perfected by people of the White Race, for at Tello, where the earliest remains of Chaldean art have been recovered, where we see the hieroglyphics growing into the cuneiform writings, there, also, we are not without evidence that even then another race than the Turanian was present.³ The pure Turanian races, as far as we know them, never ad-

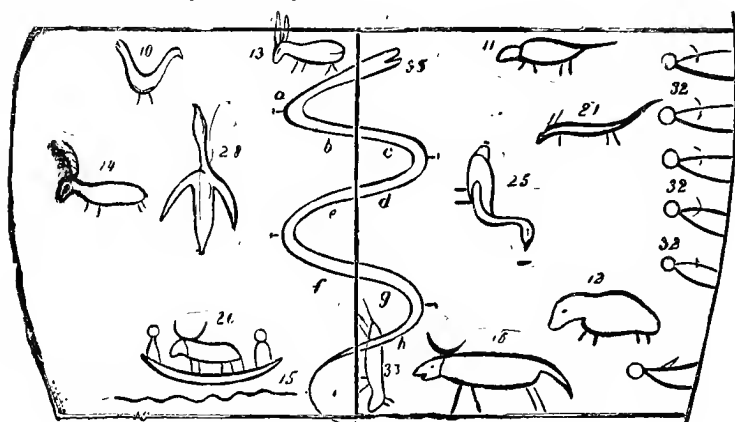
¹ Science of Language," Vol II., p. 198.

² It should be said that Prof. Tiele, in J. R. A. S. for 1879, protests against accepting the analogy said to exist between the Finnish and Accadian gods.

³ See note page 372. In our opinion the Turanian culture of Chaldea has been overstated. Prof. Pinches thinks that Cappadocia was the true home of the cuneiform writing. [See J. R. A. S., 1884, p. 302.] Perhaps the White Races there living made the first great advance from Turanian picture writing to cuneiform, exactly as the Semitic advanced the hieroglyphic writing to the alphabetic stage.

vanced beyond the symbolic stage of writing reached even by our Indian tribes, a stage of writing eminently fitted for Shamanism. Compare this symbolic writing on the head of a magic drum among the Lapps with cut given on page 236.

If any one were asked to name the most striking development of the culture of the Yellow Races, they would probably name China. Everything connected with the early history of China has been so tinged with romance, that it is doubtful if we can ever extract the truth. However, of late years, this question has been scientifically examined, and we begin to see dimly some of the main points of Chinese early history.



Writing among the Lapps.

In inviting the reader's attention to China, it is, of course, well known that only just a brief outline can possibly be given. Yet such as it is, it will prove of great help in considering the development of the Yellow Races. Without a long preliminary, we will commence with a brief consideration of the inhabitants of China, before the arrival of more cultured tribes, who are considered as being the ancestors of the Chinese proper. Of course, such a wide and,

in general, fertile section of Asia as that included in the present confines of China would be one of the first countries to be occupied by the spreading tribes of primitive men. Here, doubtless, the centuries came and went, of which we have absolutely no record. Tribes of primitive men spread slowly over the world; divergences of race types arose and became more pronounced, slow advance in culture took place—but of this, doubtless prolonged period, we know nothing.

The very first gleams of light shed on this country and its inhabitants are obtained from Chinese sources, being compilations made by Chinese scholars some centuries before Christ, embodying traditions, songs and the substance of illy understood records written on bamboo reeds. How far back these records go and the value of their statements we will not discuss at present. They contain some statements in reference to the tribes inhabiting the country, among whom the pre-Chinese tribes had intruded. As might be expected, they found the country fully inhabited. Several races and languages were represented.¹ A general title for these tribes was “barbarians,” further specified as the east, west or south barbarians.

Some of these tribes practiced tattooing. They are spoken of as tribes of “perforated breasts.”² Two of these races are described so Prof. La Couperie thinks he can identify them; one, a race of pigmies, representing the once widespread Negroid race; the other, a race called the

¹ See T. De La Couperie, “Beginning of Writing around Thibet” in *J. R. A. S.*, 1885, p. 541.

² De La Couperie in Introduction to “Amongst the Shans,” London, 1885, p. xiii. Also see “Bamboo Records,” in Legg “Chinese Classics,” Vol III., pt. 1. Dr. Legg says this was a fabulous race.

“Long-legged” people. It is interesting to know that the French expedition to Mekong found a number of tribes in Indo-China, whom this designation exactly fits, in close proximity to representatives of the dwarf Negroid race. Perhaps they have both been driven south before the Chinese and other people. It is equally suggestive



Stieng.

to know that there are some grounds, though perhaps at present not conclusive, for considering these “Long-legs” in Canbodia as belonging to the White Races. We present a cut of a Stieng, of Cambodia, and call attention to the fact that the features are not those of a member of the

Yellow Race.¹ So the earliest Chinese records show us a conflict in progress between the three great races: Black, Yellow, and White, in a country watered by the Ho-ang-ho.

Now, who were these invading tribes whom we have designated as the "pre-Chinese" tribes, where did they come from, when was this, and what was the culture they thus introduced among the ruder tribes just mentioned? We will try and give the answers to these questions that seem sustained by our present knowledge. They called themselves the "black-haired people," probably this was one distinguishing trait of appearance from the indigenous tribes. We have seen that black hair is one of the distinguishing marks of the Yellow Races. As far as we can now decide, the language spoken was agglutinative,² and, as well as we can judge from the faint traces of this primitive language that can now be recovered, it was closely connected with the Finnic stock of the Turanian language.³

Here, then, we once more meet with representatives of this comparatively cultured section of the Yellow Race. It would seem that from the Altai Mountains migrating tribes not only marched forth to the west and south-west, but to the east and south-east as well. Let us see what evidence we possess as to the date of this movement. It seems to us, that we have no very good historical evidence on this point. The simple fact is that, as far back

¹ See Keane "Asia," p. 671. See by same author, a valuable series of articles in "Nature," Vol. XXIII., on the Indo-Chinese and Oceanic race. Qualifying this last, see Flowers in "Nature," Vol. XXXI., p. 364.

² See La Couperie, "The *Yh King* and its Authors" in J. R. A. S for 1882, p. 799 and especially note 1. p. 800, where it is stated that the language in China at the present day is more agglutinative than monosyllabic. See this Vol., p. 30. See also Douglas "China," p. 344.

³ La Couperie, "Beginning of Writing around Thibet" in J. R. A. S., 1885, p. 451.

as we can go, we find evidence that the Chinese had then been in China for a long time. There are no monuments existing in China, that enable us to rest with confidence on far away dates, as we can in Chaldea.

Most of the histories start with dates ranging from 2000 to 3000 B. C., but all that can be claimed for these dates is that they may be approximately true. Any one, taking the least trouble to investigate the early history of China, will quickly discover that its chronology rests on a foundation of sand. There are not wanting histories that give what professes to be a full list of the so-called Emperors of China from the very earliest times, giving the years when their reign commenced, the end, their personal traits, their wise enactments, their speeches to their armies and words of counsel to their heirs. This is nearly all fancy. The names of many, perhaps the most, of the early rulers, say for the time preceding 1000 B. C., may have been preserved to us; we have no assurance, however, to this effect. We know nothing with certainty as to the commencement or duration of their term of power, the extent and nature of which have been greatly exaggerated.

Such sweeping assertions call for a statement of the ground on which they rest. We will be as brief as possible in this matter. Doubtless, every one knows that there is in Chinese literature a collection of books known as the "Classics," which are regarded as sacred books. The writer, who can show that his statements are supported by the classics, is not to be disputed. Among their classics is the Shoo-King, or "Book of History." The word *Shoo* means "pencil speaking" and may be applied to any historical document. This Shoo-King is supposed to be a compilation and re-arrangement of previously existing his-

torical documents, by the great Confucius. There is considerable dispute, even among Chinese scholars, as to his share in the work; into that, we need not here inquire. It is enough to know that after Confucius' time, there was such a compilation in existence. Confucius died 478 B. C., so that we can say that the Shoo-King, substantially as we have it now, dates from about 500 B. C.¹

Now, what was the source of the statements made in the Shoo-King? From whence were the documents compiled by Confucius obtained? The fourth classical book is known as *Chow le*, and consists of an elaborate detail of the various officers under the Chow dynasty, the then ruling house. One class of these officers was called *Sze*, a term meaning recorders, sometimes translated historiographers, annalists or clerks. Their duties are specified, and it seems to be clearly made out that from very early times there was a class of officers whose duties it was to keep what we might call the state archives. How far back in time this organization extends, we cannot say. Chinese scholars claim that such officials existed from the very earliest times, back to confessedly mythological eras.

In the midst of the confusion on this point, we are at least safe in saying that the probabilities are altogether against there being any sort of full and complete documents, the contents of which were understood. The records, if made at all, were on bamboo reeds, a substance not the best qualified for some hundreds of years continuous handling. We are confident there was no strong, well settled government in China at that time. Previous to the Ts'in dynasty, (B. C. 246) it was a time of great confusion, con-

¹ We here say nothing about the destruction of Literature under the Ts'in dynasty.

federacies and tribes striving each to gain the upper hand. Mencius (B. C. 400) tells us that in his time rival chiefs destroyed many of the records of the past. Still more was this likely to have taken place during earlier and ruder ages. The very statements of Confucius show that while in his day some fragmentary documents of early antiquity remained, they were neither numerous nor complete.¹ Still further, if such records had been kept from the very earliest times, the scholar of Confucius' time would not have been able to read them. In the course of time, the writing had changed from phonetic writing back to picture writing. The *Yh-King*, still another classic, was so written that the Chinese scholars of Confucius' time failed to understand it.²

The best statement that can be made for the Shoo-King is that its compiler made the best use he could of the materials before him. Living under the Chow dynasty, we may suppose he possessed tolerably full and complete records of the ruling chiefs of this tribe; but he could have possessed only very incomplete records of earlier ages, here and there, perhaps some fragmentary account, but partially understood. For these early times, he must have relied largely on tradition. Let us study Confucius a little and see what sort of a history he would write if he had full accounts before him. The classic known as *Ch'un Ts'cw*³ is supposed to be more his own work than any other of the classics. Certain it is, that it is regarded with superstiti-

¹ He says; "I am able to describe the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, but Sung cannot sufficiently attest my words. They" can not do so because of the insufficiency of their records and wise men. Legg "Chinese Classics," Vol. V., Pt. I., p. 13.

² See LaCouperie "The Yh-King and its Authors" in J. R. A. S. for 1882 and 1883, and especially the latter volume, p. 272, et seq.

³ This phrase means the same as "Annalists," each confederacy or semi-independant state had such annals.

ous veneration by the Chinese. Confucius is said to have remarked; "It is the Ch'un Ts'ew which will make men know me." It is a simple record of events taking place in the Confederacy of Loo, extending over a period of 242 years, without the least effort on the part of the author to do more than record the events. The fewest words possible are used. No details are given, nothing to express the author's feelings.¹ Yet it seems that in this work he took the liberty of *twisting* the facts so as to set forth his own idea of morals and duties.² This fact, admitted by some Chinese scholars, becomes apparent when this record is compared with the commentary on it known as the *Ch'un Tso*, giving more complete details of this same period.³

If Confucius took this liberty with the records of his own native state, we need not look for anything better in the records of older times. In fact, the Shoo-King is of very slight worth for history. One writer declares that the Shoo-King "is a collection of excellent maxims, which have been conveniently arranged under different reigns."⁴ Another says; "The Shoo is not the work of a historian nor of a poet. It is not allegorical. It is preaching from history."⁵

Is it not then evident that those accounts of ancient life and times, drawn from this collection of confused traditions, and descriptions of what *ought* to be instead of what was, are largely worthless? As for chronology, it is admitted on all hands that it is useless to try to arrange

¹ La Couperie thinks, in opposition to Dr. Legg, that the very characters used by Confucius did, in effect, denote praise or censure. J. R. A. S., 1882, p. 804, note 2.

² Legg "Religions of China," 1880, p. 144.

³ "Prolegomena to Ch'un Ts'ew."

⁴ "Chinese Repository," 1839.

⁵ Johnson "Oriental Religion," Boston, 1887, p. 490.

any scheme on this work. Legg remarks; "There is no succession of dates in it—in its present condition, it contains only scanty notice of a few of the sovereigns in the earlier dynasties, and the length of reign of two or three of these is stated." Only a few dates near the close of the period covered by the Shoo-King are known.

We have described the oldest historical work in China. Let us next speak of the so-called "Bamboo Records." These consist of a series of records on bamboo slips, *said* to have been found in a tomb of one of the Wei kings, about 284 A. D. They are supposed to have been buried there about six hundred years before. Chinese scholars themselves have little hesitation in declaring this work a forgery.¹ It gives, from a very early period, the cycle year of some events. Dr. Legg, who is inclined to credit at least some portions of these records as being a genuine production of the third century B. C., shows that the dates in it are a later addition. It seems, then, that we need not consider these records longer.

About the year 250 B. C., the state or confederacy of Tsin overthrew the authority of the previous confederacy, in which the Chows were the ruling tribe or people, and took the supremacy. They are credited with a wholesale destruction of these records we have spoken of. They determined to blot out the semi-independent confederacies or states. A new order of things was to be inaugurated. They had no more need for these official documents. They therefore "ordered that the whole existing literature, with the exception of books on medicine, agriculture and divination, should be burned. This decree was obeyed as faithfully as was possible in the case of so sweeping an ordi-

¹ Wylie "Chinese Literature," Shanghai, 1887, p. 19. Legg "Chinese Classics," Vol III., pt. 1.

nance."¹ We may admit that copies of ancient books and bundles of records were hidden away in walls of houses and graves, but it is evident that the official records of the various states were largely destroyed and scattered; and, if at the time of Confucius these ancient records were only fragmentary, we are morally certain that, after this destruction, no records could have existed from which future historians could have compiled a history of China embracing these early periods, giving dates and various details that would be of the slightest worth.

Yet one Chinese writer after another proceeds to give in most voluminous works an account of life and times going back before 2000 B. C. Sze-Ma-Tseen, born about 145 B. C., is sometimes styled the "Herodotus of China." He produced a work consisting of one hundred and thirty volumes covering the period just mentioned. Considerable is said about the immense mass of material that he gathered for this purpose. However, in this series of works, no attempt is made to settle the question of chronology. He contents himself with giving in most cases, simply the names of the kings and the order of the reigns. He certainly would have given the length of reign, if he could. We question whether he could give us a list of kings or any account of their reigns worth having. The Shoo-King, for instance, mentions no rulers of the Hea dynasty after Chung-Kang. How did our present author discover there were thirteen other kings of this dynasty and proceed to give us an account of their reigns? Does any one suppose the bamboo records remained intact, and that Sze-Ma-Tseen could read these ancient records of seventeen centuries before his date?

¹ Douglass "China," London, 1882, p. 77.

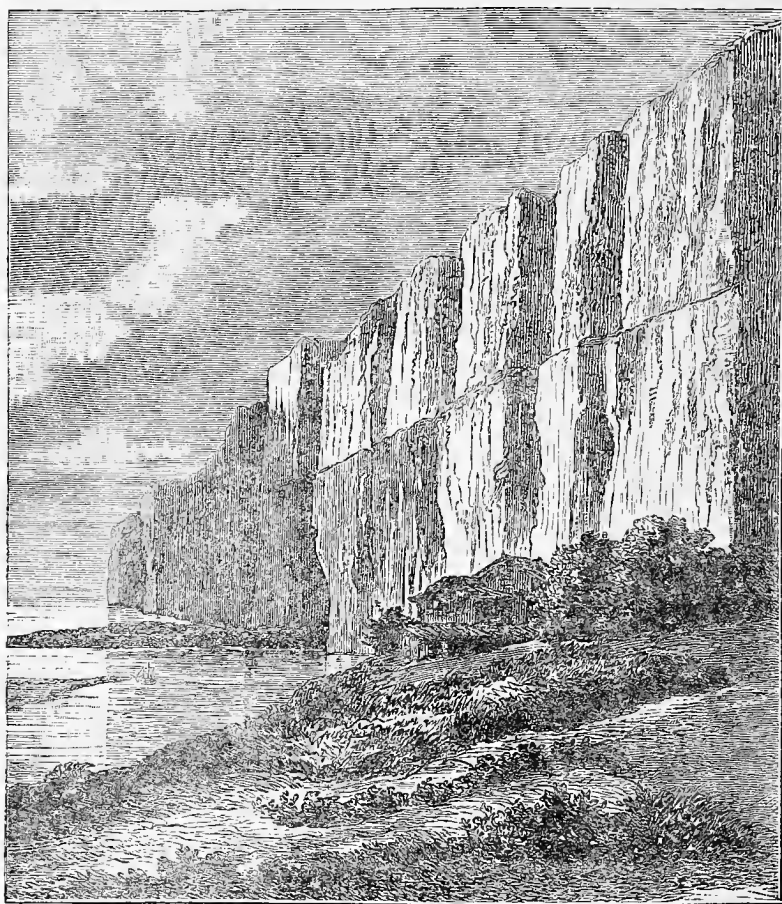
We are not saying that he forged these accounts. He probably had in his possession fragmentary records gathered from many sources. He undoubtedly had the names of a number of ruling chiefs, some of one confederacy and some of another, and he arranged them in what seemed to him a proper order. We are, however, able to prove that the condition of early China gathered from Chinese sources is notoriously exaggerated. What Sze-Ma-Tseen was unable to do, Chinese writers of a later date, writing a thousand years later, find themselves able to accomplish with ease. That is, they are now able to give the dates and length of reigns, of these so-called emperors of China from about 2200 B. C. down. Dr. Legg comes to the conclusion that this chronology is a deliberate invention of later Chinese writers¹ If such be the case, and it is certainly very hard to believe they have any "records" giving them these dates, we need not hesitate to believe that they would arrange the names and order of reigns of those early emperors in the same free and easy way.

We have now set forth our reasons for rejecting the current account of Chinese history. On this point La Couperie remarks; "The stock in trade of misunderstanding, bias and untrue statement with regard to China, its language and races which is commonly used and credited . . . is simply appalling."² We need then have no hesitation in rejecting most of the current account of early China. But who is able to give us a more excellent account? The only one entitled to speak with authority on this point is a person who has spent years of careful study on the Chinese language, and read for himself the scanty stock of tra-

¹ "Chinese Classics," Vol. III, p. 1.

² Introduction to "Amongst, the Shans," p. xxiv.

ditions embodied in the older books, and read with care such fragmentary records as are contained therein. We will only attempt to give a brief outline and will rely on the translation of the classics given by Dr. Legg.¹



Scene on the Hoangho

We have found satisfactory grounds for holding that the pre-Chinese tribes were members of the Finnic stock

¹ "The Chinese Classics" in seven volumes, James Legg, D. D., Hong Kong, 1861.

of the Turanian tribes. It would therefore be naturally expected that their invasion of China should be from the north-west. They seemed to have followed the course of the Yellow or Ho river and finally settled along its banks, mainly in the present department of Honan. Owing to the overflows of the Ho river, this section of country seems to have been covered with lagoons and given up to swampy jungles. They took possession of this country for which, perhaps, they did not have to fight very much. What was naturally the best portion of the country remained in the hands of the former possessors.¹

The superior Civilization of the invading tribes showed itself in this; they set to work to clear the ground and fit it for cultivation. They dug canals, raised embankments along the rivers, drained the great marshes, set fire to the jungles and, in fact, here performed a work in all respects similar to that by which their kindred tribes had converted the marshes of lower Chaldea into a fertile region of country.² All this, of course, took considerable time, but we have no means of estimating the length.³ They succeeded in making this a fertile section of country, and here they developed quite a degree of Civilization, and built up quite a compact government, one that commanded the respect of the surrounding more barbarous tribes. In after times,

¹ We know that all the ancient capitals were either in Honan or Shenai, ["Bamboo Records."] At a later date, the original tribes were forced to remove to the south side by a king of the Shang dynasty. [Book VII. of the Shoo-King.] In regard to the country being a jungle, let us quote Mencius: "The vast waters flowing out of their channels made a universal inundation, vegetation was luxuriant, and birds and beasts swarmed." [Book III., Pt. I, Ch. IV., Sec. 7.] The earlier dynasties never subdued the tribes along the Kiang.

² This account appears in tradition as principally the work of the great Yu [Shoo-King, Part II., Book IV, Chap I, Sec. 1.] Also see Mencius, just cited.

³ See Legg, Prologomena to Shoo King, p. 50-1.

this came to be looked back to as a sort of golden age. Confucius could not sufficiently praise the virtues of this early time.¹ It is not singular that they bestowed on this dynasty an extent of power far beyond what it possessed, and made it to rule over a much larger section of country than it brought under tribute.²

There seems to have been twelve tribes of these early people,³ each of which was under the rule of its own chief called a *pastor*. The government was a confederacy of these twelve tribes. At the head was an elected chief, the celestial one, the emperor.⁴ He was assisted in his government by a council of twenty-two members,⁵ composed of the chiefs of the twelve tribes, a president of the council, known as the "Chief of the Four Mountains,"⁶ eight officials elected by the council to assist in the affairs of government, and one important official, who exercised imperial authority when the emperor was disqualified by reason of age or infirmity, who was, in fact, a coadjutor with right of succession known as the "General Regulator,"⁷ and who appears to have commanded the troops in time of war.⁸

¹ The Master said: "I can find no flaw in the character of Yu." "Analects," Book VIII, Chap. XXI.

² Tradition gave it a much larger section than that subject to the Chows, many centuries later. On this point, see Legg Op. cit., p. 50.

³ Spoken of as the division of the empire into twelve provinces. "Canon of Shun," Sec. 10.

⁴ Traditions all represent the first emperors as elected.

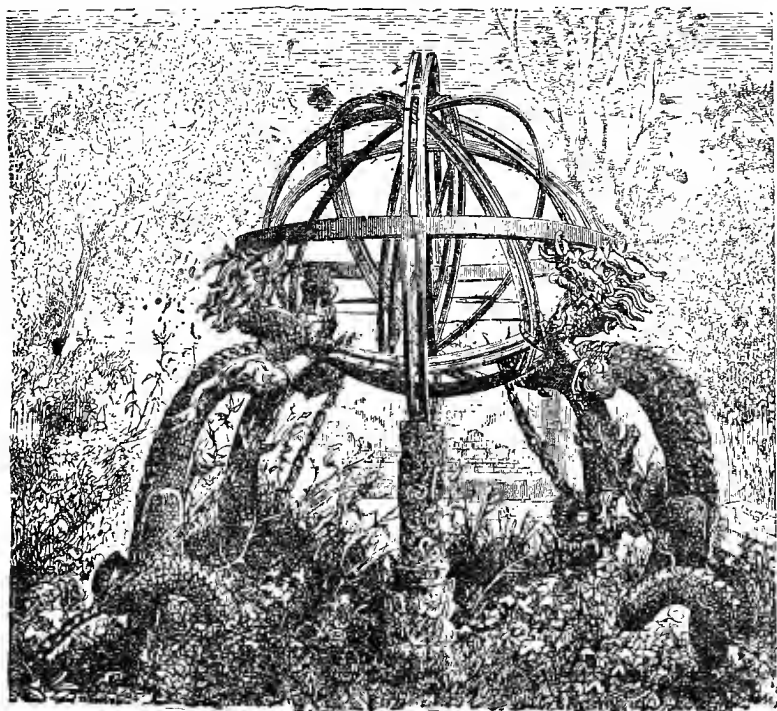
⁵ The emperor said: "Ah! you twenty and two men be reverent and so shall you aid me in performing the services of heaven." "Canon of Shun," Sec. 26.

⁶ When the council was in session the emperor generally put his questions to the "Chief of the Four Mountains," at other times he is represented as being in consultation with him. "Canon of Yaou," Sec. 11-12. "Canon of Shun," Sec. 17-23.

⁷ "Canon of Shun," Sec. 17 to 26. Observe that both Yu and Shun were "General Regulators" before raised to the office of ruling chief.

⁸ Thus Yu is represented as commanding against the San Meaou "Councils of the Great Yu," Sec. 20.

In other directions, we have not much to guide us. We have seen that they showed a great deal of skill in clearing up their country, so as to fit it for agricultural purposes. They had some knowledge of astronomy, but on this point we have probably overrated them. That mythical personage, Yaou, is represented as forming an astro-



Chinese Astronomy, Celestial Sphere.

nomical board, to observe the various celestial bodies and to deliver "the seasons to the people ;" ¹ and Shun is said to have "examined the gem-adorned turning sphere and the gem-transverse *tube* that he might regulate the seven directors." ² Yaou further makes some remarks indicating that

¹ "Canon of Yaou," Sec. 3.

² "Canon of Shun," Sec. 5. There is a dispute as to whether the

the people had considerable astronomical knowledge. In effect, we are told that in his time the equinoxes were in Taurus and Scorpio, and the solstices were in Leo and Aquarius.¹ Two astronomical calculations on this as a basis² give 2163 and 2357 B. c. as the time of Yaou.³ These statements found in the Shoo-King are certainly remarkable. It is stated that the astronomers of the Han dynasty were ignorant of the precession of the equinoxes, if so, the compiler of the Shoo must have had some sort of a record before him. We may find an explanation of this further on.

In religion, we detect the following. They believed in a host of spirits, spirits of hills and rivers.⁴ These spirits were supposed to exercise a great influence in all the affairs of men, and consequently were appealed to in divination.⁵ A spirit of Fetichism is shown in the worship of hills and rivers.⁶ Ancestor worship was certainly very prominent. They had entered on the stage of Polytheism, since we are told of the "six honored ones" to whom sacrifices were offered. The fetich sky had already become transformed into a supreme god known as *Shang te* the "supreme one."⁷ There was no priestly class.⁸ The in-

"seven directors" refer to the sun, moon and five planets, or to the seven stars of the Great Bear. Compare Legg's note under section just quoted with Chalmer's remarks in same volume, p. 91.

¹ "Canon of Yaou," sec. 3-6. "Classics," Vol. III., Part I, p. 88. Chalmer's article in same volume, p. 92.

² See This Series Vol. I., p. 153.

³ Ideler, the former date, Biot, the latter.

⁴ "Canon of Shun," Sec. 6 and 7.

⁵ "Councils of the Great Yu," Sec. 18.

⁶ "Canon of Shun," Section cited above and 8.

⁷ This word was used as synonymous with the spirit of the personal visible "heavens," that is Thi-an which it is well to compare with the Accadian Zi-ana.

⁸ That is, none are mentioned. We incline to the belief there were magicians. They certainly had officers of divination. See "Councils of the Great Yu," Sec 18.

fluence of Ancestor worship was sufficient to keep the worship local and tribal. Each joint-family, gens, tribe and finally the confederacy had its gods in an ascending degree, and the chiefs in each case were the priests,¹ and the gods they worshiped were their deceased predecessors.²

Some very important considerations center around the subject of their knowledge of writing. The older view generally was that it had a native development in China; but, at present, all who have investigated the subject conclude that they brought with them, not only a knowledge of writing, but some manuscripts as well. There are good grounds for considering that the *Yh King*, regarded as the oldest of the classics, was, as regards its primitive portions, amongst those manuscripts. One fact showing how completely this early culture has been lost amongst the tribes they assimilated is that the Chinese early forgot the significance of this *Yh King*. It became to them a mysterious book, superstitions made use of it for the purpose of divination, and all Chinese scholars have mistaken it. It remained for a modern scholar to develop its meaning.³

From a study of this, Prof. La Couperie arrives at some most important conclusions. He considers that he has established the fact that these pre-Chinese tribes were nothing but migrating tribes from ancient Chaldea, taking with them the culture of this section. This view would explain the remarkable statements we have already quoted in regard to the astronomical knowledge of Yaou. Knowledge of which the Chinese of the Han dynasty (B. C. 246.) were ignorant. It would also explain how it comes that a de-

¹ Legg "Classics," Vol. III., Pt. I., p. 193.

Compare this account with the outline of early Chinese religion given in Tiele "Hist. of Religion," Boston, 1887, p. 27.

³ See La Couperie in J. R. A. S. for 1882 and 1883, "The *Yh King* and its Authors."

scription of an eclipse, supposed to have taken place more than two thousand years before Christ, assigns it to its true cause; but that, at later times and down to modern times, they speak of the sun or the moon as eaten, that is by a dragon.¹

But La Couperie thinks they took with them Chaldean writing as well. In other words, that the pre-Chinese writing was cuneiform. He thinks it possible to point out the connection between some of the oldest Chinese characters and some of the cuneiform syllable elements.² He thinks that this writing was, in its first stage, phonetic. By degrees, however, owing to continual contact with more barbarous tribes, this phonetic principle was lost and hieroglyphic writing resumed it sway.³ Prof. La Couperie also holds that the name of the Chinese tribes⁴ really means the Bak tribes, thus referring us to Bactria and the region of country thereabouts, from whence descended the Chaldeans. He further adds that *Hea*, which is the name of one of the first dynasties mentioned in the Shoo King, was called, in the first instance *Kutta* or *Kutti*, and the reader will recall what we ventured to suggest in regard to the first settlers in Chaldea being the Cushites.⁵ Prof. Douglass, in his recent work on China,⁶ insists strongly on this identification. He even identifies Hwang-ti, one of the early mythological emperors of China, with *Nakhunte*,

¹ The Chinese account says ; "On the first day of the last month of autumn the *Sun and the Moon* did not meet harmoniously in Fang," that is to say, the eclipse was when the Sun was in the Constellation of Scorpio.

² J. R. A. S., 1883, p. 282.

³ Journal for 1882, p. 801.

⁴ The *Poh sing*, usually translated by the expression hundred family names, from whence comes the idea there were one hundred gentes of the early Chinese.

⁵ Journal, 1883, p. 280, note 6.

⁶ "China," by R. K. Douglass, London, 1882.

a god of ancient Susiana whose name appears in the name of several kings.¹ He also points out several other striking points of coincidence which "with a host of others which might be produced, all point to the existence of an early relationship between Chinese and Mesopotamian culture." It is suggested that the great break up of Susian tribes, thought to have occurred in the twenty-third century B. C., is in some way connected with this eastern migration of the Chinese Bak tribes.²

We have stated Prof. La Couperie's position in this matter, and such a view certainly clears up a number of difficulties. Before accepting it fully, it would be well to wait for clearer evidence.³ For our own part, it seems to us to be too strongly stated. It seems to us evident that China was influenced from Chaldea, but can not some of the observed coincidences be explained on the ground that they both started from a common home? We have seen no conclusive reasons for holding that the first writing in China was cuneiform. On this point, however, let us hold ourselves in readiness to accept whatever conclusions to which our scholars may come.

Although we speak of the surrounding tribes as barbarians and as possessed of lower culture, still they had made considerable advance. They are represented as assisting the Chinese in astronomical calculations, in teaching them music and as having considerable influence on their

¹ Oppert in "Records of the Past," Vol. VII., p. 79, et seq.

² J. R. A. S., 1883, p. 280, note 4. In regard to the proposed date of this migration, that is the twenty-third century B. C., while on some accounts we would think it too recent, yet we must say that the twenty-third century B. C. was a period of great commotion in Western Asia, and, until better informed, we may accept that date.

³ In 1884, Dr. Edkins writes as follows: "The part that Babylonia, Susiana, and Bactria had in helping forward the early progress of China in knowledge and the arts would be by successive contribution of in-

writing.¹ In process of time, indeed, the distinctive nationality of the first comers was all but blotted out.² We will not undertake to give a concise history of these far away times. In fact, we doubt whether such a history can be given. Perhaps the oldest dynasty we know anything about is the *Hea* dynasty whose organization we have described. We have already called the reader's attention to the interesting observation of Prof. La Couperie, as to the original meaning of the word *Hea*. We notice the office of ruling chief, or emperor, originally elective, gradually passes by inheritance.

We may suppose there were the usual scenes of tribal rivalry, incident to all ancient confederacies. One tribe, after holding the supremacy, forced to give way to another. According to current chronology (the value of which is very doubtful) this state of affairs lasted for five hundred years. Their territory embraced only a very small section of country around the great bend of the Hoangho, though they held some surrounding tribes to tribute. About the middle of the eighteenth century B. C., there is supposed to have taken place a change of dynasty. Chinese histories relate how the ruling house became very corrupted until, at length, one of their subject princes, at the earnest solicitation of some of the wise men, finally marched against the wicked emperor and overthrew him.

We may dismiss this account, change of dynasties seldom happen that way. The conquering tribe or tribes came from Shensi, this is the north-west province of China, and indicate the movement of another body of

formation at different times." [In J. R. A. S., p. 360.] Prof. Sayce in reviewing Prof. La Couperie's article, also takes occasion to dissent from his position, as being by no means proven.

1 Douglass "China," p. 6.

2 "Amongst the Shans," xxv.

people. The darkness resting over Central Asia at this time prevents us from learning anything of the movements of its people at that early date. We may suppose there was a constant movement of migrating people. China, during historical periods, has had to sustain many assaults of Mongolian tribes. It was probably so at that time, and we are to see, in this change of dynasties, a successful invasion by barbarian tribes. Perhaps they united for this purpose with some of the more powerful non-Chinese tribes already in China.

Whatever may be the truth about this conquest, whether by it we are to understand a new invasion of kindred tribes or a successful revolt of one of the confederate tribes, we have certainly but little historical information relating to this dynasty. About five hundred years pass away, and although histories are quite free to relate the events of each reign, such accounts are practically worthless. All the China we have to talk about is confined to the same limited expanse of territory about the bend of the Hoangho. The better portion of the country was still in possession of the non-Chinese tribes. We are now approaching a period when some historic light appears, though for centuries it remains very faint and indecisive.

We are approaching what is known as the *Chow* dynasty in China, a conquest which influenced for a long time the history of the Chinese. Here again, the ordinary representation is that the wickedness of the former dynasty had now become so great, that the virtuous prince of Chow finally overthrew the old government and revived in his own person the glory and virtues of the ancient empire. This is the general way that Chinese historians have of describing past conquests of their coun-

try. It is strange that European writers should follow them in this matter, yet many have done so.¹ In regard to these Chows, who appear as victorious invaders about the eleventh century B. C., it is very hard to come to any satisfactory conclusion. Probably at some no very distant day, when a careful comparison and analysis of ethnological notices, scattered throughout the vast mass of Chinese literature shall have been made, and an analysis of the traditions of the people in Central Asia, at present a veritable *Terra Incognita*, are laid before us, we shall see clearly what is at present very much enshrouded in doubt.

As a further showing of the difficulties in our way, we must recall that throughout all the confines of China, there has been, from the very earliest times, a wonderful mixture of races in progress, and this means a mixture of traditions as well. A further reflection to be borne in mind is that our early history, such as it is, only refers to a small portion of country around the Hoangho. The vast mass of China is almost completely unknown to history until many years subsequent to the time we are now describing. Some of the invasions of China, we can but dimly perceive taking place still earlier than the eleventh century. Such, for instance, are the *Jung* or *Nung* tribes, which are supposed to have made their first appearance in China about the sixteenth century B. C., and which we are inclined to connect with the overthrow of the old Hea dynasty. It was probably their appearance in Shensi which drove the Shang tribes east. The Jung tribes were themselves driven further east by continual pressure of tribes lying still further

¹ See, for instance, "A Sketch of Chinese History" by Gutzlaff, New York, 1834, and, for that matter, see our latest "History of China," by Boulger, London, 1881. The same remarks apply to his first three chapters.

back in Central Asia. The Jung tribes are supposed to have been a mixed people, and one element of them was the White Race to which we belong.¹ Other writers tell us that the main stock of the Jung was the same as the Turks.² They certainly were a very warlike people, their name came to be the equivalent of warriors. They followed on after the Shang tribes, and we find them at a later date composing the larger portion of the so-called barbarian tribes surrounding the Chinese states.

According to the faint voice of tradition, about the twelfth century B. C., we find another wave of people advancing eastward through Shensi destined to take the lead among the Chinese tribes. These are variously called the *Djows*, *Tchous*, and *Chows* mostly by the last name. La Couperie tells us that they were a division of the *Tek* race who amalgamated with the Jung remaining in Shensi, and that the *Tek* tribes, afterwards called Tih tribes, seem to have been a Turkish stock. This makes them out a very much mixed people.³ Kingsmill concludes that the Chows were at first Aryans forced from their home in Western Asia by the pressure of the Turkish tribes, which started the great migration of the Aryan tribes, some to India, and some to the east. They settled first in Shensi, but, owing to the pressure of the Turkish tribes in their rear, they gradually forced their way among the settled Chinese tribes and finally succeeding in establishing a sort of supremacy.⁴

Here seems to be a good place to make some general remarks on the, so-called, aboriginal tribes of China. It is

¹ La Couperie introduction to "Amongst the Shans," xxxix.

² Such, we are told, was the opinion of Klaproth. See Kingsmill "Early Hist. of the White Huns" in J. R. A. S., 1878, p. 289.

³ "Amongst the Shans," p. xxxviii.

⁴ See his article already referred to in J. R. A. S. for 1878.

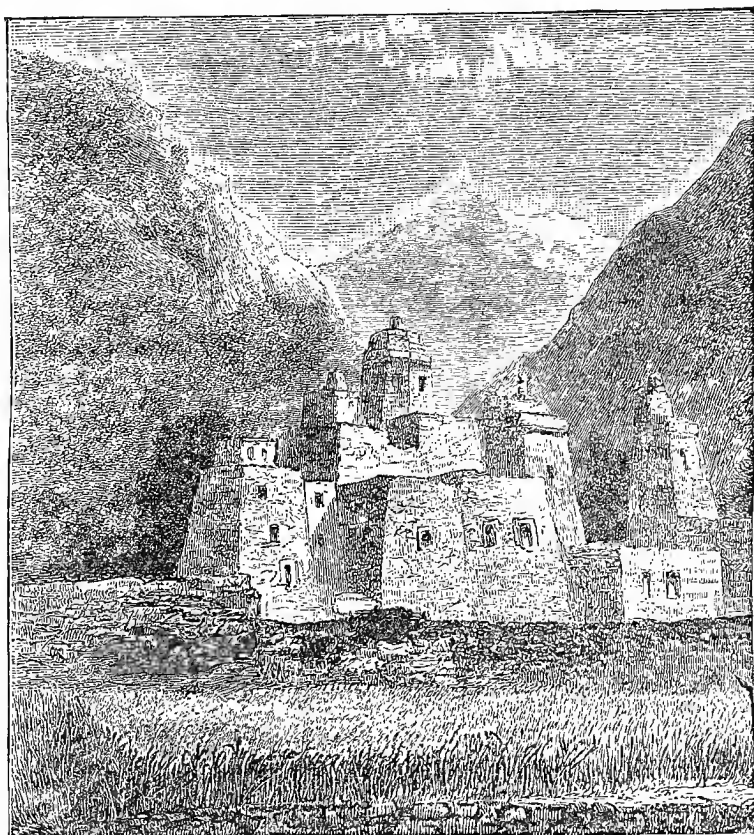
evident from the foregoing, that China from the earliest times has been the meeting place of wave after wave of people. We must note the significant fact that, while the first wave was Turanian, the subsequent ones, such as the Jung and the Chows, were greatly modified by Aryan blood. (This will be referred to later.) We have been accustomed to hearing these aboriginal tribes spoken of as barbarian, but these accounts come to us through Chinese sources. This is a difficult matter to come to any satisfactory conclusions about, but the tendency of modern researches is to regard these aboriginal tribes as belonging in the first instance to the White Races, though they have been greatly mixed with the Yellow Races.¹ It seems that these tribes, under various different names, are now found in the western and south-western provinces of China. The evidence is that from the very earliest times they have been gradually pressed in that direction by the spreading Chinese, who subdued some tribes and assimilated them among their mixed population, but crowded still other tribes among the hills and mountain fastnesses of Si-Chuen and Yunnan. Many of these tribes are yet independent and breathe defiance to the Chinese government. The two provinces of Kwang-si and Kwang-tung formed an independent government under the name of "The Two Kingdoms of Yueh" until about two centuries ago, when they were finally brought under the imperial dominion.²

Of late years, this section of China has been traversed by two travellers and thus considerable knowledge has

1 See La Couperie: "Beginning of Writing Around Thibet" in J. R. A. S. for 1885, compare with "Amongst the Shans," p. xxix. But see also Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 713, where we are cautioned on this point. Also Reclus: "Asia," p. 210. Also Gill: "River of Golden Sand," p. 123.

² Colquhoun: "Across Chryse," London, 1883, Vol. I., p. 227.

been gained as to these people. Capt. Gill, who crossed the western portion of China, near the Thibet border,¹ speaking of the *Man-tzu* tribes in western Si-Chuen, tells us that there are in that section altogether eighteen of these tribes each under the rule of its own chief. They have



Man-tzu Village.

been subject to great persecution from the Chinese. "Perched like an eagles' eyrie on the tops of the almost inaccessible hills, or like wild birds' nests on the faces of

¹ "River of Golden Sand," London, 1883.

perpendicular cliffs, there were many villages of the Man-tzu and down below on the banks of the smiling river, there were the blackened ruins of many another once peaceful hamlet. In one place, close to the ruins of some Man-tzu buildings, that I could plainly see had been burnt not very many years ago, there was a new and flourishing Chinese village, where the Chinese, having ousted the aborigines, had established themselves."¹ He tells us, in one place, of a tribe known as the White Man-tzu, numbering three and a half millions, always ruled by a queen.²

From other sources, we learn that the same tribes, called the *Mo-so*, still form the majority of the inhabitants in Western Si-Chuen. They at one time ruled quite an extensive stretch of country. Kublai Khan found this very state of Mo-so-man in Western Yunnan and conquered it in the thirteenth century A. D.³ The epithet "savage," applied to the Man-tzu is not justified, for we learn that they till the land, weave textile fabrics and build houses with towers and supports. We give this profile view of a Man-tzu aborigine of North Yunnan and call special attention to the finely formed features.⁴

We have also many interesting details of the native inhabitants of Yunnan.⁵ It seems that the majority of the inhabitants in Yunnan belong to the aboriginal stock, some are said to be subdued, that is conquered by the Chinese, others are regarded as wild or independent. It is said "that it is only in the cities of Yunnan that one sees the Chinese. The people of the country districts are all aborigi-

¹ Ibid, p. 102. ² P. 123.

³ La Couperie's article already referred to in J. R. A. S., 1885, p. 454 *et seq.*

⁴ Taken from "Across Chryse."

⁵ A. R. Colquhoun, "Across Chryse," in two volumes, London, 1883.

nes." In the country, many incidents combine to remind the traveler of European lands, men carrying themselves with self respect, with faces showing frankness and intelligence, noses straight and well formed, and hair inclining to brown; women dressed neatly, modest looking and often what might be called handsome.

In the center and southern parts of Yunnan we meet with principally three divisions of the aborigines called the Lo-lo, Pai and Miao. In the north-western part of Yunnan are the Si-fan, shown on page 440. The next illustration shows us types of the Lissou, inhabiting the same section of country. In all these cases, we must notice the absence of features typical to the Yellow Races.

All these aboriginal tribes have been for centuries crowded into the mountainous countries of South-western China, they present in their costume and appearance a pleasing contrast to the Chinese. They are cultiva-



Man-tzu of North Yunnan.

tors, herdsmen, and, over quite a large section of country are entirely independent of Chinese. They have good hearts, are simple and sincere, not only are they unlike the Chinese in their virtues, but also in their physique and energy.¹ The only kind of writing known, at present, to exist among these aboriginal tribes, is a symbolical picture writing, exactly in the same stage of development as the symbolical

¹ This account is extracted from "Across Chryse."

writing of the Indian medicine men. They are only understood by the sorcerers.¹



Types of the Si-ban.

Returning now to the Chows, we conclude that they were an invading conquering, people from the west, who, in

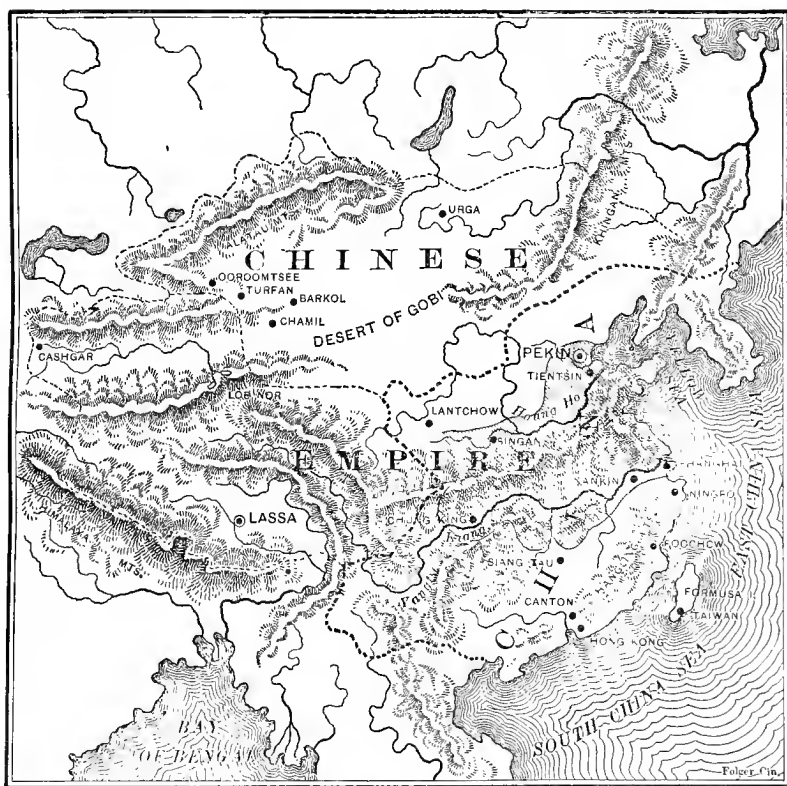


Types of the Lissou.

a measure, reorganized the ancient government, probably

¹ J. R. A. S., 1885., p 461.

extended its boundaries some, but they still continued very small as compared with China of to-day, this is supposed to have happened about the end of the twelfth century B. c. The closing centuries of this dynasty lie within the period of authentic history, but, as its light only reaches back to about the eighth century B. c., it is evident that we



Map of China.

know but little of its first three centuries. In order to illustrate the China of the Chow dynasty, we have indicated its extent on the map. It lay between the 33rd and 38th parallels of latitude, and extended over no more than por-

tions of the provinces of Pih Chih-li, Shanse, Shense, Honan, Keang-se and Shautung."¹

The supremacy enjoyed by the Chows is certainly very hard to describe. They established a very loose sort of confederacy. We cannot discover that the *Wang*, which is the native title of all the ruling chiefs of this dynasty, had any very great power. There seems to have been a board of six greater officers, who doubtless were to be consulted before any important step was taken.² Then there were six ministers. The minister of war is spoken of as commanding "the six hosts." All this seems to point to some division of the conquering tribe or tribes into six parts.³ The conquerors proceeded to divide the conquered territory among themselves probably paying some regard to the divisions already established. The work already quoted from⁴ mentions the division into nine provinces under pastors. However, we can detect no further reference to the nine states, and are of the opinion that this section has reference to the old tradition of the nine provinces of Yu.⁵

Be that as it may, Chinese authorities give an account of the occurrences in the kingdom of Chow from the earliest times down to the fourth century B. C. under thirteen states.⁶ These tribes were to be free, but any in-

¹ Douglass "China," p. 10. The Chows clearly appear in the Shoo King at the head of a confederacy of the surrounding tribes to crush the previously existing confederacy under Shang and Yen. See the "Speech at Muh," Sec. 24. On this point Guignes remarks, "this conquest of China was effected by foreigners on the west of China."

² "The Officers of Chow," Sec. 5 and 6.

³ From the fact that this governing board of six was divided into two exactly equal divisions the officers of each having the same title, only in the one case distinguished as "grand," and in the other as "juniors," we might decide that the Chows was a tribe of two phratries and six gentes. However it is not best to come to any positive statements.

⁴ "The officers of Chow," See 13.

⁵ "Tribute of Yu,"

⁶ Prolegomena to Ch'un Tse'ew, p. 113.

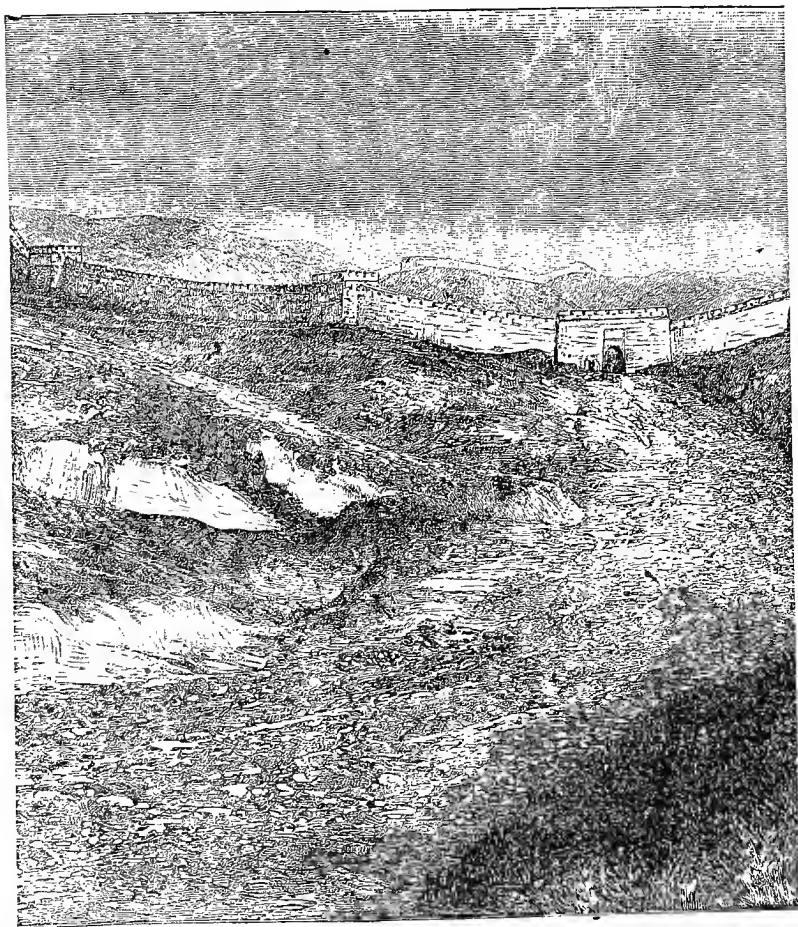
fringement of one state on the other was to be checked by the royal power. Such an arrangement as this was sure to fall through before long. One tribe, becoming strong in numbers, would rob its weaker neighbor of its territory, or perhaps destroy its independence altogether. Hence it is, expecially during the closing centuries of this dynasty, that we are presented with a picture of a singular state of political affairs

The imperial or royal power existed, but in name only. Each separate tribe stood ready to make war on the others, if they thought their interests would be furthered. As providing some relief against the prevailing anarchy, we meet with a singular device of *presiding states*. That is to say, the strongest state, for the time being, was really at the head of the confederacy, and, in fact, exercised royal authority, though the chiefs of the Chows still reigned as emperors, or Wangs, and nominal fealty was rendered them. Five such "presiding states" come before us during a period of two hundred and forty years, covered by Confucius' annals. How many there were before that time, we do not know, but, at the very earliest period, we read of "chiefs of regions." It is evident that all that was wanted was for some one state to gain sufficient strength to subjugate the others, an event which was sure to happen in time.

We must remember that the China of the Chow dynasty has reference, still, to but a small section of country. We know comparatively nothing of the tribes and people inhabiting the larger portions of China. Some of the barbarian tribes coming before us are of interest. First the Jung tribes whose origin we have already glanced at. They were to be free in their own internal affairs, and any in there were, no one can say with certainty.¹ These tribes

¹ Legg "Classics," Vol. IV., Part I., p. 130.

seemed to have assisted the Chows when they first overthrew the Shang dynasty. They seemed to occupy territory around and right in the midst of the settled tribes. They aided now this state and now that and were ready to



Chinese Wall.

strike on their own account whenever the prospects seemed good. They were especially abundant to the west and south-west. The Tih, or Turkish tribes, on the north and northwest were a constant source of danger. The eastern

barbarians are also mentioned, and especially the *man* barbarians to the south. Some of these barbarian tribes, as their culture advanced, took upon themselves more settled forms of government, and became known as states of the Chow dynasty; and, from such beginnings, finally appeared the state which gave rise to the first proper "Empire of China."

Here we must point out the difference between the extension of political power and the extension of their culture. Their political power during the first ages remained very feeble; their higher culture, however, was spreading among the surrounding tribes and leavening the whole mass. Consequently, there were growing up, along the borders of the loose confederacy of states belonging to the Chow dynasty, other states or confederacies organized in an analogous manner. These states were but partially Chinese in ethnology. They, in some cases, claimed and were allowed equal rights with other states and were admitted to the confederacy with them. Some held entirely aloof and maintained their independence in the very midst of the Chinese for centuries.

Thus, for instance, to the south of the Chow states, comprising the territory along the Yang-tse-kiang there had been gradually growing up the *Ts'oo* state. This was composed of the most diverse elements. It became a great power among the surrounding tribes, and finally held a most important position among the later states of the Chow dynasty. Yet their constant boast was "we are man-y," that is "southern barbarians." Other states of the Chow dynasty were taunted with being barbarians.¹ What we have to say of *Ts'oo*, on the south, might be repeated in

¹ Legg: Vol. V., Part I. p. 118.

regard to *Ts'in*, on the west. These two virtually non-Chinese states, after subjecting the other states to their power, finally engaged in a struggle for the supremacy, and the result is that, about 250 B. C., the state of *Ts'in* succeeds in reducing all the states under its control, and then first appeared what might be called an empire in China.

We are not here concerned with writing a history of China, so we need not dwell much longer on this part of our subject. We have given this brief review of early



Chinese Types.

China so as to clear the mind of some misconceptions. Although we have brought it down to the rise of the *Ts'in* dynasty and the foundation of an empire in China, we must understand that many centuries came and went before China of to-day appears on the scene. We are apt to speak of China as a country enjoying peace, prosperity, internal unity and a high degree of Civilization from the most early period. But in fact, we know but little of its

ancient history except of a few states along the Hoangho, and of these we know nothing with certainty beyond the eighth century B. C. Their ancient culture has been greatly exaggerated, and if it be true that early China is the best result of the Civilization of the Yellow Races, they are not capable of accomplishing very much.

We are now ready to draw some conclusions as to the part that the Yellow Races took in advancing Civilization. We are all fond of repeating that man is capable of unending progress. We conceive this saying to be both true and false. It is not true of man, the individual, since the period soon comes when his powers droop under the weight of advancing years, and finally death closes the scene. The race is much like the individual. There is a necessary limitation to its powers. The part played by the Black Races was, in the aggregate, very great and most important. The Yellow Races represent a great advance over the previous accomplishments of the Blacks. Tribal society and government was brought to its highest excellence under their guidance, but they nowhere succeeded in establishing a true political society and government. This was a task they were never able to accomplish, and only recently has the idea of a nation occurred to the Chinese.

Even to this day in China, we see the plainest traces of previously existing tribal society. There we see clearly that the evolution of society agrees exactly with what we have already pointed out; it has been from the communal family to the tribe, from the tribe to the gens. The tribe has disappeared, nor have we any evidence of the phratry. The gens, however, is a living institution, all its members bear a common name, (Hsing) marriage is not allowed between its members, that is between persons of

the same name, they have a common ancestral temple, and have their own gods, and the members have certain privileges, such as participation in common funds and in common lands. "At stated periods, members of the gens meet at the family temple, and after the performance of prescribed rites, such as prostrations and burning incense to the tablets, arrangements are made with regard to the disposal of the temple funds, and the proceedings wind up with convivialities, in which the partaking, by males, of a meal laid out before the tablets is an essential."¹

The joint-family is likewise an existing institution, called the *men*. Instances are known where a men consists of two hundred individuals. In such instances, a large space is enclosed by a wall, and the family buildings are thus protected. In the center is the building occupied by the house-father, and it is important to notice that his authority is not arbitrary but is checked by his council. Of course, the size of the joint-family depends on the wealth it possesses, it may consist of but one couple, but its members have rights to the common property from whence they can not be deprived. We have seen that the process of Civilization consists in bringing to the front individual rights and duties. In China, these rights and duties are yet in groups. There is, properly speaking, no such thing as a will, the property is in the group not in the individual. The group is the legal unit. Individual ownership of land is of modern origin, the ancient rule is still largely in force, and the land belongs to the joint-family or the community.²

¹ See an interesting article on "Chinese Laws and Customs" in J. R. A. S., 1883, p. 221.

² Our authority is the article already mentioned by C. Gardner, M. R. A. S.; H. B. M. Consul at Ichong.

The Yellow Races seem to have preceded the Whites in point of time. We can at least say that the spreading White Races found the Yellow Races everywhere before them. So we may perhaps assign to the Yellow Races the beginning of much of our present Civilization; such, for instance, as the art of hieroglyphic writing, agriculture, the digging of canals and clearing of land, as in ancient Chaldea and China, also the arts of metallurgy.¹ But we have to observe that they soon reached the limits of their powers in all these matters. The peculiar claim of the Whites is not that they invented all these arts, or took the first steps in them, but they so greatly improved what was laid before them.² They greatly influenced the culture of the White Races through the religious field, not in the line of philosophical belief, that is beyond them, but in the field of mythology. Their religion was Shamanism, an advance over the Fetichism of the Black Races. Their priests were all magicians. But they had quite a rich field of mythological lore, and this they transmitted to the White Races. Thus Brahmanism in India developed the mythology of the Dravidians; the Semites of Western Asia, the mythology of the Accadians; and the Persians, that of the Turanian tribes of Media.

Excepting the first steps, the beginning of our present culture, the Yellow Races have played but a small part in the history of Civilization; and, at present, they constitute the non-progressive races of men. And the probabilities are that they never will contribute much to further human progress. It is the old story of brain force as opposed to brute force. In the long run, it is brain force which rules the world and sways the destinies of men and wrests from

¹ See interesting remarks "Archiv für Anthropologie" for 1885.

² On this point see Prof. Tylor, "Nature," Vol. 28, p. 11.

nature her secrets, which, rightly used, advance the material interests of humanity. The White Races represent the brain force of the world. The Yellow Races the brute force. The day for brute force is past. Asia and Europe will never again feel terror at the mention of a Ghengis or a Tamerlane.

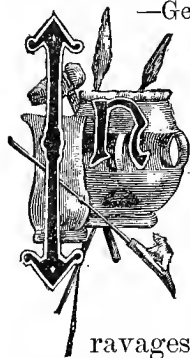
It remains for the future to show whether the Yellow Races are capable of accepting and profiting by the superior culture of the Whites. Japan, which is often referred to as an instance of a Yellow Race waking from the slumbers of centuries and making marvelous progress in modern Civilization, is, in several respects, an exceptional country. It, in one important respect, differs from China. It is now about settled that the aboriginal inhabitants of Japan have a large element of White blood in their ethnology.¹ Owing to their insular position this has not been drowned out by wave after wave of Mongolic people as in the case of China, therefore, we can scarcely reason from the one case to the other. We can not fully share the hopeful views of some on this point. We fear they do not sufficiently take into consideration the question of race. Probably before another century rolls around, this question will be solved one way or the other. We have now reached an important point in our work. From this on, we have to inquire as to the development of Civilization among the White Races.

¹ From two sources, came the White element in Japan. It is about settled that the Ainos are White. [Flowers in "Nature" Vol. 31, p. 389, Keane in "Nature" Vol. 27, p. 365 and 389. Same author in Stanford's "Asia," p. 712.] The second element is from Polynesian sources. The Polynesians are mainly White. [Keane in "Nature," Vol. 23.]

CHAPTER VI.

ANCIENT EGYPT.

INTRODUCTION—Physical geography of Egypt—Prehistoric Egypt—Ethnology of the Egyptians—Semitic influence—Antiquity of Egypt—Chronology of Egypt—Epoch of the Old Empire—The first dynasty—Second dynasty—Opening of the historic era—The Pyramid Builders—Tomb of Nofer-ma—Khufa—Khaframen-ka-ra—Ptah-bo-tep—The sixth dynasty—General survey of the six dynasties—The culture of the Old Empire—Powers of the king—The council—Egyptian Pyramids—Egyptian religion—Animal worship—Ancestor worship—Polytheism—Egyptian Gods—The Myth of Osiris—Egyptian sacred writings—General conclusions.



A GENERAL way, history is said to commence with the Ancient Egyptians. It is not worth our while to dwell on this well-known statement, but let us turn at once to consider this strange country and people. The encroaching sands of the desert, the ravages of time as the centuries have been told off in rapidly passing years, and the vandal hand of conquering man, combined, have destroyed or hid from our sight many of the monumental ruins of her greatness. But there yet remain mournful ruins of surpassing grandeur, pyramids towering in air, temples flanked by long avenues of sculptured sphinxes, tombs brilliant with painted scenes of home-life, or covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions concerning contemporary events, which can not fail to impress us with a sense of a vanished past. In revery, we live again the scenes, when at the word of command mighty armies

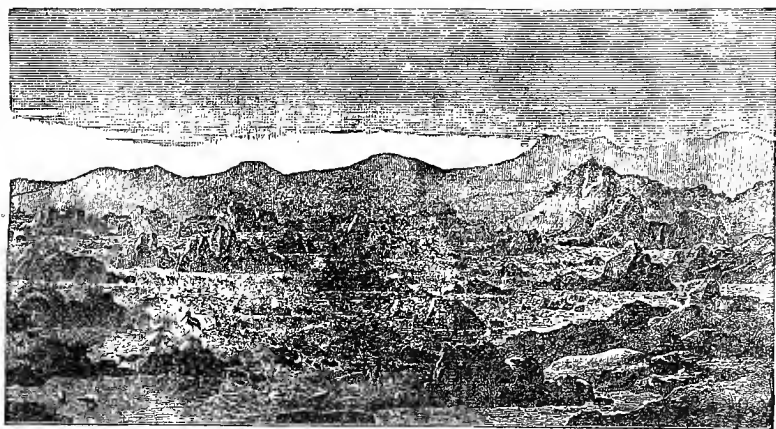
marched forth to carry the terror of the Egyptian name to surrounding people, and, in fancy, we hear the exulting plaudits of assembled thousands when the warrior-king returned in triumph at the head of his victorious forces.

But all this belongs to an almost forgotten past. Civilization, deserting its early home, has experienced a more vigorous growth in other lands, and we, the heirs of this ancient culture, wander along the banks of the Nile, the storied river of Egypt, and seek to understand somewhat of the history of these ruins, inquire as to the nature and extent of the culture that there sprung up in such early and luxuriant growth, and trace the sad steps of its decline and fall. Let us not forget that we are inquiring into the history of the most powerful and brilliant people that stand bathed in the sunrise light of history; but, as the flowers of dawn droop when the sun is higher risen, so did the nations of antiquity decline and fall before the more vigorous nations that came on the stage of action when the light of Civilization and History had stronger grown. Egypt once more illustrates the inevitable cycle of all things human—an infancy of feebleness and growth; a maturity of brilliancy and power; a long, slow decline, with death closing the scene.

When we look at the area of ancient Egypt, we are surprised to see how small it is. In fact, when we review ancient history, we find that all the ancient centers of Civilization were very small in extent. Egypt, Chaldea, Greece, Rome and ancient China are instances. From these, as from a center, an influence extended which affected vast areas of the earth's surface. As all are aware, across Northern Africa there stretches a sandy desert, which is prolonged with occasional breaks nearly across Asia. But in Central Africa is a fertile, elevated section

of country, nearly surrounded with high, and, in places, snow-covered, mountains. Here are located the great lakes of Central Africa, and here is the source of the great river of Egypt, the Nile, which, flowing to the north, receives important tributaries from Soudan and Abyssinia, and finally stretches away across this sandy expanse, flowing through a narrow valley, flanked on either side by a low range of hills—the range on the left known as the Libyan hills; those on the right, the Arabian.

The river, in descending from the more elevated region



Nile Cataract.

of Soudan, in the course of some four hundred miles, makes no less than five descents, which are dignified by the name of cataracts. It is when the last of these is passed that the river enters the confines of ancient Egypt proper. The valley through which the river flows varies in width from two to fifteen miles. At a time not very ancient, geologically speaking, the waves of the Mediterranean washed the foot of the hills near where Cairo now stands. But in the course of ages, the great quantities of sediment brought by the Nile from the highland regions have

formed a wide and fertile Delta. The Nile, entering this Delta, pours its waters through it towards the Mediterranean in seven principal channels, only two of which are at present navigable. Ancient Egypt thus included this Delta and the long and narrow Valley of the Nile, comprising in all an area of little over eleven thousand square miles, between a third and fourth of the size of the State of Ohio.

All are further aware that rain is all but unknown in Egypt, that the fertility of the country depends entirely upon the annual overflow of the Nile, which commences to swell in June, reaching its height in October, about the time of the Autumnal Equinox. Crops can not be grown beyond the limit of this overflow. Now, a moment's reflection will show us how singularly well adapted to developing ancient Civilization was this Nile Valley. In the first place is the ease with which the country could be defended, thus allowing the tribes settling therein a chance to develop their resources. Beyond this narrow valley, on either side, is a desert expanse; to the west, a sea of shifting sand, with an occasional oasis; to the east, "a barren, rocky, mountainous region, including, only here and there, a few valleys possessing a scanty vegetation, by which a small nomadic population is maintained."¹ The only source of danger seriously to be feared by the Egyptians was from Asia, across the Isthmus of Suez.

We must also consider the fertility of the soil. The life of primitive man was a stubborn battle with the forces of nature for means of subsistence. No great advance was possible until a knowledge of agriculture was obtained. This is, perhaps, the principal reason why the seats of all ancient Civilization were located in fertile

¹ Chisholm: "Two Hemispheres," London, 1882, p. 631.

river valleys. In this respect the Nile Valley is singularly fortunate. As if to atone for the barren scenes around, nature here rewards the labors of man with enormous returns. In Upper Egypt (the narrow valley from Memphis to the first cataract), there grew the dhourra plant, a



Type of Early Egyptian.

species of the millet. Its return was about two hundred and forty to one. In addition to this, there flourished the date-palm. This tree requires little space or labor, and yields an abundant return of nutritious fruit. In addition to the foregoing, other grains can be raised with the

greatest ease.¹ Hence we can see how a teeming population was here maintained, how great armies were raised, and great works executed.

Bearing the foregoing in mind, it is by no means strange that Egypt comes before us, even at the very dawn of history, as a comparatively civilized power, and that its culture bears such strong evidence of indigenous growth. A recent writer sums up the circumstances in their favor as follows: "The wide deserts within which the happy valley was inclosed constituted a vast fortress, within which they were unmolested and undisturbed through long ages; with all the necessities of life supplied in abundance by the bountiful Nile, with the finest climate in the world, freed from the necessity of defending themselves against man or the elements, and surrounded by plenty, which it required only cultivation and industry to secure, everything favored a rapid increase and multiplication, for they had plenty of leisure, more leisure than any other people upon earth at that time, to devote to the arts. Thus it came to pass that they were the earliest among men to attain anything like a highly developed civilization."²

The historic period in Egypt is said to open with Menes. But from the very fact that Civilization was then in a comparatively advanced stage, we know that lying back of that epoch is an immensely long period of slow development. Only of late years have our scholars

¹ See Buckle: "History of Civilization in England," Vol. I., p. 60; also, Chisholm: *Op. cit.*, p. 634.

² Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," London, 1879, p. 385. The above is certainly too favorable, as far as climate is concerned. See Chisholm: "Two Hemispheres," p. 633. "In May the suffocating khamsin or simoon begins to blow into the valley from the desert plains on each side of it, raising clouds of fine sand and causing various diseases." We might also question whether this civilization was indeed the first, though, beyond doubt, it was very ancient.

learned to read between the lines, and, by proceeding with caution, we feel safe in outlining, to some extent, this prehistoric period. The first period opening to view shows us both Upper and Lower Egypt in the possession of closely related, independent tribes. The number of these tribes, and the boundaries of the territory they claimed, must have varied from age to age. Just about the time they were being reduced under one government, we know they numbered forty-two, of which twenty-two belonged to Upper Egypt, and twenty to Lower Egypt. In naming these ancient divisions, the Egyptians sometimes used a word representing simply the territory. This word was *he-soph*,¹ used, perhaps, as is our word *county*. In later times, the Greeks used for this purpose the word *nome*, which has generally been employed by writers on Egypt to name these ancient tribal divisions.

Other words were used by the Egyptians also, viz.: *sep* and sometimes *tash*.² We would suggest that the latter words meant the people, used in the same way as our word *tribe*. The main thing to be noticed is that, beyond a doubt, each *nome* was originally the seat of an independent tribe, possessing its own rulers and making its own laws. Their territory, of course, varied in size, but, on an average, each *he-soph* contained about two hundred and seventy square miles. Being the seat of a fully-organized tribe, each *he-soph* possessed a central city or citadel, called, in their language, *nut*, where the chief resided, as well as other tribal officials.

At the head of affairs was a ruling chief, the *Hik*. This office is stated to have been hereditary, but it is interesting to notice that it passed, not from father to son,

¹ Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 10.

² Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 15.

but from uncle to nephew,¹ in the female line of descent. We would expect this statement to be true of the earlier times only. If it remained the custom until the formation of the monarchy, it simply shows how conservative the old Egyptians were.² Probably the customs of the different tribes varied in this matter. Each tribe had its own religion and priests, and each *he-soph* erected its temple of worship in the central city.

Being so largely dependent on agriculture, they, of course, made the most of the limited amount of land at their disposal. As is true of earlier stages of Civilization in general, individual ownership of land was probably unknown, the ownership being in the tribe, and the different kinds of land in the *he-soph* were carefully distinguished and divided. There was the *uu*, or cultivated land overflowed by the Nile; *pehu*, or marsh land, where they could raise the lotus or papyrus, and flocks of the various water fowl could be kept; and the portion of cultivated land fertilized by the canals.³

Who were these tribes? This question speedily resolves itself into another: Who were the ancient Egyptians? for these tribes undoubtedly constituted the principal element in Egyptian ethnology. But this is a question on which our scholars are far from being settled. The most cau-

¹ Brugsch Bey states that, according to Egyptian law, descent passed from "father to eldest grandson on the mother's side." (Vol. I., p. 16.) As it stands, this is an ambiguous statement. Whose mother's side? If it means the chief's mother's grandson, then this is simply a clumsy way of stating that descent was in the female line, and hereditary in the gens. This would be exactly in accord with what we found true of ancient society in general.

² It will, however, be seen, on consulting the outlines of the fourth and fifth dynasties, that there was no rule of descent.

³ For information on the nomes, consult Sayce: "Ancient Empires of the East," pp. 10-11. Brugsch Bey: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 15. Maspero: "Geschichte Der Morgenländischen Völker im Alterthum," pp. 18-19. Harkness: "Egyptian Life and History," p. 11.

tious among them prefer to leave it an open question. It seems to us, however, that we can determine in what direction the probabilities lie. We shall probably not be greatly in error if we assume that these primitive tribes belonged to the Yellow Races of men, probably near akin to the Turanians of Chaldea. We will, as briefly as possible, give a few reasons for this conclusion. In the first place, we have found, in times preceding the dawn of history, a vast population of nomadic tribes in Southwestern



Type of Egyptians of the Earliest Period.

Asia, who, in all probability, belonged to the Turanian branch of the Yellow Race. It would certainly be strange if they had not passed across the Isthmus of Suez and possessed themselves of the Delta and the Valley of the Nile. As further proof, is the name borne by Egypt in the earliest times. It was the land of *Kem* or *Kami*.¹ In the mind of the later Egyptians, this may have referred solely to the soil; but we question if in the first place it did not refer to the inhabitants, in which case we have to notice the presence of the phonetic element represented

¹Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol I., p. 10.

by *k*, and recall what we found true of the Turanian tribes in Western Asia.

If our suggestion that these Turanian tribes were collectively known as the Cushites be a sound one, then we have the further fact that a large amount of ancient tradition refers the first settlement in Egypt to the Cushites.¹ From anthropological evidence alone, many modern authorities have maintained that they belonged to the Caucasian Race.² This is, however, a very vague statement, and it does not rest on demonstrated facts.³ On the whole, we think the greater probabilities are that they were Turanian tribes, mixed, in the first place, to some extent, with black tribes whom they probably found in possession of the country, and, subsequently, to a greater extent, with Semitic tribes, as we will soon show.⁴

But we must bear in mind that we are speaking of the tribes previous to the arrival of the Semites; for it is our opinion that Semitic tribes succeeded in greatly influencing these Turanian tribes, in some respects similar to their influence on the Accadians. This requires us to go back very far in time, much farther than history goes. We need not doubt that the Turanian tribes for a long

¹ Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," New York, 1884, Vol. I., pp. 31-36. Bible, Genesis, chap. x. Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 2.

² Osborn: "Ancient Egypt," Cincinnati, 1883, p. 15. Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," London, 1881, p. 1. Sayce: "Ancient Empires of the East," p. 6. Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 2. Wilkinson: "Ancient Egypt," 1879, Vol. I., p. 2.

³ It seems that Hartman, who has carefully studied them, decides that, anthropologically, they belong to Africa, rather than to Asia, after all. He insists on their connection with the Berber type. It is said that Blumenbach held to this view. See Tylor's "Address before the Anthropological Section of the British Association," 1879, p. 385. As to the presence of a Negritian element in the ethnology of the ancient Egyptians, see Rawlinson: "Story of Egypt," New York, 1887, p. 24. He asserts: "The fundamental character of the Egyptians in respect to physical type is Negritic." See, also, article by Bertien, on "The Bushmen and their Language" in J. R. A. S., 1886, p. 79, *et seq.*

⁴ As to the Egyptians being a much mixed people, see Tylor's address, already mentioned; also, Maspero: "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 15.

time held possession of the country. They were slowly winning their way towards a higher stage of culture, making some slight progress in the upward climb leading to Civilization. They gradually approached the stationary stage reached by all members of the Yellow Races. They had a knowledge of agriculture, doubtless for the time advanced, their picture-writing, and their priestly colleges, composed of their Shamans. There were probably the usual scenes of tribal warfare. Now one tribe, owing to some circumstance in its favor, succeeds in reducing some of its neighbors to tribute, only to experience the same fate itself at a subsequent period. Owing to priestly influence, the picture-writing approached the hieroglyphic stage, and finally assumed a fixed form; and in this matter probably each tribe varied from the others.¹



Wooden Statue from near Memphis.

We have suggested the idea of a Semitic influence.

¹ Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 387.

Let us inquire into this matter a little. That some time in the past there was some sort of connection between the ancient Egyptians and Semitic tribes is, probably, not questioned by those who have investigated the matter. Tylor remarks: "There was mixture between the two races, and, what is most remarkable, there is a deep-seated Semitic element in the Egyptian language only to be accounted for by some extremely ancient and intimate connection."¹ And, speaking of these two languages, Sayce declares that "a relationship of some kind certainly exists between them."² This point is, probably, not disputed, and it only remains to decide the nature of this connection. Some solve the problem by declaring that the ancestors of the Egyptians and the Semitic people were the same, in the same way that the Greeks and Romans were descended from the same ancestors.³

Others are not ready to admit this. Prof. Whitney especially warns us to be cautious in this matter, showing how much there is yet to be determined before we can come to satisfactory conclusions.⁴ Now, as similarities of language simply show social contact, we would suggest that the Semitic element in the language of ancient Egypt is due to a conquest by Semitic tribes from the south. We have assigned the origin of the Semitic people to Arabia (p. 38), but we will also show that Abyssinia has some grounds to be considered their original home. This makes but little difference, since Semitic people are found in both localities. But it does show that ancient Egypt

¹"Proceedings British Association for Advancement of Science," 1879, p. 385.

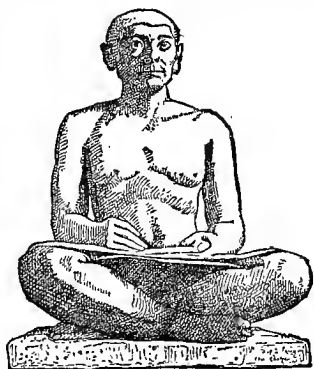
²"Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 178. For further linguistic evidence, this Vol., p. 39.

³This is the conclusion of Maspero: "Die Aegyptian Würden, also Zu den Protosemitischen Rassen Gehören;" "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 17. See, also, Müller: "Science of Language," First Series, p. 232.

⁴See his "Life and Growth of Language," p. 253.

was exposed to attacks from Semitic tribes from that source.

Every one knows there is a great amount of tradition to the effect that the culture and population of ancient Egypt was derived from the south. As a rule, our modern scholars reject these traditions as of no account,¹ yet they have not been by any means disposed of. It is undoubtedly true that the ancient Egyptians represented Abyssinia as the home of their gods. This can only mean that the ruling element in their population came from thence. A series of ancient bas-reliefs represent an expedition to Abyssinia. The Egyptian commissioner is represented as landing and immediately entering into conversation with the chief of the country, who receives him with every mark of friendship and respect. The people of Abyssinia are represented with the same red complexion, dress and appearance as those of Egypt. We are to notice also that, among the hieroglyphics, occur the giraffe and dog-headed ape, animals native of Abyssinia but not of Egypt. The dog-headed ape was even worshiped in Egypt.² It is very difficult to explain all this on any other supposition than that there was considerable truth in the old tradition.³



Scribe of the Oldest Period.

The suggestion we have made obviates many difficulties. The probabilities are, we think, that the ancient

¹ Maspero: "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 12, *et seq.* Wilkinson: "The Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I., p. 3. Osborn: "Ancient Egypt," p. 14. Lenormant: "Ancient History," London, 1879, Vol. I., p. 202. Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 3.

² Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," pp. 286-9.

³ See, also, Poole, in "Contemporary Review," 1881.

Egyptians were, at the bottom, Turanian, possibly somewhat mixed with the black tribes whom they first found in possession of the country. As we have several times pointed out, the Yellow Races lay the foundation of culture, but it requires the presence of White Races to carry that culture forward to any degree of perfection. In this case, the Semitic tribes from the south, invading and conquering the valley, constituting themselves the ruling class, but more or less completely fusing with the mass of the people, took up this already stationary Civilization and culture of their subject tribes and started Egypt forward on the great career she was destined to fill.

Where two people, conquerors and conquered, thus live together, a fusion sooner or later takes place between them, and the resulting culture combines the elements of the culture of both people, though in an unequal degree. In matters of religion, the priesthood of the Turanian tribes, who always occupied a most important position, apparently wielded the same influence on Egypt that they did in Western Asia generally. Down to the very last, they remained a strong, compact body, exercising a great influence on the affairs of the country. We detect, also, the presence of a ruling aristocratic element as well as the common people; representations, we think, of the Semitic and Turanian tribes.¹ In language we are presented with a grammar agreeing with the Semitic grammar, but disagreeing in both structure and vocabulary;² and, in points where it disagrees, it approaches the Turanian languages of Asia.³

¹ That there are from the earliest times two well marked physical types in Egypt is admitted. See Rawlinson: "Story of Egypt," p. 25.

² Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II, p. 178.

³ Rawlinson ("Ancient Egypt," Vol. I, p. 115) thus describes the language of Egypt: "Speaking generally, the Egyptian language may be described as an agglu-

We have thus spent some time outlining prehistoric Egypt. We may be sure that this period covers a very extensive portion of time. Of late years, we begin to, here and there, catch glimpses of this period. In hieroglyphic inscriptions, it is referred to as the time of *Horshesu*. It is even possible that some of the monumental ruins go back to this epoch, and one manuscript is thought to have been written at that far-away time.¹

Whether any of the existing monuments date back to this mythical period is yet undetermined. Prof. Sayce is of the opinion that the Sphinx at Gizeh and the so-called granite temple situated near belong to this mythical time.² But Mr. Petrie shows very good reasons for not accepting this view.³ However, as during this time the country was comparatively civilized and manuscript writing was in vogue, we know no good reason why we should not hope to discover monumental ruins, such as temples and tombs, or even manuscripts, that will throw no little light on this yet dark point.

We have, at present, no means of determining how far back in time this prehistoric period extends. We know nothing as to its beginning and nothing with certainty as to its end, or, in other words, when history begins. What we are reasonably sure of is that Upper Egypt was becoming more of a united country. The tribes were forming a closer union. Near the center of Upper Egypt, about

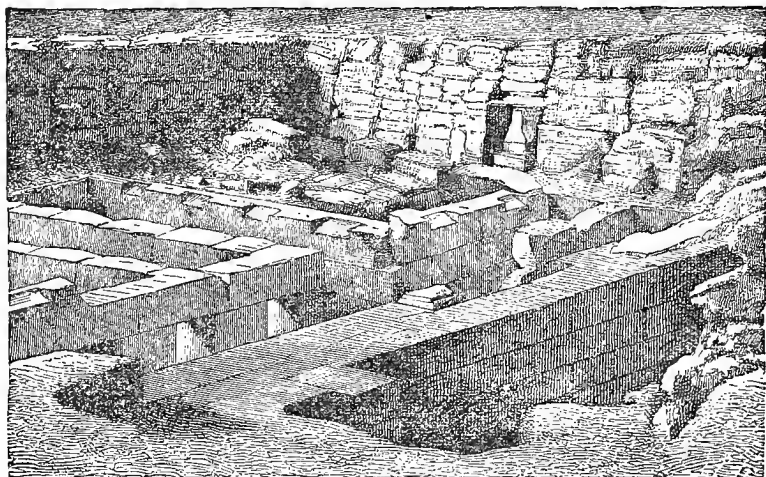
minate monosyllabic form of speech, presenting analogies on the one hand with Turanian, on the other with Semitic tongues." He then proceeds to show that while the grammar is Semitic, its vocabulary has its main analogy with the Accadian, Mongolian and other Turanian tongues. See our remarks on Hamitic language, p. 38. Latham remarks of the Coptic, the modern representative of the ancient Egyptian: "The Coptic has long been recognized as preëminently agglutinative." ("Elements of Comparative Philology," p. 603.)

¹ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 3.

² "Ancient Empires," pp. 21, 22.

³ "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," London, 1885, pp. 49 and 65.

three hundred and thirty miles from Cairo,¹ was the eighth nome of Upper Egypt, called *Teni*.² Its capital city was *Theni*, called by the Greeks *Thinis*. This ancient city possesses for our purpose a great deal of interest. It has long since disappeared, and its location is not known with certainty. The modern town of Girgeh is supposed to be built over the ruins of the ancient city.³ The necropolis of this nome was at Abydos, some twelve miles farther up



Temple of the Sphinx.

the river. Here was the most holy spot of ancient Egypt. Here was the reputed tomb of Osiris, the ancient god of Upper Egypt. According to Plutarch, the wealthy inhabitants were brought from all parts of Egypt to be buried at Abydos, in order that they might repose close to Osiris,⁴ and in this vicinity, if anywhere, lie, buried in the sands,

¹Mariette ("Monuments of Upper Egypt") gives the traveling distance as three hundred and seventy miles. Wilson gives the real distance as above.

²See Sayce's list in "Ancient Empires," p. 12.

³Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 6. Sayce, in "Am. Journal of Archaeology" for 1885, p. 80.

⁴From Mariette: "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 123.

the monuments and inscriptions which will some day throw a flood of light on what is now Prehistoric Egypt.

For Teni was the home of a populous and powerful tribe. Its location was greatly in its favor. Prof. Sayce remarks, of the rich plain composing its area, that it "is at once one of the largest and most fertile of those in the Valley of the Nile, while it is protected from attack on three sides by the Libyan hills, and on the fourth side by the river. Everything was in favor of the progress of its inhabitants in wealth and power."¹ Such a people needed only the guidance of a warlike chief to extend their sway over the entire valley, bringing one tribe after another under subjection. Such a chief was Menes, the first historical figure in Egypt,² who placed his tribe at the head of Upper Egypt and then conquered Lower Egypt as well, thus bringing both countries under one government. To securely maintain his hold on the united country, he built a new capital city, which we will soon describe, twenty miles from the beginning of the Delta proper. This new city was called *Men-nefer*, meaning secure and beautiful, names doubtless significant of its location and appearance. This city was the *Memphis* of history.

The events we have thus briefly outlined mark the commencement of the historic period in Egypt, though some centuries pass of which we have only the briefest notices. It is necessary to spend some time on the question of chronology. A vast amount of research has been given to this question, but such are the difficulties in the

¹"Ancient Empires," p. 22.

²We have spoken of Menes as an historical personage. It is scarcely necessary to remark that there are doubts on this point. The records all speak of him as the first king. It may well be that we are here dealing with a personal name made out of a local one. We will, however, only caution the reader. We may some day be able to decide definitely.

way of a satisfactory solution that nearly every eminent Egyptian scholar differs in his conclusion from the others. Of late years, the tendency seems to be in favor of not coming to any definite conclusion. Back of the seventh century B. C., we must be content to reckon by dynasties, rather than by years. Let us, however, see what facts our scholars have to assist them in reaching their conclusions, and why it is that such diverse results are obtained.

When Ptolemy Philadelphus ruled at Alexandria, near the beginning of the third century B. C., he commissioned Manetho, a priest of Sebennytos, to translate into Greek the records of the Egyptian temples. Manetho made a chronological list of Egyptian kings, dividing them for this purpose into thirty dynasties, giving for each dynasty the names and order of the kings composing it, the length of their reigns, etc. No copy of this work is known to be in existence, and all that we know about it is from meager, and, in some cases, contradictory, extracts made by some of the older classical writers.¹ Two of these, Eusebius and Julius Africanus, profess to give us Manetho's list of dynasties, with the number of years each ruled, and, in some cases, they profess to give us the names and length of reigns of the individual kings of the dynasties.

It is unfortunate that these two accounts do not correspond. It not unfrequently happens that the years of the individual kings, when added together, exceed the number of years that the dynasty is said to have lasted. Furthermore, statements made by these writers, claiming to be taken from Manetho, are often contradicted by the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments themselves. It is plain, therefore, that our knowledge of Manetho's lists can not be relied on. But, even if we had his complete

¹Such as Josephus, Eusebius, Julius Africanus, and George Syncellus.

work, we doubt whether we could then solve the problem. At the time he wrote, the star of Egypt had forever set. His beloved country had passed under foreign rule; her history was a closed book; all he could do was to pass from temple to temple, compare their various lists and traditions, and settle, as best he could, their contradictions.

When temples were erected from time to time in Egypt, the priest selected or compiled a list of the earlier kings of Egypt. In these lists certain noted kings were



A Portion of the Abydos Tablet.

always included, such as Menes, the first king; Khufa, the builder of the great pyramid, etc.; but in other details the lists undoubtedly varied. At Abydos, for instance, Seti I. is represented as honoring the spirits of seventy-five of his predecessors. It is expressly stated in the preface to the inscription that this list includes the *kings* who had reigned over *united* Egypt, thus throwing out queens and those kings who had ruled only a portion of Egypt.¹ His son, Rameses II., was even more exclusive.

¹ Villiers Stuart; "Nile Gleanings," p. 316. Let it not be forgotten that as

He omits some of his father's ancestors from his tablet. At Karnak, Thothmes III. gives a list of sixty-one kings who preceded him. This is a very exclusive list; about half a dozen names only are selected to represent the first five dynasties.¹ In the tomb of a priest at Sakkarah, dating from the reign of Rameses II., the dead priest passes to the other world in the presence of fifty-eight of the earlier kings of Egypt.

In the museum of Turin is a papyrus, found, probably, in a tomb at Thebes, and dating from the reign of Rameses II.; it is in a fragmentary condition—owing to the ignorant carelessness of the native who found it and of the European who bought it—and consists of a long list of kings, most of the names being, unfortunately, illegible. It was, doubtless, a very complete work, but Brugsch shows that the author arranged these kings according to his own idea of things: "He forgets to give, also, any account of the double reign of two kings, which has been proved beyond all doubt by the inscriptions."² It evidently contained, for the period from the seventh to the eleventh dynasty, the names of about forty kings.³ The tablet of Seti I., at Abydos, gives for the same period about twenty kings.

We must add to the foregoing the fact that, long before the time of Manetho, the Egyptian priests were by no means agreed concerning many details of their earliest pharaohs. As Mariette suggests, "their memories were preserved by tradition rather than by written testimony."⁴ We may suppose that Manetho did the best he could to

early as the time of Rameses II. there were contradictory traditions of the earlier kings. (Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 28.)

¹ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 104.

² "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 54.

compile a list of the kings of Egypt. We may reasonably doubt whether it was possible for him to do so, and we are certain his list has not come down to us as he left it. Let us now look at the matter of contemporaneous reigns and dynasties. It was the common practice for the heir apparent to be associated with the reigning king as co-regent.¹ We must also bear in mind the probability that one dynasty might have been reigning in one part of Egypt, while, in another part, another tribe or dynasty was in the ascendant. It is not at all doubted that such was actually the case, but it is considered that Manetho made his choice between two rival dynasties, considering one only as legitimate, and giving the kings in that line. Of late years, however, we are not quite so sure on this point. It seems to us extremely likely that confusion has come from this source, especially for the earlier periods.²

It must be evident, then, that at present we are entirely at sea in regard to the dates of early Egyptian history. Scholars differ very widely as to the date of the conquest of Lower Egypt by Menes.³ Still, if we can not arrive at positive results, we are at least sure that no petty term of years expresses this date. Villiers Stuart, in his discussion of the Abydos tablet, comes to the conclusion that the *minimum* date for the accession of Menes is 4124 B. C. He says: "I began my in-

¹ Wilson: work cited, p. 10. Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 37.

² Such, for instance, as the period from the sixth to the eleventh dynasty, and from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty. We will refer to these periods later.

³ The following are some of the results:

Boeckh	5702 B. C.	Lauth.....	4157 B. C.
Unger	5613 B. C.	Lepsius.....	3892 B. C.
Brugsch	4415 B. C.	Bunsen.....	3623 B. C.
Mariette.....	5004 B. C.	Maux	2362 B. C.

See Winchell's discussion of the subject in "Preadamites." He gives a list of nineteen "results" arrived at by different scholars, ranging from 5867 B. C. to 2575 B. C.

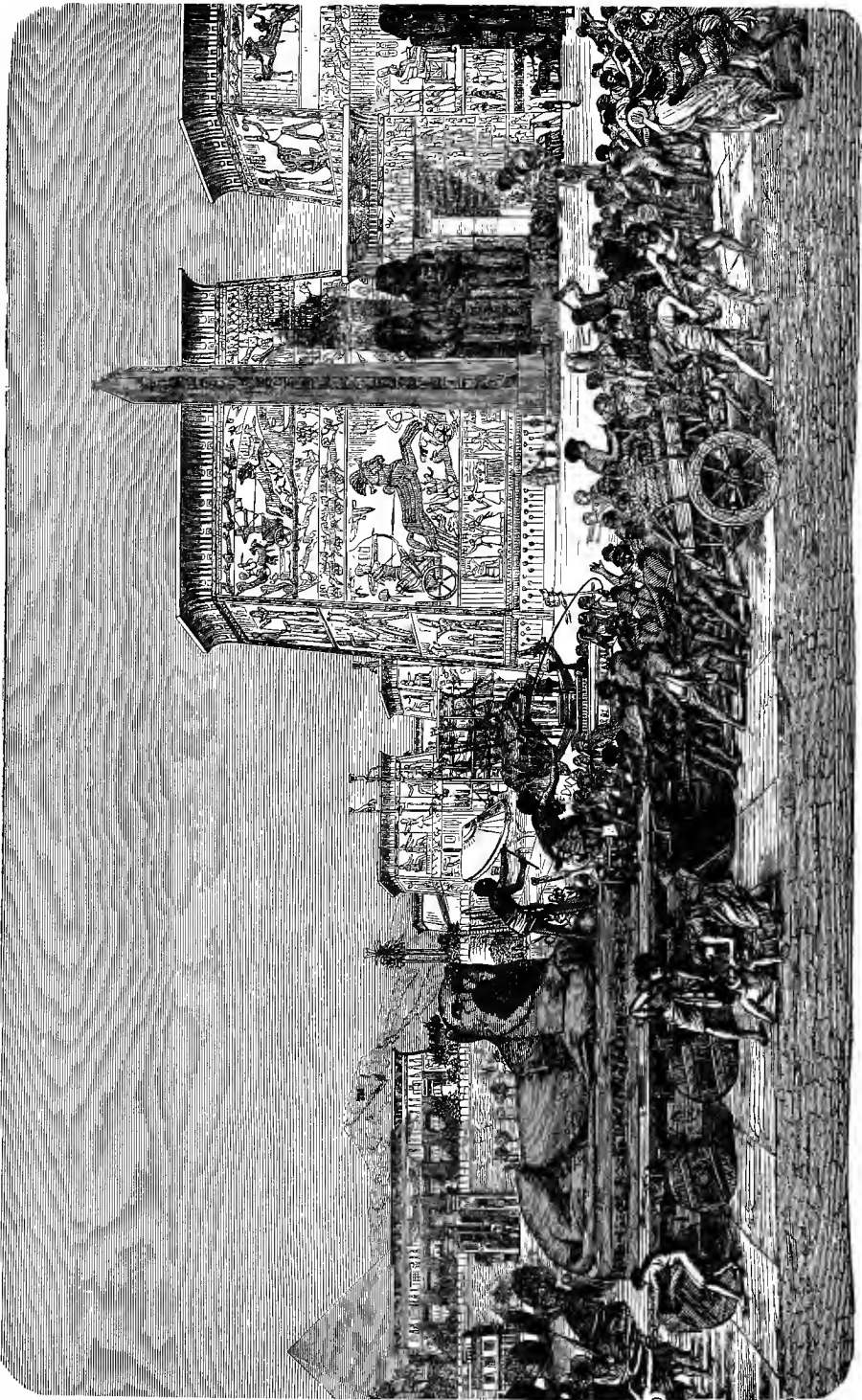
quiries into Egyptian chronology with a strong prejudice against the remote dates claimed, but, after carefully sifting all the evidence I could get at, both from books and from monuments, I can come to no other conclusion." Mariette, who spent a life-time in exploration and study in Egypt, and who carefully considered every side of the question, thinks this event must have occurred upward of fifty centuries before Christ. Prof. Sayce, after remarking that Mariette was exceptional authority on these matters, adds: "But those who have sailed up the Nile, and observed the various phases through which Egyptian art has passed, will be inclined to think that he has rather fallen short of the mark than gone beyond it."¹

We would advise the reader to consider this question as yet open. While the results of future discoveries may establish a date no farther back than twenty-three or four centuries before Christ, yet the probabilities are, if anything, stronger that, as investigation proceeds, this date will remove even beyond Mariette's estimated time.²

We have now arrived at that epoch in Egyptian history known as the "Old Empire." After an unknown number of years, during which the separate tribes had been feeling their way towards a closer national union, the time had at length arrived when the entire country was united under the leadership of one powerful tribe. The seat of this tribe, the home of its worship and culture, was the eighth nome of Upper Egypt, Tenai; but Menes, their tribal chieftain, after securing his conquests, built the city of Memphis, which he made the seat of government for the united country. It is agreed on all sides that he

¹ "Ancient Empires," p. 23.

² For an excellent discussion on Egyptian chronology, see Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," London, 1881, Vol. II., chap. xii.



ERECTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

chose an advantageous site for his new city, which was to command both the provinces of Upper and Lower Egypt.

To make it both "secure and beautiful" (the meaning of the name it bore, Men-nefer), the services of the learned men were called into requisition. Traditionally, he is supposed to have built the great dyke still existing, called the dyke or wall of Cocheiche, which diverted the course of the Nile, which formerly ran near the Libyan hills, more to the eastward. On the territory thus gained, he is supposed to have built his new city, with its temples, fortifications and palaces. This city was extended and adorned by the various kings of the earlier dynasties until it became one of the most celebrated cities of ancient times; but at the present day all that remains of it are low mounds of ruins, the *debris* of ancient houses and temples. We have a description of the ruins as they appeared in the middle ages, written by an Arabian physician, in which he declares that "its ruins still offer to the eyes of the spectators a collection of wonderful works, which confound the intellect, and to describe which the most eloquent man would labor in vain."¹

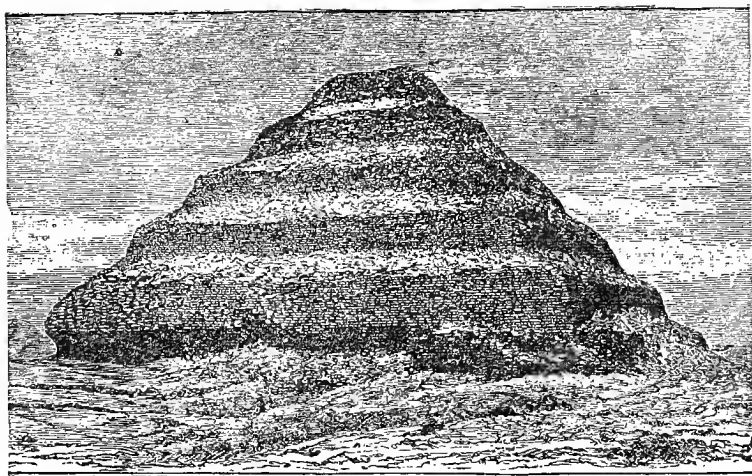
The period of Egyptian history known as the Old Empire generally includes the first ten dynasties, and extends over a period of not far from two thousand years. However, all is confusion before the fourth and after the sixth dynasty. It will be seen that this whole period is one of immense antiquity. According to Mariette, the sixth dynasty came to an end thirty-five centuries B. C.² But this date is subject to change, as our views on early Egyptian dates generally change. According to Manetho,

¹ Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 45.

² See table in "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 22.

the first dynasty comprised a period of three hundred and five years, and a list of nine kings.¹

We know very little of this first dynasty. It would have been very strange indeed if there was not more or less of disorder, during its course, caused by tribes trying to shake off the authority of the tribe of Tenai. Such a state of affairs seems indicated in the names of some of the kings. The tablet at Abydos, carved by Seti I., gives



Pyramid of Sakkarah.

for the third and fourth *Atoto* and *Ata*;² Manetho gives *Kenkenes* and *Unephes* for the same two. A possible explanation suggested by Mariette is that these kings were contemporaneous. Perhaps, for the time, some tribe or confederacy disputed with the Tenai tribe for supremacy; yet the difficulties of deciding on this point are certainly great. We have some reason for supposing that *Ata* built the stepped pyramid at Sakkarah. This is only a

¹ Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 54. The number of kings and duration of the dynasty vary. See Sayce, work cited, p. 277.

² We follow the reading of Prof. Sayce. ("Ancient Empires," p. 233.)

few miles from Memphis, and is, perhaps, the oldest monument of Egyptian art remaining.

We have no record of any foreign wars of the first dynasty, and almost no knowledge of the internal affairs. We need not suppose the three centuries, more or less, of this dynasty were one long period of peace. There were, doubtless, invasions to repulse and rebellions to crush, yet we know nothing of them. Doubtless, advance in Civilization took place. We have seen that one pyramid, perhaps, dates from this dynasty. Certain papyri, found at Thebes, make references to kings of this dynasty. A recipe for making the hair grow is said to date from the reign of Teta, the successor of Menes. Recipes for the curing of leprosy, contained in a papyrus of Rameses II., were said to have been "discovered" in the time of Sapti, the fifth king, and two chapters of the "Ritual of the Dead" are supposed to date from this same early period. Thus it will be seen that, though we call this dynasty historic, after all but little is known about it.

It is necessary to explain somewhat as to a change of dynasty. At the present day, we understand by the word *dynasty* a reigning family whose members succeed each other by right of hereditary succession. When, by reason of revolution or natural causes, such a ruling house comes to an end and a new reigning house is chosen, a new dynasty is inaugurated. To illustrate from English history, the present dynasty is Hanoverian, since they rule by right of hereditary succession from the electress, Sophia of Hanover, on whom the crown was settled by the "act of succession" in the reign of William the Conqueror. As in the case just quoted, a change of dynasty may be provided for and take place in a peaceful manner. Now, the kings of Egypt have been divided into divisions called

dynasties; but a few moments' reflection will show us that it does not necessarily follow that our definition of the word *dynasty* can be applied to them.

The whole conception of a dynasty must remain unknown to a people in a tribal state of society. Of necessity, it can arise only when society has reached a very advanced stage of development. Tribal lines must be removed and the whole people become fused in one. Now we know almost nothing of the state of society amongst the primitive Egyptians; but the presumptions are altogether against there being a state of society such as we naturally picture to ourselves when we talk about dynasties, in the modern sense of the word. The condition of affairs, as regards the ruling house, must have been about as follows: Menes was the ruling chief of the tribe located in the Tenai nome. This tribe succeeds in subjecting all Egypt to its rule. Now, from what we have found true of ancient society in general, no doubt this office of chief was originally elective, the various gentes of the tribe electing their chief as occasion required. The constant tendency of custom is to change this elective office to an hereditary one. No one knows what was the relation between the early kings of Egypt. The son might have succeeded his father in office. The probabilities are that he would do so if he were acceptable to the tribe. We may be equally sure the tribe would reject him and elect another chief if he were not acceptable. There is certainly a large amount of tradition to the effect that the office of king in ancient Egypt was elective.¹

A change of dynasty, then, in ancient Egypt, must mean that some tribe or confederacy has overthrown the ruling tribe, and their chiefs appear to view as kings of

¹ Wilkinson: "Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I.

Egypt. This result, which we arrive at by simply reasoning on the condition of ancient society in general, is borne out by eminent Egyptologists. Brugsch-Bey, after remarking that the nomes remained in a degree independent, and, consequently, were often at war with each other, continues: "The disastrous results of such feuds sometimes affected even the whole dynasty. The reigning family had to descend from its throne and give up the country and crown to the victorious prince of a nome; hence, not unfrequently, arose the changes of dynasty."¹

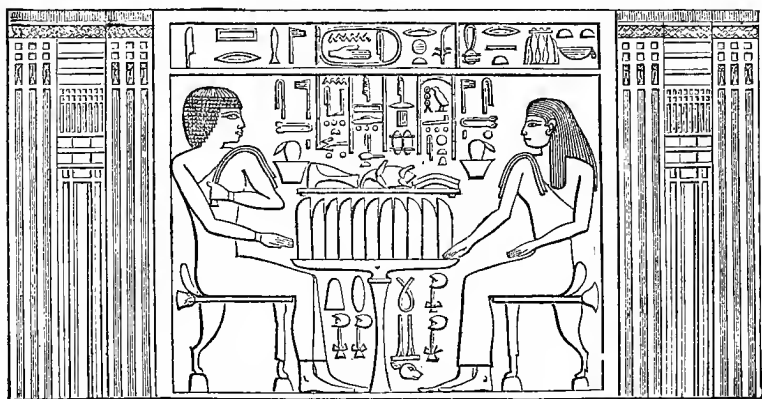
The first dynasty, whose few traditions we have now glanced at, is said to have come to an end with the ninth king. It is called a Thinite dynasty, from the name of the nome or tribe. The second dynasty is also called Thinite. Some suppose there were two branches of the family of Menes, and one, failing direct heirs, was succeeded by the other. We think an explanation more in accordance with the unsettled state of affairs can be given. That the times were turbulent seems shown when we consult respective lists of kings of this dynasty. The Abydos tablet gives us five kings. In the preface of this tablet, we must remember, it was stated that kings of United Egypt were given. The Sakkarah tablet gives seven kings, but only three of these are manifestly the same as those given in the Abydos tablet.² Who were these other four kings, and why is it that Seti left them out of his list? Did they rule a part of Egypt only? Prof. Sayce points out one inscription that seems to show the name of a king not down on any of the lists. These examples show that, in the first place, our knowledge of

¹ "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 17.

² See Sayce's list: "Ancient Empires," p. 283.

these far-away times is scanty, and, second, that there was considerable confusion.

The records are very scant indeed. In the course of some three centuries no war is mentioned, yet, beyond a doubt, they were almost continually at war. In this connection, we might refer to the meanings of the names of the early kings. In nearly every case these names are just such as would be adopted by warrior chiefs generally. We have Menes, "the constant," or "the firm," "he who resists;" Tota, "he who beats;" Kakau, "the bull of



Sculpture from the Tomb of Senta.

bulls," also "the most manly;" Senta, "the terrible;" Huni, "he who strikes," etc.¹

We have a monument of the time of Senta. It is a sculptured slab of limestone, forming a part of the door of the tomb of one of his priests.² A priest and priestess are seated opposite each other, with an ornamental pedestal table between them, over which are placed meat offerings. The columns of hieroglyphics on the wall back of the table enumerate various funeral gifts, including linen

¹ Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 56.

² Found more than two hundred years ago near Memphis, and presented to the Ashmolean Library, Oxford, England. See Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 49.

garments for the mummy. The name of Senta is in the oval in the border above.

Two extracts from Manetho's work concerning this dynasty have come down to us. According to the first extract, it would seem that the worship of the sacred bulls was inaugurated under Kakau. The second extract states that under King Baienneter females were made eligible to the throne. With all due regard to the authority of Manetho, the probabilities are that neither of these extracts is worth anything historically. The probabilities are that Manetho explained, according to his views of what was probable, expressions he found on the old monuments. In regard to the worship of bulls and other animals, we need only remark that, in accordance with what we found true of primitive religion generally, such worship is simply a survival of a more primitive superstition. The probabilities are all against it being a new custom inaugurated by Kakau, of the second dynasty.¹ Further than this, the probabilities are that, long before the time of Kakau, the bull, *apis*, was worshiped at Memphis. The stepped pyramid, described some pages back, probably built by Ata, of the first dynasty, was perhaps erected in his honor.²

With regard to the second extract, we think it equally valueless. Egypt presents us with a strange mixture of Turanian and Semitic culture, as we have already pointed out. As far as the laws of descent are concerned, they may have tenaciously clung to some of the old principles of female descent. Perhaps this is the source of the old

¹ On this point, see Tiele: "Egyptian Religion."

² Harkness: "Egyptian Life and History," London, 1884, p. 15. The smaller chambers of this pyramid were intended to receive the mummified *apis*. We are bound to say there is a question whether these smaller chambers are as ancient as the rest of the structure. (Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 26.)

notion that the children of a queen or royal princess were eligible to the throne, no matter whether her husband was of royal blood or not. "But if, on the contrary, a king married a lady of a noble family, either Egyptian or foreign, the children . . . did not entirely possess a legitimate right to the crown."¹ This is a plain indication of the survival of the old rule in a state of society where we would not expect to find it. It was not a new rule, and from the nature of things each dynasty must have made its own rules.² We simply refer to these extracts from Manetho to show with how much care we must examine what is said of ancient Egypt.³

The third dynasty is called Memphite. We conjecture that the colony at Memphis at length becomes independent of the tribe at Tenai. There is, as usual, a good deal of discrepancy between the lists of Manetho, as we have them, and the monumental lists of the kings of this dynasty. Manetho, as quoted by Africanus, mentions nine kings; the Abydos tablet gives six;⁴ the Sakkarah tablet four, and two of these are different from the Abydos tablet. Now, whether we adopt the suggestion that each temple made its own list and selected those kings who favored that temple, or believe that we see in this confusion evidence of contemporaneous dynasties, one thing is evident—that we have no certain knowledge of these far-away times.

We have, however, now arrived at the opening of a

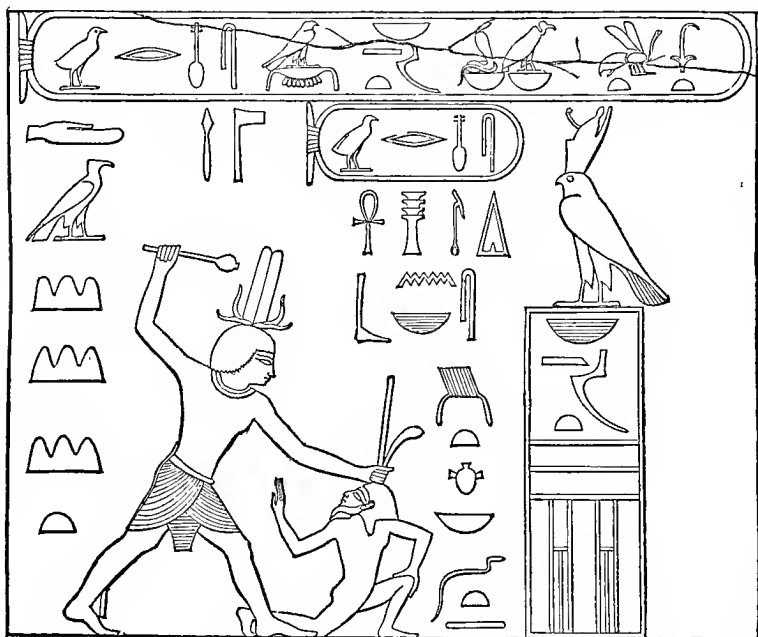
¹ Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 61.

² See Bunsen: "Egypt's Place," etc., Vol. II., p. 107.

³ Rawlinson observes: "It can not be said that any facts are really known of these monarchs." Of the few traditions he says: "Their value would be slight, even were they to be depended on; as the case stands, it is difficult to assign them any value at all. . . . No doubt Manetho found these traditions in Egyptian authorities; but his credulity was great, his critical discernment small, his diligence in research less than might have been expected."

⁴ See Sayce's list.

new epoch in Egyptian history. We are able to speak with more certainty, because we have inscriptions and contemporaneous monuments to help us on our way. The first three dynasties are very shadowy indeed. We can but dimly perceive that we are dealing with a confused, semi-mythical period. With the fourth dynasty, we walk in the clearer light of monumental history. The first



Tablet of Seneferu at Wady Magharah.

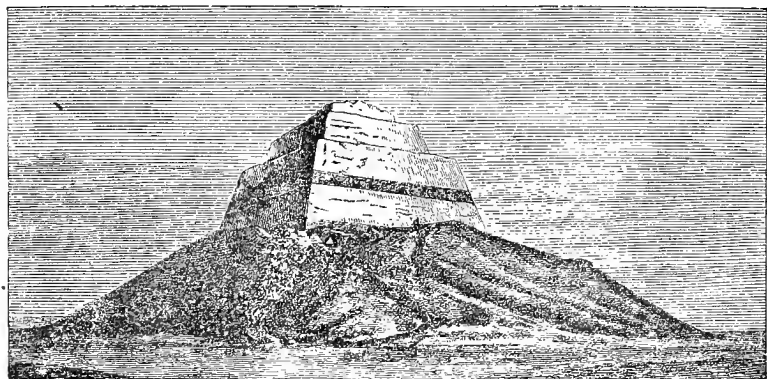
king of this dynasty, Seneferu, is, by the majority of authorities, placed as the last king of the third dynasty;¹ but it seems there is uncertainty on this point.² Manetho heads this dynasty with a king whom he calls Soris. There seems to be no doubt that the immediate prede-

¹ Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 283. Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 55.

² Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 46; "Story of Egypt," p. 54. Birch: "Ancient Egyptians."

cessor of Khufa, Manetho's second king of the fourth dynasty, was Seneferu, since the same queen was the favorite wife of both.¹

The fourth dynasty is also called Memphite. We do not understand the nature of the revolution which placed some other tribe at the head of affairs, but it is clear a change has taken place. Not only do we emerge into the light of history, but we see many indications that Egypt has entered on a new stage of action. Her kings are no longer named by some simple title expressive of personal



Pyramid of Meidoom.

qualities, but by a number of titles expressive of the dignity of their station. Egypt now becomes a conquering power. Seneferu was "distinguished alike as a soldier, an architect and a patron of literature and art."² As a soldier, he led his army into the peninsula of Sinai, attracted thence, probably, by the rich mineral mines and especially the copper mines. The inscription, engraved on the rocks of Wady Magharah, commemorates his victory. The long oval at the top reads, from right to left, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Justice, Van-

¹ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 62.

² Ibid., p. 55.

quisher of his Adversaries, S-nefer-r-u.”¹ In this section, there can still be traced the remains of the fortress, within which the Egyptian garrison was stationed who held the country so valiantly gained.

We have still another monument of this king. It is the pyramid of Meidoom, shown in the preceding cut.² It is considered as probable that the body of this warrior king still sleeps in some yet undiscovered chamber of this secure pyramid.

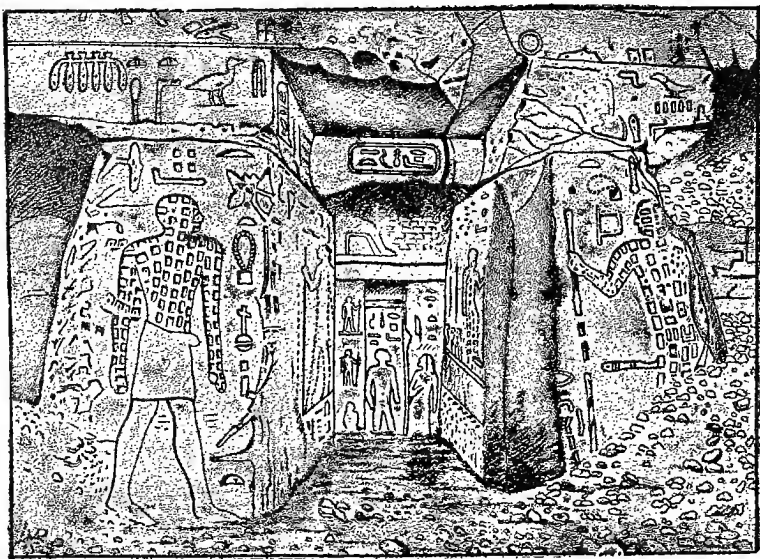
Meidoom is some forty miles south of Memphis, and we can but wonder why Seneferu should have built his pyramid so far away. His was not an isolated tomb; but a few hundred yards away is to be found a collection of tombs of this dynasty, all of great interest. We will present a cut of one of these tombs; it is that of Prince Nofer-ma or Nefermat. He is supposed to have been a son of Seneferu. It is constructed of immense blocks, laid in regular order and built against the vertical face of a rocky shelf. A large portal opens into a narrow chamber visible from without. It will be seen that every part of the wall is carved with bas-reliefs and hieroglyphics, or with figures represented in mosaics, with colored cement. On the left of the entrance is represented Nofer-ma and his wife—the latter figure but dimly outlined—clasping his right arm. On the left is the prince and his son, only a portion of the child being visible.

At the far end of the chamber he is again represented in company with his wife, their names being sculptured over their heads. Above the doorway, but barely visible, he is contemplating his funeral gifts; the sides of the

¹ Rawlinson: “Ancient Egypt,” Vol II., p. 48.

² Brugsch, Wilson and Sayce all admit this to be his pyramid. Mariette remarks: “There is some reason to suppose that Seneferu was its builder.” Rawlinson thinks the data at hand scarcely sufficient to determine this point.

entrance represent triumphal scenes in his life. The tomb of his wife, but a short distance away, is even more richly decorated, and in paintings a curious and happy scene is spread before our eyes. "The husband is employed in netting birds; the game is conveyed by servants to the princess seated on her chair. At the end of the chamber, the wife, in the presence of her husband, lays her hand upon her breast, as though she would express her infinite



Tomb of Nofer-ma.

devotion to her lord, whilst around we see the preparation for a feast, the slaughter of a spotted antelope and the carrying of the provisions to the banquet table: all this is clearly shown, even though the earthquake has seriously disturbed the massive stones."¹

In still a third tomb of this group was discovered two remarkable statues, being those of Prince Rahotep and his wife, Princess Nefert. We call especial attention to these

¹ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 62.

figures, both for the general excellency of the work and the features represented. Villiers Stuart remarks: "On looking at them, one is immediately struck by the European character of the features."¹

The other kings of this dynasty emulated the example of Seneferu. Like him, they built for themselves stupendous pyramids for tombs; but as we expect to describe the pyramids more par-

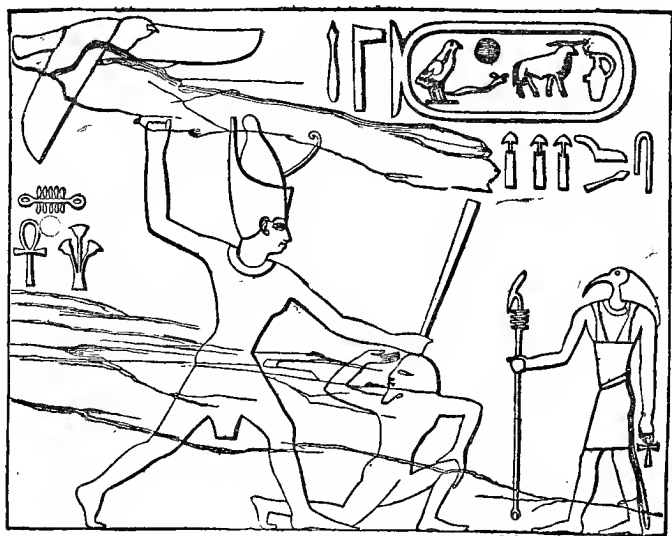


Statues of Rahotep and Nefert.

ticularly later, we will not attempt it in this place. We wish to remark that the new governing power in Egypt seems to us to display, in several respects, the workings of a tribal state of society. That the ruling tribe dominated over the others is, of course, admitted; but within the tribe itself we have several indications that all stood on a plane of equality. Their chiefs, the kings, were, of course, treated with the greatest of honor and respect; but we doubt if these offices were hereditary. The truth of these remarks will be seen as we outline the history of the fourth and fifth dynasties.

¹ "Nile Gleanings," p. 282.

Seneferu had at least one son who survived him; yet the office of king passed to a third person, who subsequently married Mertetfes, the widow of Seneferu. This king is known to us from the monuments as Khufa, and is the Cheops of history. Some have supposed he was an usurper. The probabilities are that the office of king was elective, and that the ruling tribe rejected the son of Seneferu and chose Khufa in his stead. He is known to be

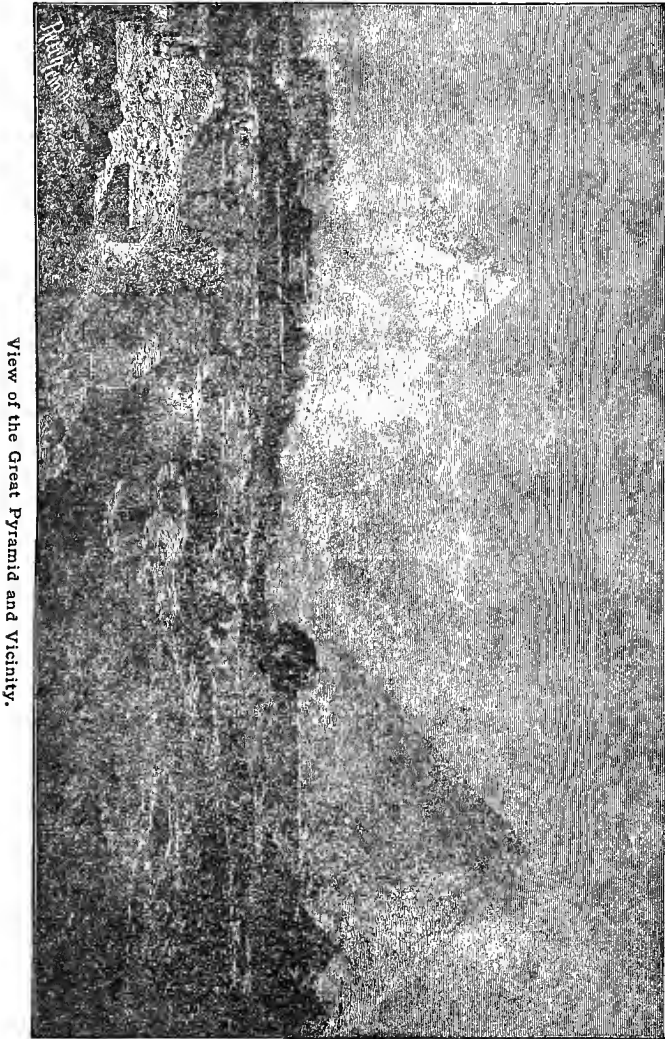


Tablet of Khufa at Wady Magharah.

the builder of the Great Pyramid, and was a warlike prince.

He made at least two expeditions to Sinai, and left the above inscription behind him, carved on the rocks of Wady Magharah, which represents him as striking down the chief of that district. As builder of the Great Pyramid, Khufa comes before us as a king of great ability and power. Passing by, for the present, all questions whether the building of the pyramid was the des-

potic act of a tyrant,¹ or a wise measure, furnishing employment to the people when the overflowing Nile prevented



View of the Great Pyramid and Vicinity.

all other work,² it remains true that a large body of inhabitants must have been subject to the ruling tribe.

¹ The view of older writers generally.

² Petrie: "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 83.



Statue of Khafra.

According to the Abydos and Sakkarah tablets, Khufa was followed by a king named Ratatf.¹ Several monu-

¹ Wilson gives this name as Tetefra; we follow Sayce.

mental evidences of his existence are known,¹ and it is somewhat singular that these two tablets should contain his name if he were not a noted king. In the tomb of Queen Mertetfes, he is not mentioned. It is, therefore, supposed that he reigned but a few months at most.² He was followed by Khafra, the Cephren of Herodotus. Here, again, we must notice that though Khufa had a number of sons, they were all passed by, and a chief not known to be related to Khufa chosen for the office of ruling chief or king. It is, indeed, suggested that he was married to the daughter of Khufa, and reigned in her right.³ There is not a particle of evidence for this theory. This king was the builder of the second pyramid, bringing, for a portion of this work, granite from the very extremity of Upper Egypt.

We possess a remarkable monument of Khafra; it is nothing less than his statue. His connection with some other structures near the Great Pyramid will be considered in its appropriate place. Among the titles of this king is one of considerable interest, since, though common on later monuments, it here makes its first appearance; that is, *Sa Ra*, or "Son of Ra"—Ra being the sun-god.⁴ The successor of Khafra was Menkara, a person not known to be related to Khafra, who had at least two sons survive him. He was the builder of what is known as the Third Pyramid.⁵ It is called the Red Pyramid, because its external casing was the red granite of Seyene. The

¹ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 84.

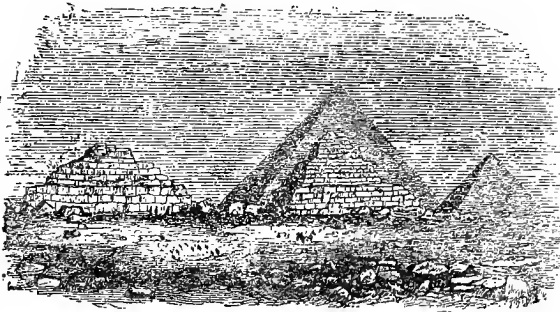
² Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 257. But on this point we can not be sure. We know he had a "prophet" (Wilson, p. 84); so he might have had a pyramid and temple.

³ Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., pp. 61, 62.

⁴ Ra was the sun-god of Heliopolis. Perhaps this points to increasing influence of the Delta tribes.

⁵ See Petrie: "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 63.

design of the pyramid was evidently changed after the construction was commenced; and tradition has it that this was due to a far later sovereign, but tradition is here



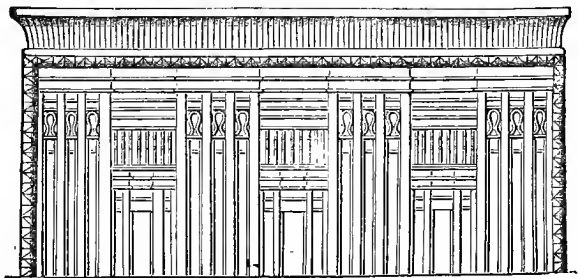
View of the Third Pyramid.

probably at fault.¹ In this pyramid, Colonel Vyse found the immense sarcophagus of Menkara, and a wooden mummy-case

with his hieroglyphics on it. The lid contained, in hieroglyphic writing, the following address to the mummy: "O Osiris, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkara,



Mummy-case of Men-ka-ra.



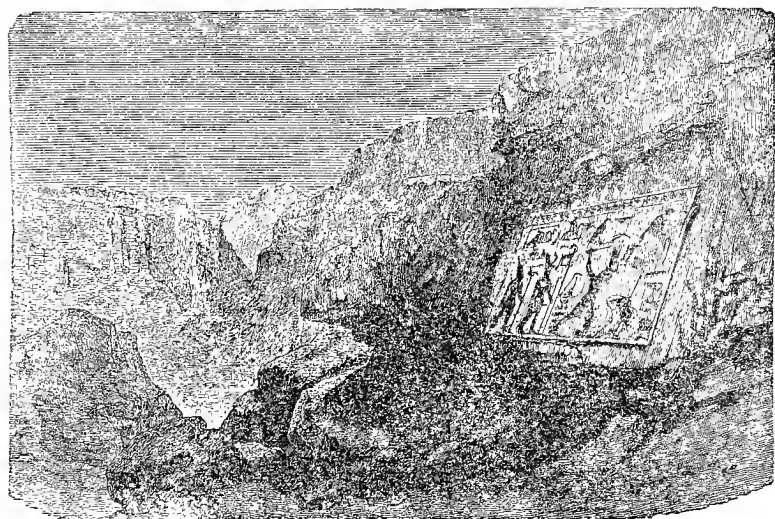
Sarcophagus of Men-ka-ra.

living eternally, engendered by the Heaven, born of Nut, substance of Seb, thy mother, Nut, stretches herself over thee in her name of the abyss of Heaven. She renders thee divine by destroying all thine enemies, O King Menkara, living eternally."²

¹ Petrie: "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 63.

² Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II, p. 64.

We are now introduced to a long series of years containing but little to detain us. Manetho speaks of a change of dynasty one reign later than the time of Menkara. It is the opinion of some of the later scholars that there was no good reason for him to make such a division. We are, at any rate, ignorant of the revolution, if any occurred. Memphis continued to be the capital, and, as far as we can decide from the monuments, Egyptian



Tablet of Sakura at Wady Magharah.

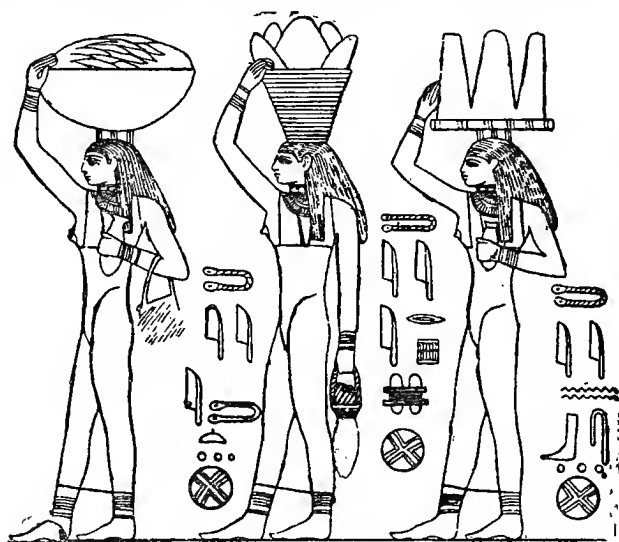
affairs continued in the same channel.¹ Menkara was succeeded by Ases-ka-f, though this name is also spelled differently, some preferring to call him Shep-sesk-af.² He also built a pyramid which was called "Keb the Cool."³

In Manetho's fifth dynasty we have a list of nine kings. The monuments give us the names of ten. We have but little to say of this dynasty. A tablet at Wady Magharah

¹ Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 63.

² Sayce and De Rouge prefer the former term; Brugsch and Rawlinson the latter. ³ Sayce says this was the Brick Pyramid; others think it not yet identified.

represents the second king, Sakura, as a conqueror in that section. The fourth king of this dynasty, Nofer-ar-ka-ra,¹ gave his daughter, Nefer-ho-tep, in marriage to a man by the name of Ti. His tomb, discovered at Sakkarah, was brilliantly illustrated with scenes of his life. We present two views of the same. The first represents a procession of his female slaves, each carrying some article of his property; the second, a procession of donkeys, laden with



Scene from the Grave of Ti.

panniers of grain. The load of the second donkey is about falling, and we notice what energetic steps the men servants are taking to prevent the threatened catastrophe. Other scenes represent Ti hunting and fishing in the Nile.²

We have a picture of the eighth king of this dynasty, Men-kau-hor, found on a slab built into one of the walls of the Serapeum at Memphis. The reign of the ninth king, Tat-ka-ra, is of interest to us, since, in a tomb of this

¹ See Sayce's list, p. 284. The spelling varies in different authorities.

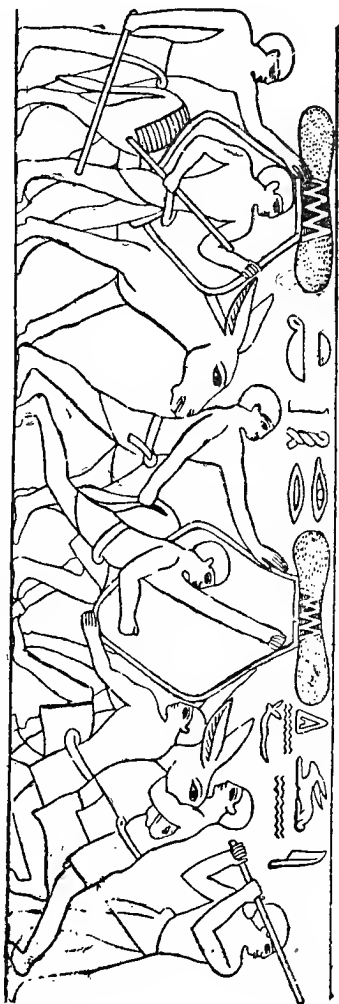
² See Villiers Stuart; "Nile Gleanings," Chap. vi.

period, was found the most ancient manuscript known to us, written by Ptah-hotep, the son of some former king. It is called the "Precepts of Ptah-hotep." It was written when its author was a very old man, and is a treatise on philosophy.

One of its most beautiful passages is as follows: "If thou art become great after thou hast been humble, and if thou hast amassed riches after poverty, being because of that the first in thy town, if thou art known for thy wealth and art become a great lord, let not thy heart become proud because of thy riches, for it is God who is the author of them for thee. Despise not another who is as thou wert; be towards him as towards thy equal." And here is another full of practical sense: "Let thy face be cheerful as long as thou livest; has any one come out of the coffin after having once entered it?"¹

With the tenth king of this dynasty, Unas, about whom but little is known, the period of Egyptian history commencing with Seneferu comes to a close. It is the first

Scene from the Grave of Ti.



¹ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 108.

historical period of Egypt proper. During this entire period, we have not one instance in which it is known that a son succeeded the father. We have several instances in which we are sure that surviving sons of a deceased king were passed by and another person elected



Men-kan-hor.

to the office of king. The probabilities are that this office was elective. The kings are generally spoken of as ruling over Upper and Lower Egypt. Whether this be a fact or not is another thing. Certain it is that all the historical monuments are located near Memphis, though, as we have seen,

they worked the copper mines at Wady Magharah, and they also brought granite from Seyene. Still we are not sure of the extent of their territory.¹

The sixth dynasty opens up a new chapter. The Turin papyrus regarded Unas as closing an important period of history. It then gives the number of kings up to that time and the years of their reign. Manetho seems to be in some uncertainty as to the name of this

¹ See Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 98.

dynasty. He calls the fifth dynasty Elephantine, and the sixth dynasty Memphite, thus indicating that there was considerable difference between these two dynasties. The monuments, as read by modern scholars, change this order somewhat. As we have said, we can detect no reason for dividing the kings from Seneferu to Unas into two dynasties; for all we can see, they were both Memphite. But the so-called sixth dynasty has its seat of power further up the river. It is no more Memphis and its neighborhood alone, but it is in an especial manner Middle Egypt, which, henceforth, reveals to us recollections of the kings.¹ It is certain that the kings of the sixth dynasty sometimes visited Elephantine, whether they came from there or not.²

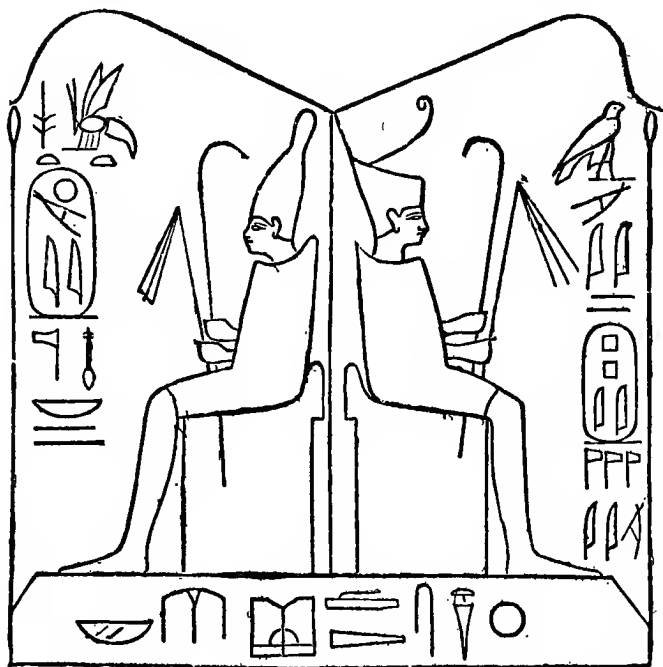
It is to be noticed that the invasion comes from the south. There was undoubtedly a period of confusion preceding the ushering in of the new ruling tribe. It is doubtless for this reason that a discrepancy occurs between the various lists of kings.³ The first great king of the new dynasty, perhaps the first to securely unite the country under his rule, was Pepi, though he was also called Merira. We have one tablet in which two representations of him appear, seated back to back, one named Pepi and one Merira. With the sixth dynasty we have the first historical evidence of a united Egypt, and Pepi appears as the first great warrior. His name has been found on a carved block at Tanis, in the north-eastern part of the Delta, and the rocks of Seyene are also covered with his inscriptions.

We find Pepi exercising authority over the Negro

¹ Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 96. Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 97. ² Inscriptions of Unas, in "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 4.

³ See Sayce's list, p. 284.

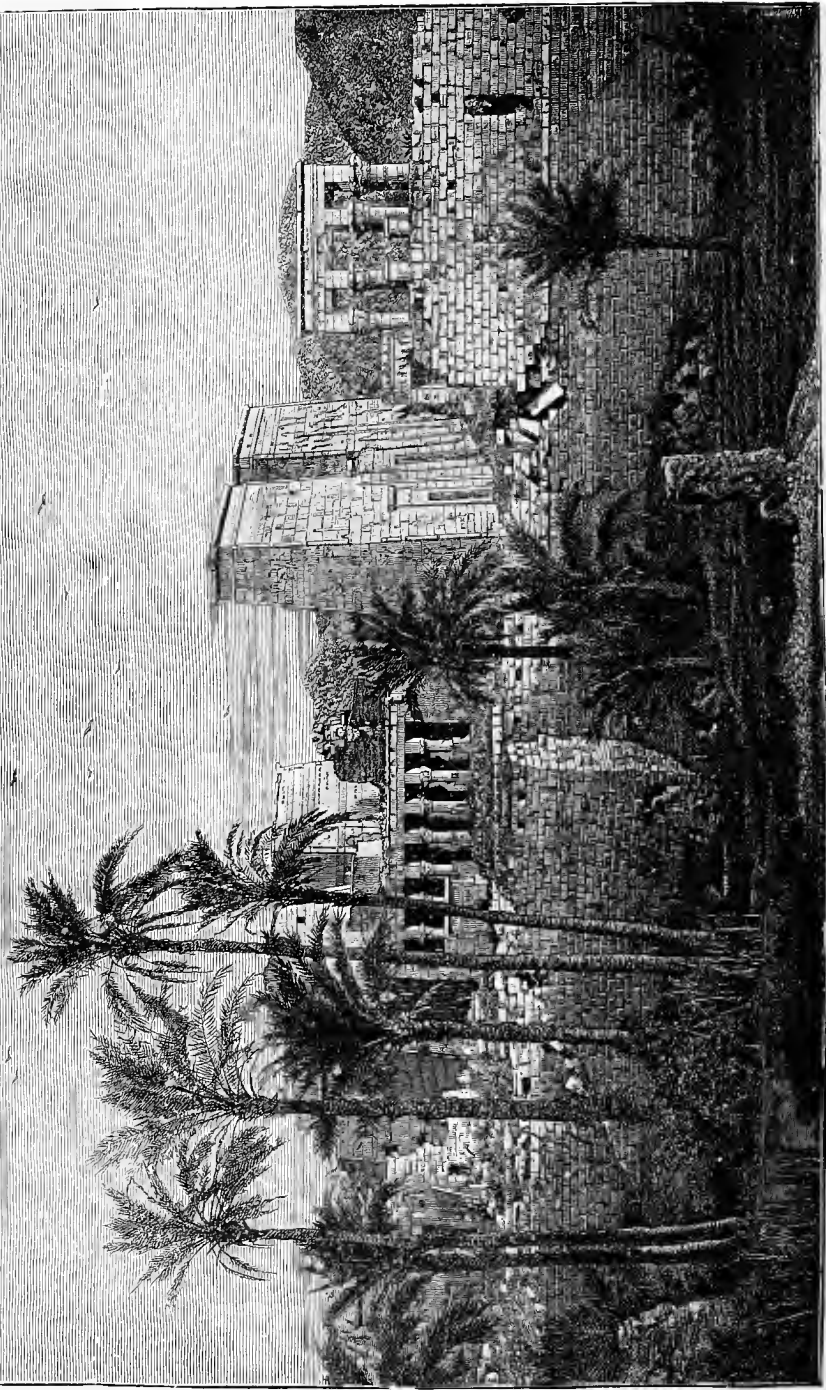
tribes of Soudan. A large part of his army was composed of recruits gathered from thence. Considerable speculation has been indulged in as to when this conquest of Soudan occurred, and why it is that we do not hear of it at an earlier date in Egyptian history. We doubt whether Soudan was ever under the rule of the Memphite kings.



Tablet of Pepi.

It might have been long subject to the tribe at Elephantine, and perhaps this explains why it was that this tribe from the extreme south was able to subjugate all Egypt.

We have already pointed out that we need not be sure of the extent of authority of the Memphite kings in the Delta. Certain it is that King Pepi gathered an army to complete his conquests in that section. We find him subduing and driving out tribes from the Delta. These



RUINS—ISLAND OF ELEPHANTINE.

were probably Semitic tribes from Western Asia, or they may have been Hittite tribes from Asia Minor. These various details from the life of Pepi are known mainly from inscriptions in the tomb of his principal minister, Una.¹ Another thing we are to notice is that the crown now passes by inheritance, Pepi being succeeded by his eldest son, Mer-en-ra.

All the great empires of antiquity stood on foundations of sand. They failed to grasp the true idea of empire. They kept tribal lines distinct, and demanded of the subjected tribes tribute, while permitting them to conduct their own affairs as seemed to them good. The empire was a loose conglomeration of separate states held together by fear, which would certainly attempt to recover their independence whenever they deemed the occasion propitious. When by such means the ruling tribe was overthrown, a period of anarchy, of a longer or shorter duration, nearly always ensued. Finally some other tribe or people, by a combination of successful circumstances, would succeed in making themselves masters. It is evident that they held this position only by means of brute force. This was at least true for a time; but when a long succession of vigorous princes had administered the affairs of the new empire, the various tribes, grown accustomed to the new order of things, would not be so apt to attempt a revolution.

We have seen that the fifth dynasty was succeeded by a period of confusion, and then the so-called sixth dynasty comes before us. We have just given a brief sketch of Pepi, the great king, perhaps the founder of this dynasty. His successors were by no means his equal. His eldest son, Mer-en-ra, did not reign long. He was succeeded by

¹ See "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 3.

Nofer-ka-ra, the second son of Pepi. Of these two kings we know but little, though the latter is supposed to have reigned for twenty years. His successor is said to have been a queen, Nitocris. We have no monumental evidence of her reign, but Manetho and the Turin papyrus both mention her. Tradition has it that she finished the third great pyramid, begun long before by Men-ka-ra; but Petrie's researches seem to contradict this tradition: he decides that the style of work was all of the fourth dynasty.¹

The reign of Nitocris, if there were such a queen, is supposed to have closed the sixth dynasty, and with it the oldest period of Egyptian history. A period of unknown duration, lasting possibly for some centuries, intervenes, and, during all this time, we know almost nothing of Egyptian history. The monuments are silent, and we can only surmise that there was no strong and stable government in all Egypt. The country was divided into a number of little confederacies. When next the clouds disappear, we are conscious of considerable change in culture. Let us here stop and summarize the history of the older period, and glance at its Civilization.

Of the six dynasties of the older writers, the first three are in no very strict sense of the word historical. None of the monumental lists of the kings agree. We do not know the grounds Manetho had for his divisions. All we need be sure about is that preceding the fourth dynasty was a period as yet but little known, when a line of kings at Memphis ruled a considerable section of Egypt. It is, however, useless to attempt to define the extent of their territory or power. Commencing with Seneferu, we come upon a line of kings, for the existence of which we have

¹ "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 64.

considerable monumental evidence. Manetho divides this list into two dynasties; on what grounds it is impossible to say. A time of confusion now ensues, and a tribe from the south, possibly from Elephantine, who seem previously to have subjected Ethiopia, succeeded in reducing all Egypt to their rule. Their great King Pepi is the first king of whose rule in the Delta we have historical evidence. This energetic tribe, for a brief period, averted the downward course of the Old Empire; for only a few reigns pass until the historic light suddenly dies away: the Old Empire is a thing of the past.

Let us now inquire more particularly into the culture of this Old Empire, whose history we have now outlined. If we have difficulty in drawing up an historical outline, we may expect a still greater difficulty in coming to any conclusion as to its culture. In fact, on some points, we know almost nothing with certainty. We have pointed out that the king seems to have been an elective officer. We have no evidence on this point further than what we have already given.¹ He was, of course, an official of great power and importance, and entitled to and receiving very great respect and honor. We learn in one place that ordinary people, at least, were expected to prostrate themselves before the king.² The authority of the king is generally represented as being absolute; but we believe Prof. Sayce is right when he asserts that "affairs were really managed by an organized bureaucracy."³

The council, that constant phenomenon of tribal society,

¹ The Prissi papyrus, speaking of the accession of Seneferu, says: "Then was raised up the holiness of King Seneferu." The language seems to indicate some mode of election. As to classical traditions, see Wilkinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. I.

² Inscription from the tomb of Ptah-ases, at Sakkarah, of the fourth dynasty.

³ "Ancient Empires," p. 85.

was undoubtedly in existence, but it must have varied under each dynasty. We catch glimpses of a council of thirty at a later era.¹ Each subordinate nome appears to have been free to govern its own affairs, and we may be sure that the usual workings of tribal society were here to be seen. They were compelled to yield tribute to the ruling tribe, and to furnish their complement of soldiers in case of war; but we may be reasonably sure that, in matters of religion and law, the ruling tribe neither claimed nor exercised any authority. In times of war, the king appeared as commander-in-chief, but his council of thirty accompanied him, and probably exercised some sort of authority over him.² The soldiers of the subjected nomes were probably immediately under their own tribal officers, but all superior officers were members of the ruling tribe.³

Of course, the great monuments of this period are the pyramids. They have been described so often that we need only make some general remarks in reference to them. The pyramids are simply the final development of the tombs of a simpler age. The first material made use of in Egypt for building purposes was undoubtedly wood. All buildings composed of this material long since disappeared, yet in the oldest and most archaic form of stone structures the ornamentations there displayed are clearly copies of wooden structures. Here, for instance, is the door of a tomb near the pyramid. The forms here carved in stone are simply copies of what previously existed, in a natural state, in wooden structures.

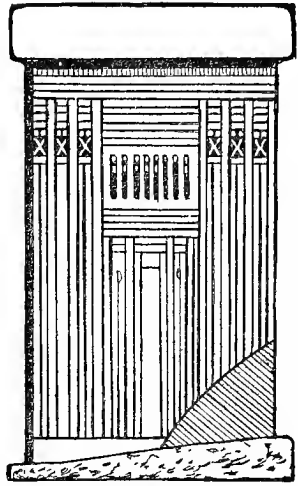
The Egyptians, along with their other religious notions,

¹ Birch: "Egypt from the Earliest Times," xviii.

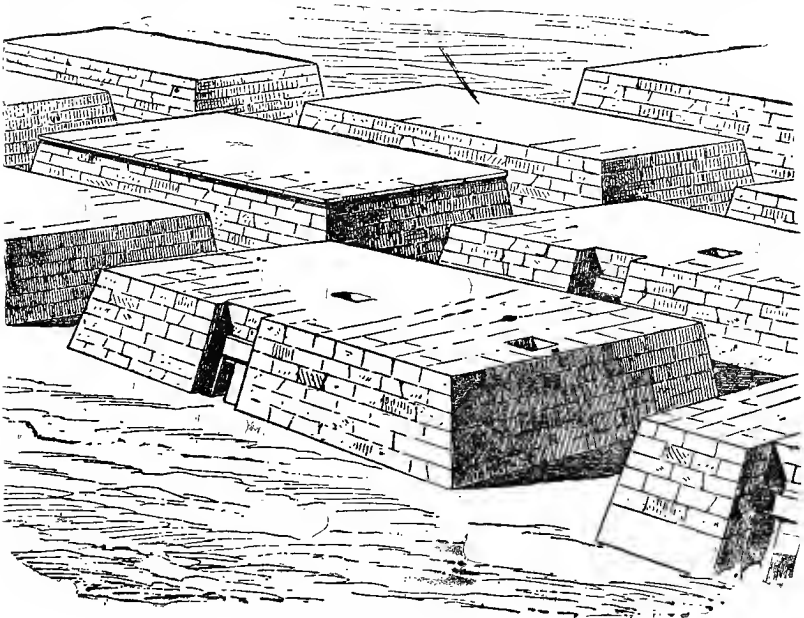
² Ibid.

³ This appears in the account of the army gathered by Una for Pepi; but supply the reading in note 1. ("Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 5.)

undoubtedly believed that the future life was to be, in the main, a continuation of the present. Hence their anxiety to build enduring tombs, and to carve and paint on their walls a history of the life of the deceased; for this tomb was to be the eternal home of the departed, and the scenes there portrayed would constantly recall to them happy events in earthly life. So the tomb of the first period took its rise. To make it enduring, they used stone before they thought of using it in other structures; and, as we have seen, the doorways are carved to imitate wooden ones. Such a tomb always consisted of three parts. The first part is

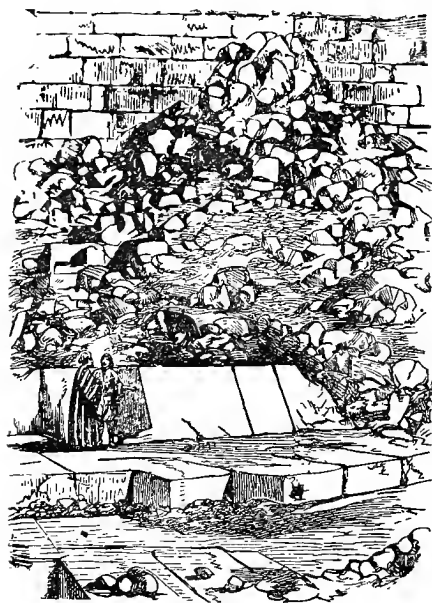


Doorway of a Tomb, Carved to Imitate Wood.



Ancient Tombs at Gizeh.

the small building rising above the ground. This was the ornamented part. In this place relatives assembled from time to time, bringing offerings for the deceased, to whom they prayed for protection, for Ancestor worship was strongly developed amongst the ancient Egyptians.¹ The body was not buried in this part of the tomb. A rectangular and vertical well opens in some corner of this building, the depth of which varies. At the bottom



Outer Casing-Stone of the Great Pyramid.

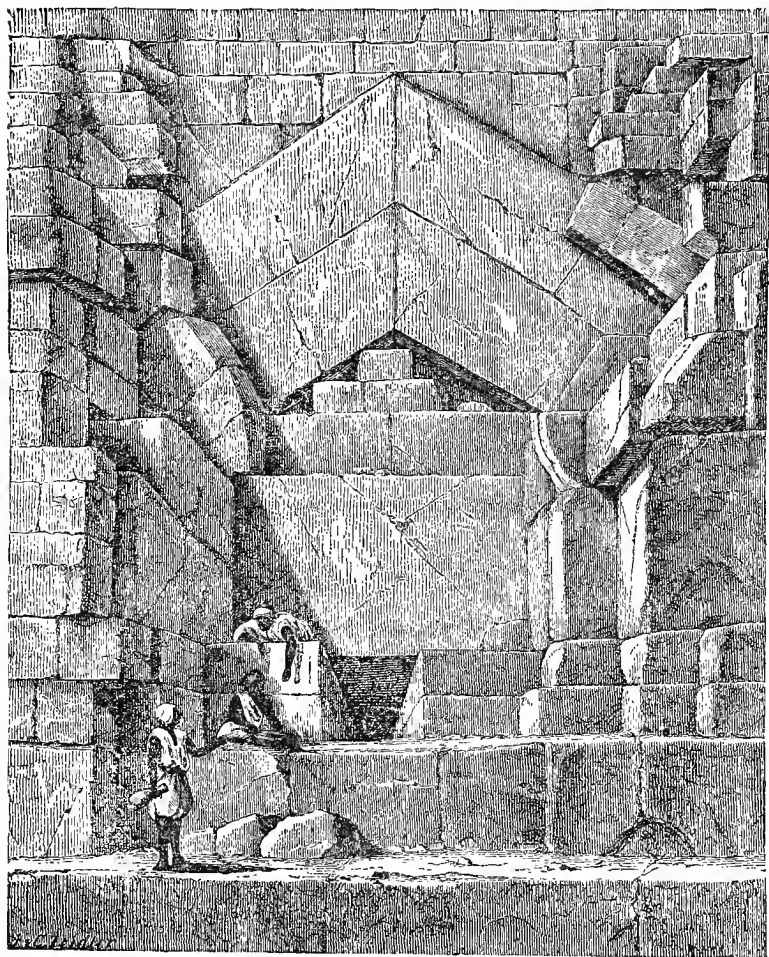
is the subterranean mausoleum, where the mummy was placed; but we are concerned with this external part, the mastaba. The pyramid is this mastaba, greatly enlarged, the sloping sides carried nearly to a point, and mainly built solid throughout. They were built as tombs for the Egyptian kings, and their greater size and magnificence were due to the exalted station of the king.

The stepped pyramid at Sakkarah² gives us the idea of how pyramids were built. In the complete pyramid, when the structure was brought, by this succession of smaller superimposed platforms, nearly to a point, a facing was added, composed of finely-cut polished stones, which left the outer surface one uniform slope throughout. This has mainly fallen, or rather it has been removed to erect

¹ Rawlinson; "Story of Egypt," p. 58.

² See cut, p. 478.

other buildings with. Each pyramid contains one or more chambers, in one or more of which kings were buried. True to the original form of the tomb, this

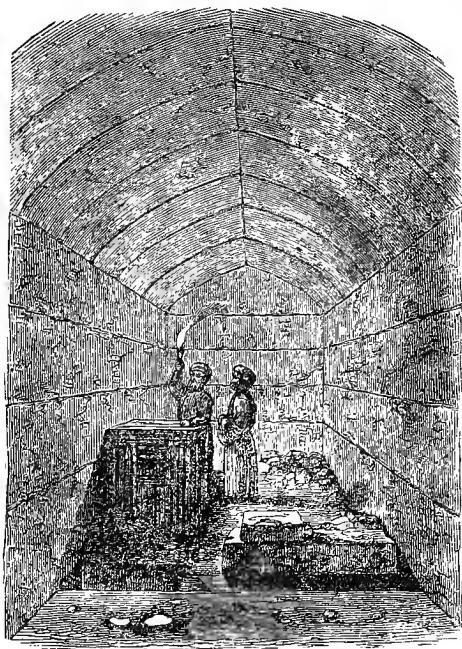


Entrance to the Great Pyramid.

burial chamber was sometimes excavated in the rocks on which the pyramid rested. This was the case in each of the great pyramids. A sloping passage-way, lined with

finely cut and polished granite, led from the surface to this sepulchral chamber. This is a view of the burial chamber in the third pyramid.

Once some seventy pyramids were to be found strewn along the desert from Memphis to Meidoom. Each of these was the tomb of a departed king. None of the elements of Egyptian chronology gives a person a clearer



Tomb Chamber in the Third Pyramid.

idea of the passage of a long lapse of years than this array of pyramids. We must remember that the building of pyramids went out of fashion about or before the eleventh dynasty; before that time, then, at least seventy kings reigned in Egypt of sufficient strength and importance to rear for themselves these stately tombs.¹ They vary greatly in size.

The pyramid of Khufa, known as the Great Pyramid, is the largest, and was reckoned as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. It has been described so very often that we will simply content ourselves with giving in a note some of its dimensions, and other items of interest concerning it.²

¹ See Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 316.

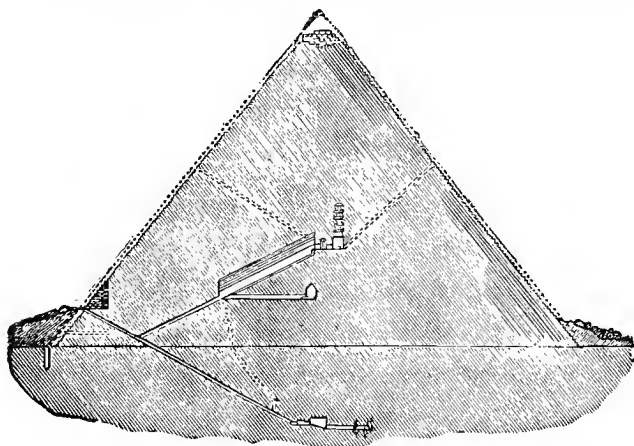
² For a view of this pyramid, see page 491. The dimensions taken from Petrie's

The three greater pyramids are close together. In connection with the second pyramid, that of Khafra, some other structures deserve mention. We have seen that ordinary tombs were provided with a memorial room, where the survivors met to pray to their ancestors, and to bring them offerings and sacrifices. When the mastaba was converted for the kings into a pyramid, small tem-

excellent work, "The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," are as follows, expressed in British-Imperial inches:

Length of north side.....	9069.4 inches.
Length of south side.....	9069.5 "
Length of west side.....	9068.6 "
Length of east side.....	9067.7 "

The height is 5776 inches. Around the entire pyramid there was a limestone pavement, varying in width from 529 to 628 inches; in thickness, from 17 to 27 inches. On the east side was a section of basalt pavement—blocks of basalt laid on a pavement of limestone. This section of the Great Pyramid gives us an idea of



Plan of the Great Pyramid.

the construction of the chambers and passages. The door-way, of which a view has been given, was entirely concealed by the casing, since the Arabs, near the beginning of the eighth century, forced a passage-way nearly one hundred feet in length through the solid masonry of the pyramid before striking the passage-way, following which they found the door-way. Some of the blocks used in the lower part of the pyramid are of very great size, weighing upwards of fifty tons. A great number of theories have been maintained in regard to this pyramid. Later scholars have so utterly rejected them that it is not worth our while to consider them.

ples were built in the immediate vicinity, where the dead kings were worshiped as gods. Such a temple probably stood on or near the basalt pavement of the Great Pyramid.¹ There was, similarly, a small temple in front of each of the second and third pyramids.² We might remark, in passing, that the priesthood of such a temple was a position of high honor. From the temple in front of the second pyramid a graded causeway, over a quarter of



The Sphinx of Gizeh.

a mile in length, and about fifteen feet in width, conducted to a second temple situated near the Sphinx, which has occasioned a great deal of discussion as to its age. We have already mentioned it as a possible monument of the age preceding Khufa.³

There seems to be some question, also, whether it be a temple or a tomb.⁴ We have all evidence that the graded way leading from the temple of the second pyramid was

¹ Petrie: "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 50.

² Mariette: "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 69.

³ See page 467.

⁴ See Mariette's discussion: "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 72.

lined with tombs.¹ It was in connection with this temple that the statue of Khafra² was discovered, and it is quite probable that this temple was also built by him.

All are further aware that in the immediate neighborhood of the three pyramids there is located that remarkable monument, the Sphinx. This is a natural rock, to which has been given the form of that mythical animal. The head has been sculptured to represent the head of an Egyptian king. Where the natural rock itself was not sufficient, rather clumsy masonry pieced it out. The body has been almost entirely buried in the sand. At present, its age has not been authoritatively determined. Mariette decides that it is older than the reign of Khufa;³ but the ground of this decision rests on a tablet found in a temple of the twenty-first dynasty, and Petrie shows that we can not rely on it.⁴ So we may be very doubtful whether the Sphinx be really a monument of the Old Empire.⁵

As to the customs, manners, mode of life and other details of their home culture, our information is solely derived from the painting on the walls of the tombs of their principal men. Rather than make any long comments on this branch of our subject, we prefer to let the cuts speak for themselves. Those thus far presented are scenes from tombs of the Old Empire.⁶

We now approach an important yet difficult portion of our inquiry; that is, the religion of the Old Empire. It is important because, as we have seen, the religious culture of a people is a good index of the general culture. It is difficult because there are so many conflicting views

¹ See Petrie, work cited.

² See page 492.

³ "Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 71.

⁴ "Pyramids of Gizeh," p. 65.

⁵ More recent authority still seems to be in favor of the more ancient date. (See Maspero, in "American Journal of Archaeology" for 1886.)

⁶ Tombs of Ptah-hotep, etc.

as to what was Egyptian religion. We will attempt to give a general outline of this earliest period. Let us first make some general remarks on this subject. Unless we are completely in error in regard to the development of primitive religion in general, there must once have been a time when each tribe of the primitive Egyptians had a religion of its own, for religion, at an early stage, is always tribal. Though closely related tribes, as the Egyptians undoubtedly were, have much in common, yet the gods they worshiped must have been tribal gods, and the gods of one tribe were not supposed to have any interest in the gods of another.

We have also spoken of the mixture of people in Egypt and the probable conquest of a Turanian population by a Semitic people from the south. This mixture betrays itself in matters of religion and culture; for we certainly have, in the case of Egypt, a strange mixture of the lower and higher forms of religion. A few moments' reflection will show us the truth of this. Every one knows that one of the strangest features in Egyptian religion was animal worship. This is surely a survival of the lower stage of religious conception. We have seen that there are several lines of savage thought leading to the worship of animals. Among these, one of the most prominent is the totemic system. As people approach Civilization, and descent passes into the male line, this form of worship tends to disappear. Its survival amongst the cultivated people of Egypt is certainly very strange.

We have pointed out, also, the prevalence of Ancestor worship. On this point there seems to be no question amongst our modern investigators. As we have seen, the earliest tombs were provided with chambers, in which the members of the family met from time to time "and went

through various ceremonies—sang hymns, poured libations and made offerings—which were regarded as pleasing to the departed, and which secured protection and help to such of their descendants as took part in the pious practices.”¹ Further, their idea of a future state was that it was to be a continuation of this life. So, quite naturally, the king, after death, takes his place among the gods, and temples are erected where he might be worshiped. As a necessary corollary of this Ancestor worship was a belief in a multitude of spirits—some evil, others good; and, to protect the living from the malevolent actions of the former, magical songs, holy writings and potent names were to be employed.²

All this was not peculiar to the Egyptian tribes, but was simply survival from savage philosophy in general. But, along with all this, we come upon a higher form of religious conceptions, due, probably, to the influence of another people. This is the stage of Polytheism, attained through Nature worship; that is to say, the gods are nature gods. And here we must not be surprised at the great confusion that meets us, for each great dynastic change, implying, as it does, a change of masters, means a change in the state religion; a new set of tribal gods are elevated to the supremacy, at least a new chief god is placed at the head of affairs. Nor is it at all singular to find these nature gods confounded, more or less, with the animal gods of the earlier period. Thus, for instance, Osiris was worshiped in one place as an ape; in another, as the bird bennu; in a third, as a sparrow-hawk, etc.³

It is impossible for us to more than give a mere outline

¹ Rawlinson: “Story of Egypt,” p. 58.

² See “Magic Papyrus,” in “Records of the Past,” Vol. X. See, also, Sayce: “Ancient Empires of the East,” p. 61.

³ Tiele: “Egyptian Religion,” Boston, 1882, p. 46.

of Egyptian polytheistic belief. It is fully in keeping with the development of Polytheism from Fetichism, to find that the oldest Egyptian gods were simply the earth



Seb.

and sky. Man everywhere, as we have seen, conceives the visible sky and the earth as the greater gods. The Egyptians, however, transposed the gender of these gods; whereas, while most of the primitive people conceived the sky as masculine and the earth as feminine, a different custom existed in Egypt. The god Seb represented the earth.¹ He is spoken of as the "father of the gods," or the "leader." The heavens took the form of a goddess, variously called Nu, Nut or Nu-tpe. She is spoken of as the wife of Seb. Her titles are, "the older," "the mother of the gods," "the mistress of heaven" and "the nurse."² It is not mere chance that, in examining a primitive Polytheism, we come once more upon the conception of the earth and sky as the first great gods, the parents of all the other gods.



The Goddess Nut.

This is not the only parallel brought

¹ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 66. Harkness: "Egyptian Life and History," p. 39. The earth was masculine also among the Accadians.

² Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," p. 382.

to light between Egyptian Polytheism and other polytheistic systems. The night-sky, or darkness, is personified and considered as a god before the bright sky of day;¹ so, in Egypt, one of the most ancient gods of the list is Set, who was primarily the night;² but when dualism became a part of Egyptian religion, this god became the representative of evil.

It is important to notice that Set was a Turanian god.³ One form of his name was Suteekh,⁴ and this was the god of the Hittites.⁵



Set.

No two people develop throughout in the same way. The ancient traveler, Diodorus, was struck with the fact that the Egyptians spent so much time over their tombs. It is, perhaps, not surprising that the god of the under world assumed such an important position in their mythology, and became, in fact, their supreme god, at least during the continuance of the Old Empire. In their choice of this god, we detect the principle on which they proceeded. The land of disembodied spirits was across the western deserts; when it was night here, it was day there, and so the sun of night, Osiris, became the god of Amenti, the home of the dead.⁶ Osiris bore many titles,

¹ See Goldziher: "Mythology Among the Hebrews," p. 62.

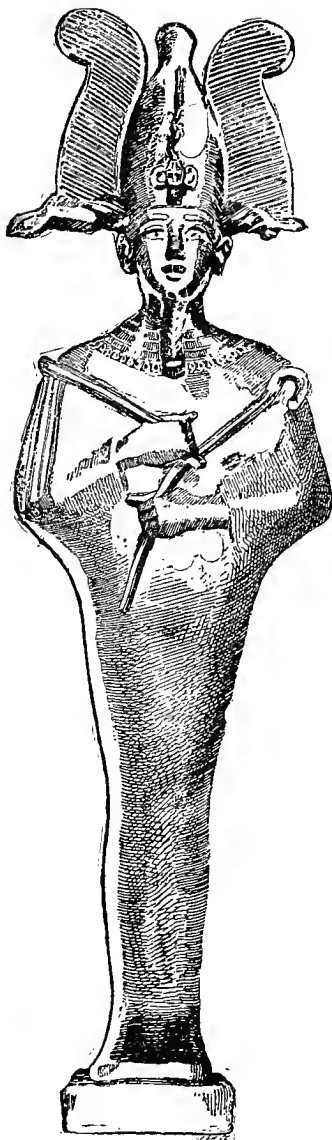
² Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 65.

³ Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 320.

⁴ Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. I., p. 39.

⁵ Wright: "Empire of the Hittites," p. 76. He is usually represented with an animal head.

⁶ Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 60. Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 44, note.



Osiris (Louvre Bronze).

all expressive of his superior station. He is called "Chief of the Gods," "Lord of Life," "Lord of Eternity," etc. In process of time, when Set became the personification of evil, Osiris became the personification of good. He is, therefore, styled "the manifest of good," "full of goodness and truth," "the beneficent spirit," etc.¹

We are not surprised to find that the moon, also, becomes a most important god. He is called Thoth, and, by a process quite natural, we can understand how he becomes, in a special manner, the god of learning; for science begins, for nomadic people, in observation of the heavenly bodies, and with some accurate measurement of time, and observation of the moon must have been first in both cases. Hence, we understand the old story that Thoth invented draughts and won the five intercalary days. That is to say, as more accurate measurements of time were made, it was discovered that, to complete the

year, five more days were necessary. Hence it is that, as god of all science, he was supposed to have invented

¹ Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. I., p. 355.

letters, and so he was the one who inspired the writings of the holy books. We also see why it was that he was the god of the priests, and so the god of the religious. He it was who helped worthy mortals to pass the judgment seat of Osiris.¹

In opposition to Seb, the god of darkness, we have the god of light, Horus, from *Har* or *Her*, meaning the most exalted, the highest. Originally, he was, we think, the day sky.² It is not strange, then, that, to represent this god, various names and titles were used. He did not always represent the sun, for the sun and the moon were sometimes spoken of as the eyes of Horus. As god of light, we have a representation of him destroying the great serpent of darkness, Apap. We must remember that in the name Horus was included a whole class of gods.³ At Heliopolis, he was especially worshiped as *Har-em-akhu*—*i. e.*, “sun on the horizon”—and the Sphinx is, perhaps, a symbolical representation of this conception.⁴

By the side of the three greater gods we have now described, there are also three goddesses, who have much in common, and who are often confounded. These three are Isis (the dawn), Nephthys (the evening glow), and Hathor (the



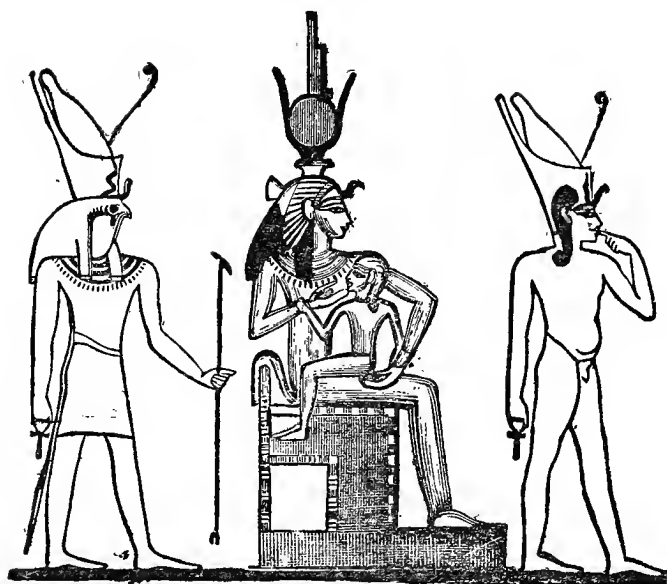
Thoth (Louvre Bronze).

¹ Tiele: “Egyptian Religion,” p. 64.

² See Tiele, p. 52 *et seq.*

³ Tiele.

⁴ The inscription on the Sphinx, addressed to Thothmes IV., says: “Behold me, my beloved son Thothmes; I am thy father, Har-em-akhu.”



Three forms of Horus.



Horus Destroying the Serpent of Darkness.

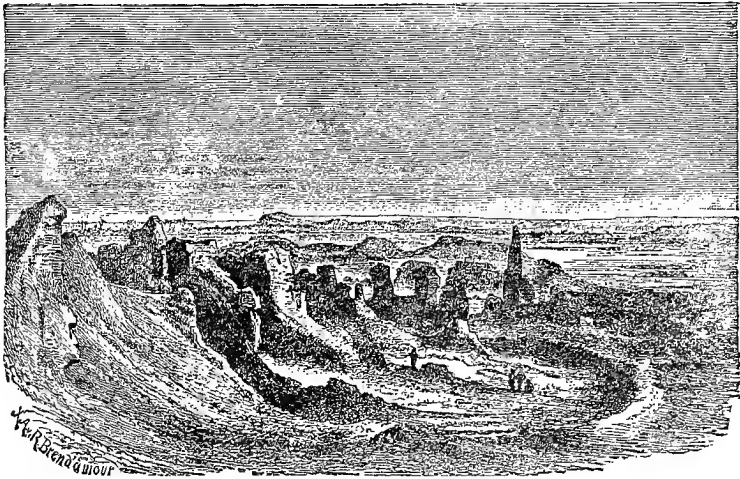
nether world, the abode of Horus). Isis is generally regarded as the wife (and sister) of Osiris; Nephthys, of Set; and Hathor, of Horus. But the utmost confusion prevails in this matter.¹

We have noticed that there were two main divisions of Egypt—Upper and Lower Egypt—and that they differed in quite a number of par-

ticulars. This distinction showed itself in matters of

¹ See Tiele.

religion as well. This is not at all singular, when we reflect on the probable development of these two sections. In each there probably arose two strong confederacies, contending for the mastery, and so in each there would be developed what we might call a state religion. The religious center of Lower Egypt appears to have been Heliopolis, a city near Memphis, generally called On or An. There was, as we would expect, much similarity

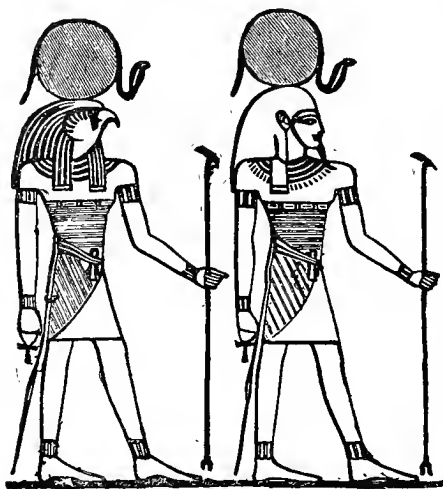


Ruins of Heliopolis.

between these two religions, since the people were closely related ethnically, and had the same elements to work upon. The main difference was this: the people of Upper Egypt had elevated to the rank of supreme god Osiris, the sun of night, the god of the underground world. The people of the north worshiped, as their principal god, Ra, the sun of day. In other respects, the two systems had much in common. Horus was common to them both. Osiris was regarded as the same as Tum, the sun of night of Lower Egypt, and he was frequently confounded with him.¹

¹ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 76.

When the two sections became united, there was union of these two religions. As stated, they were but two slightly different forms of the same mythic conceptions. "Upon the same extremely ancient monuments on which we read the names of Osiris and Isis, there occurs, in brotherly union with these, that of Ra, the chief god of On (Heliopolis). The place he takes in the Book of Dead is in no way less honorable and important than that



Ra of Heliopolis.

assigned to Osiris. They are there confounded with each other: now the one, now the other, being the greater; now the one, then the other, being mediator."¹ The ancient Egyptians clearly enough understood that there was, in effect, but little difference between the two systems.

We have now given an outline of the chief gods of the Egyptian pantheon under the Old Empire. These gods were nature gods, and their worship was extended far and wide over united Egypt. Along with them, there were, of course, local tribal gods. We need not stop to learn about many of the latter. We must, however, mention Ptah, the local god of Memphis, who, when Memphis became the capital of the New Empire, became a god of great celebrity. It is difficult to say what, if any, cosmogonic principle he represents. Local and tribal gods may have arisen from

¹ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 75.

other sources than the forces of nature. The temple of Ptah, at Memphis, was a magnificent structure.

Many have heard of the myth of Osiris and Isis. It is worth our while to examine it, since it will once more illustrate to us how mythic stories originate. Osiris is said to have been an ancient king; Isis, his sister and queen. His brother, Set, or Typhon, desiring to seize on the kingdom, forms a conspiracy to murder Osiris. He succeeds in his purpose, and the body of Osiris, put in a chest, is flung into the Nile. Isis and her sister, Nephthys (the wife, by the way, of the assassin), fill the air with their lamentations. Isis sets out to discover her murdered husband's body. She succeeds in her quest, and, finally, after numerous mishaps, buries him in a stately tomb. Meanwhile Horus, the son of Osiris, sets out to avenge his father's death. The conflict with Set was long and obstinate, but Horus was finally successful. Osiris had indeed become lost to earthly life, but he ruled as king in the nether world.

This is but another form of the story of the conflict between light and darkness, in which mankind, in the infancy of the world, delighted to indulge. It is the poetic



Ptah (Louvre Bronze).

statement that the old sun of day has finally been put to death by oncoming night. Isis, "the morning dawn," and Nephthys, "the evening glow," have wept for their husband and brother, and the heavens have wept with them, until all the sky is suffused with redness. In the meanwhile, Horus, the god of light, has entered on a vigorous campaign against night, and finally is triumphant. Does not day finally triumph over night?

Every nation of antiquity had a collection of writings which they regarded as sacred. In every case these writings form a collection of very different ages and of unequal merit. Egypt is no exception to this rule. Their sacred writings are known to us as the "Book of the Dead." Some chapters are acknowledged to be very old, but the greater part, as it now exists, consists in additions and commentaries on the few ancient sections. It is really a collection of magical papyri, a knowledge of which will enable the deceased one to overcome the many obstacles in the way of attaining eternal bliss. Such was its magical virtue that copies were buried with the dead, or the coffin was covered with inscribed texts. The end of the first chapter promised the reader all manner of blessedness if he would but commit the book to memory. So it became customary for the people to learn it off by heart. Probably some portions of this book were in existence in the time of the Old Empire.

We have now tried to give a fair and measurably full account of the religion of the Old Empire. Quite a number of scholars have insisted that the ancient Egyptians believed in one only God, who had no beginning and would have no end; in a word, that the original faith in Egypt was monotheistic, from which high level the people gradually sank to Polytheism, and then to animal worship.

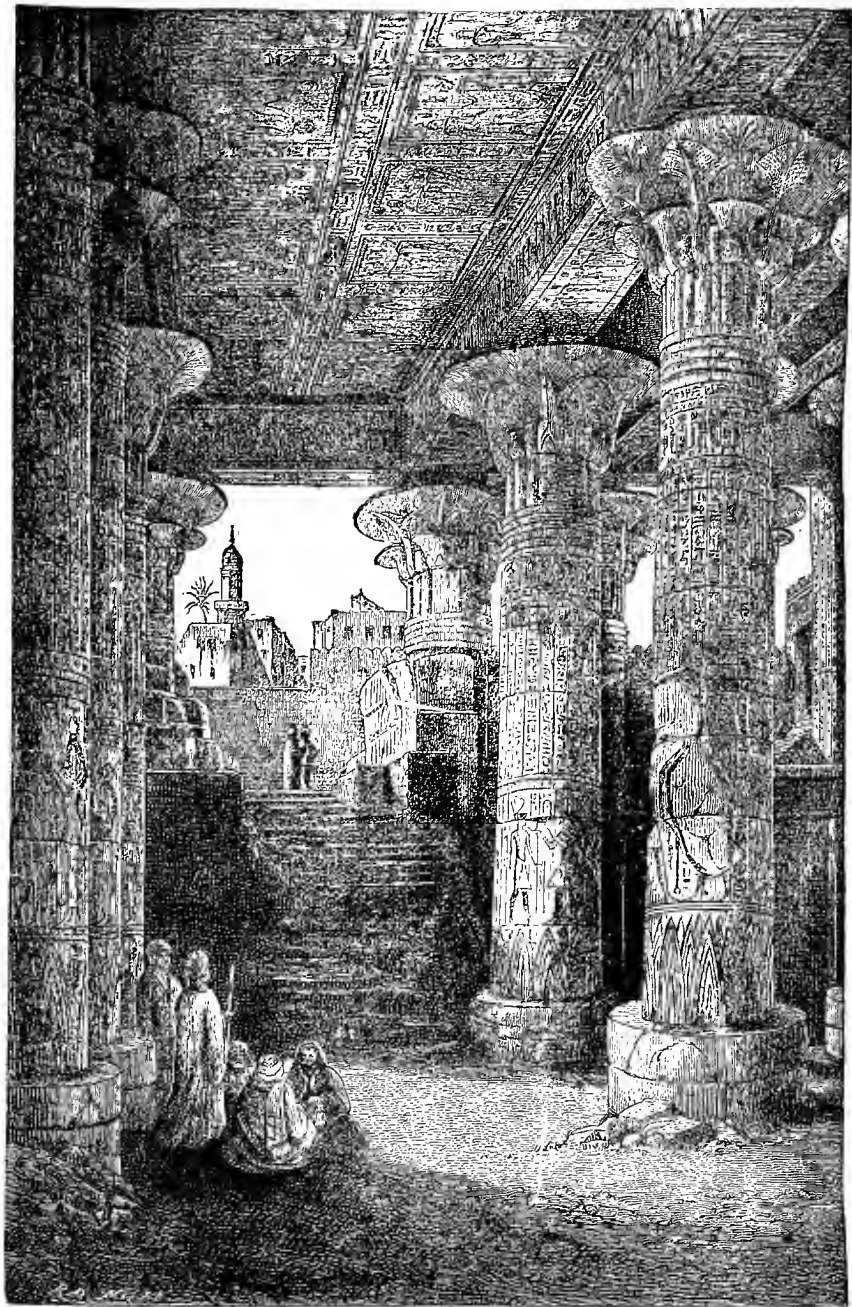
From all that we can see, this is the exact reverse of the facts of the case. The worship of animals, the strong fetichistic element in their faith, and the belief in magic, are but survivals from the first stage of belief. They had arrived at an advanced stage of Polytheism. Their gods were nature gods. They were the fetich gods of the first stage, now become disassociated from their material objects. But the constant tendency of Polytheism is towards Monotheism. The only question is, how far had the Egyptians progressed in this direction? It is evident, to say the least, that no high conception of God had been formed. Nothing worthy of being dignified as Monotheism existed under the Old Empire.¹ We call especial attention to the fact that in religion, also, we see before us the result of a mixture of two people and two cultures.²

We are now to bid good-by to the Old Empire of Egypt. The pyramids still uprear their lofty forms, proud memorials of her palmy days. We gaze on the funeral inscriptions in her tombs, and read the doings of princes and chief men. After all, we see but a dim picture, distorted by the mists of upwards of forty centuries that have rolled by since the last king of the sixth dynasty sat

¹ For authority for taking the higher view of Egyptian religion, see Lenormant. ("Ancient History of the East," Vol. I., p. 318.) He supports the "degradation" view of Egyptian religion; also, Wilkinson ("The Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I., p. 471); also, Rawlinson ("History of Ancient Religion," Vol. I., p. 313). On the other hand, see Mariette-Bey ("Monuments of Upper Egypt," p. 24). He shows that from the monuments we have no support for this theory. "They nowhere speak of one invisible God." Sayce ("Ancient Empires of the East," p. 58) contents himself with remarking that the "exact character of Egyptian religion is a matter of dispute." For a discussion of this whole subject, we would refer to Tiele's work: "Egyptian Religion," Chap. ix.

² We do not here refer to the supposed fact that the priest had one religion and the common people another; we think there is very little ground for that idea (Tiele, p. 217: "A mere fancy of modern times"); but to the fact that we see a singular mixture of comparatively high and very low religious ideas, ranging from animal worship to almost Monotheism.

on her throne. Other empires have come and gone, a new world has been discovered and settled, since that time when Pepi gathered his armies to subdue the insolent tribes of the Delta. Yet the Nile placidly flows on as of yore, the Sphinx still confronts the rising sun, and the pyramids of Gizeh keep watch and ward over Cairo, as they once did over Memphis, the city of Menes. So, no doubt, the river will continue to flow, and the monuments remain in existence, until the present nations of the earth, if they exist at all, will be so changed that the historian only can reconstruct the past. But let us hope that the course of human progress will ever be upward and onward, and that the people of forty centuries hence can point out wherein their Civilization as greatly exceeds ours as ours does that of Egypt under the various dynasties of the Old Empire.



CHAPTER VII.

EGYPT CONTINUED.

THE period of darkness—Rise of Thebes—The eleventh dynasty—The Middle Empire—The twelfth dynasty—Amen-emhat—The Obelisk kings—The Fayoum—Amen-emhat III.—The thirteenth dynasty—Religion of the Middle Empire—Civilization of the Middle Empire—The story of Saneha—The interval of time between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties—The Hyksos invasion—The Shepherd kings—The Hittites the Shepherds—The details of this invasion—The culture of the Hyksos kings—The seventeenth dynasty—Expulsion of the Hyksos—The eighteenth dynasty—Invasion of Asia by Egypt—Queen Hatsu—Thothmes III.—Khuen-aten—Peculiarities of his reign—Culture of the eighteenth dynasty—Religion—Rise of the New Empire—The nineteenth dynasty—Seti I.—Rameses II.—The results of his wars—The decline of Egypt.



THE SHIFTING clouds of almost prehistoric times, through the rifts of which we have here and there caught glimpses of what is known as the Old Empire of Egypt, close down on the country near the end of the sixth dynasty, and for an unknown period of years, variously estimated at from one hundred and sixty-six to seven hundred and forty years.¹ We are almost completely in the dark in regard to Egyptian history. In our opinion, this period of time is nearer the shorter estimate than the longer one. The sixth dynasty was not able to weld the rival tribes into one compact whole. Finally, even the semblance of authority over the united tribes ceased, and they resumed their independence; only, we must understand, that here and there con-

¹ For various estimates, see Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 123.

federacies composed of a few tribes, uniting for self-protection, were probably formed.

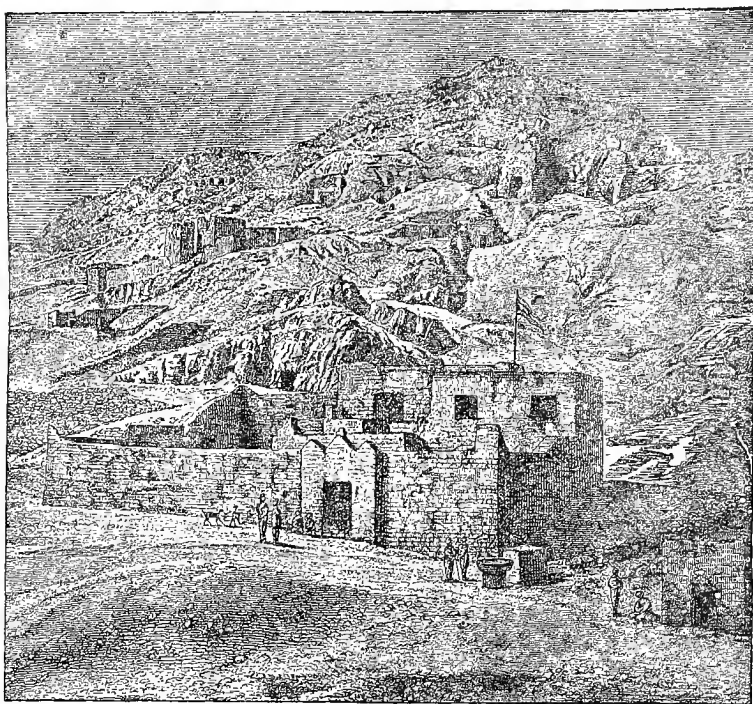
In short, the same fate had befallen Egypt that befell many another Oriental monarchy resting on tribal foundation. The political power of the ruling tribe had become weakened or dissipated. The empire, thereupon, disintegrated into its original elements. It is historically a blank, because no national monuments were erected; all were local and tribal. The time, whether long or short, was necessarily full of stirring events to the various tribes. There must have been the usual scenes of tribal life—the weaker tribes banding together to defend against the aggressions of the stronger. In the Delta, the tribes were exposed to invasions from both Asia and Libya. Probably various confederacies were formed to resist these assaults. The confused lists of the ruling chiefs of these various confederacies formed the dynasties from the sixth to the eleventh. Several of them are admitted by all scholars to have been contemporaneous.

It is supposed that Memphis was the head of one confederacy, and that the kings of the seventh and eighth dynasties of Manetho ruled there. All that we have to guide us are the names of the kings. Taking the Abydos list, it is noticed that the names have a resemblance to the names of the Memphite kings, such as Nefer-ka-ra, or some slight variant.¹ It is considered as quite probable that, while these kings were reigning at Memphis, another confederacy was at the head of affairs in the Delta. Its headquarters were in the Sethroite nome, in the north-eastern part of the Delta. Its capital city was afterwards known as *Herakleopolis Parva*, or *Little Herakleopolis*.²

¹ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 121.

² This is the view of Bunsen: "Egypt's Place in History," Vol. II., p. 243. (See,

This would be just where we would naturally expect to find another center of power. Here the ninth and tenth dynasties of Manetho are supposed to have ruled, while the seventh and eighth ruled at Memphis. We do not know Manetho's reason for dividing these kings into two divisions called dynasties.¹



Rock Graves to the West of Thebes.

While these confederacies were thus dividing between themselves the power in Lower Egypt, still a third power

also, Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 122.) Other authorities settle on Herakleopolis in Middle Egypt, about fifty miles south of Memphis. (See Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 121.)

¹ On Manetho's dynasties in general, Rawlinson observes: "It would seem that the Sebennyitic priest had made up his mind to have thirty dynasties down to the close of Egyptian independence, and was not very particular how he produced them." ("Egypt," Vol. II., p. 68.)

was growing in Upper Egypt, destined in time to sweep all before it, and to once again reünite the country under one rule, and to raise Egypt once more to the height of power. This new power was situated in the fourth nome of Upper Egypt. The name of the nome was Us, or Uas,¹ the capital city of which was T'Apu, which in Greek became Thebes. This nome was a rich and fertile one. The valley here has an average width of ten miles, through which the Nile flows in a northeasterly direction. "On either side the hills recede, and a broad green plain, an alluvium of the richest description, spreads itself out on both banks of the stream, dotted with dom and date palms, sometimes growing single, sometimes collected into clumps or groves."² We, of course, would expect this fertile nome to be in the possession of a rich and powerful tribe—one that would not willingly submit to be ruled from some distant point. We would naturally expect, therefore, that when the Old Empire went to pieces this tribe would be one of the very first to establish its independence, and set about the pleasing task of reducing the neighboring tribes under its yoke.³

The kings ruling at Thebes are said to belong to the eleventh dynasty, and the question is, how far were they contemporaneous with the other dynasties at Memphis and Herakleopolis? In other words, what was the length of time from the close of the sixth dynasty to the rise of the eleventh at Thebes? In our judgment, there are not reasons for thinking it very long. In our opinion, some of the more recent scholars have come to the wrong con-

¹ See Sayce's list: "Ancient Empires," p. 12; or, see map in Oncken's "Allgemeine Geschichte."

² Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 125.

³ It may be that Thebes itself was not in existence during the Old Empire. Rawlinson thinks it was: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 126. But see Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 121. Lenormant: "Ancient History of the East," Vol. I., p. 213.

clusion in regard to the evidence of a change in culture observed in Thebes under the eleventh dynasty. Mariette observes: "When, with the eleventh dynasty, we see Egypt awake from her long slumber, all old traditions appear to be forgotten; the proper names used in ancient families, the titles of functionaries, the style of writing, and even the religion, all seem new."¹ Prof. Sayce also argues, from the same standpoint, that probably several centuries have elapsed.²

It seems to us that a very simple answer can be made to the foregoing. The various tribes of the Egyptians, though closely related, were by no means all the same. Each must have had its own laws, religion, culture and customs, and, in many small details, may have varied from the others. They may each have had special forms of hieroglyphic writing.³ It is not at all improbable to suppose that they were even slightly different ethnically. Both Lenormant and Sayce think that the physical type of the Egyptians, from the eleventh dynasty down, is different from that of the Old Empire.⁴ Whether or not other writers accept this view⁵ is immaterial. The type may well have been different, because the ruling tribe was different. The tribe at Thebes, having such clear traditions of a southern origin, may have been slightly different ethnically. As to the great difference in art, it is sufficient to point out that M. Maspero claims to have established that there is no difference between the art of the sixth and that of the eleventh dynasty.⁶

¹ From Lenormant: "Ancient History of the East," Vol. I., p. 213.

² "Ancient Empires," p. 28.

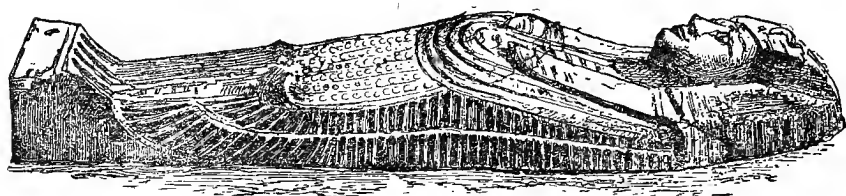
³ See Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 387.

⁴ "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 212. "Ancient Empires," p. 6.

⁵ On this point, see Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 123.

⁶ "American Journal of Archæology," 1885, p. 81.

We therefore think we are justified in saying that, within a comparatively short time after the disappearance of the Old Empire, three confederacies ruled in Egypt—the most southern one at Thebes, the middle one at Memphis and one in the northern part of the Delta. There may have been others, but, if so, their names and locations are unknown. The struggle now lies between these three powers as to which shall finally prevail and rule the whole country; but it is quite probable that this struggle for the supremacy was preceded by a long period of quiet, and we can finally see that when it arose the main competitors would be the confederacy at Herakleopolis and Thebes. Memphis would certainly be crushed between



Coffin of Antef, of the Eleventh Dynasty.

the two. The supremacy finally remained with Thebes, and we enter with the history of the eleventh (Theban) dynasty into the history of what is known as the Middle Empire of Egypt.

The Middle Empire furnishes us with three dynasties of kings. In the first of these three, or the eleventh dynasty of Manetho, we have a succession of kings who mainly bore the name of Antef or Mentu-hotep.¹ Judging from their names, Tiele concludes that their original town must have been Hermonthis, to the west of the Nile,

¹ It is generally stated that these names came alternately—that is, first Antef, then Mentu-hotep, etc. (Birch: "History of Egypt," p. 60.) But see Rawlinson's remarks. ("Egypt," Vol. II., p. 127.) Wilson thinks the Antefs should be set off by themselves into a separate dynasty. ("Egypt of the Past," p. 125.)

generally known as the southern An. The local god of this town was Mentu; hence the meaning of the name Mentu-hotep—*i. e.*, “united with Mentu.” This god Mentu was also the war-god of the Thebans.¹

Their chief city appears to have been Coptos, in the valley of the Hammamat, which contained not only rich stone-quarries, but commanded the route to the Red Sea from Thebes.² The local god of Coptos (from which word, by the way, comes our modern word Coptic) was Chem, who in one inscription is named “god of the mountainous tract.” As to the number of kings belonging to this dynasty, there is considerable confusion. Manetho gives sixteen; the Turin papyrus mentions six.

From what faint light we have of this subject, we notice, what we would naturally expect to find, a gradual growth in power. Of the first king of this series known to us, it is said that he used no cartouch, and was simply a nobleman, without more title than any other head of a great Egyptian family.³ The second king of this series has a royal cartouch, but it is said that his title was not the equivalent of the word king.⁴ But under the fourth king, Mentu-hotep II., we have reason to believe that all of Upper Egypt, at least, was brought under their rule.

¹ That is, of Thebes, under the eighteenth dynasty. At the time of which we are now speaking, Mentu was simply a form of the sun, bearing the strongest resemblance to both Amen and Chem, the other local gods of the Thebiad. (See Tiele: “Egyptian Religion,” p. 124.)

² Other authorities locate them at Thebes to start with. Those who take the above view generally conclude that Thebes was founded by the kings of the eleventh dynasty. (See Tiele: “Egyptian Religion,” p. 21 *et seq.*)

³ Maspero: “Morgenlandischen Völker,” p. 94. Yet this is certainly too strong a statement. His mummy wore a royal diadem, on which was the royal serpent (Bunsen: “Egypt,” etc., Vol. II., p. 232), and he called himself “King of the Two Egypts.” (Rawlinson: “Egypt,” Vol. II., p. 127.) This may be an exaggeration (“Story of Egypt,” p. 97), but it is evident he was something more than a mere “local chieftain.”

⁴ Ibid. See, also, Sayce: “Ancient Empires,” p. 28.

In this tablet, carved on the rocks of Konosso, near Philæ, it is shown that his dominions extended over at least the whole of Upper Egypt. He is represented as worshipping Chem, the special god of Coptos.



Tablet of Mentu-hotep.

The last king of this line was Sankh-ka-ra. The most important event in connection with his reign was a commercial expedition to Punt. The location of Punt has been much discussed. Brugsch-Bey, who has studied this point, thinks it must be on the African side of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden.¹ This land was to the Egyptians a "holy land." According to an obscure tradition, this was the original home of many of the gods. Amen was the king of Punt, Hathor the queen. Horus was honored as the holy morning star which rose to the west of the

¹ "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 114.

land of Punt.¹ We have already referred to the meaning of this tradition.²

The nature of the revolution which put an end to the eleventh dynasty and ushered in the twelfth is as yet unknown. The seat of the new power was Thebes: so we know that at this time—probably long before—Thebes was an important place. The local god of Thebes was Amen or Amun.³ The name of this god appears as part of the name of a number of the kings of this dynasty; of the seven kings, no less than four are called Amen-emhat. There seems to have been a period of disorder intervening between these two dynasties. The first king, Amen-emhat I., left for the guidance of his son a letter of instruction. Speaking of the unsettled times preceding his reign, he says: "There was no stability of fortune, neither for the ignorant nor the learned man."⁴ Then he tells him, further, of attempts made on his own life, and how he vanquished all before him.

We are inclined to the opinion that Amen-emhat I. was at the head of some subject tribe, for, in this same letter to his son, he says: "My image lives in the hearts of men, for I have made those that were afflicted free from their affliction, and their cries are heard no more."⁵ However this may be, the new king was an energetic one, and after some years of warfare,⁶ and firmly establishing his power in the Thebaid, he set out to consolidate and extend the conquests of the preceding dynasty. Here again he was successful, and Egypt, from Elephantine in the south to the marsh regions of the Delta,⁷ acknowledged his rule.

¹ Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 115.

² Page 465.

³ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 121.

⁴ Maspero: "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, note 4.

⁶ Wilson says "ten years." ("Egypt of the Past," p. 135.)

⁷ "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 12.

He tells his son that he "stood on the boundaries of the land and kept watch on its borders." In the Isthmus of Suez, he built a wall, or at least a chain of fortresses, to "keep off the Sakti;"¹ and a fugitive of that period, fleeing from Egypt, was in alarm when he arrived at this place, and speaks of "seeing the watchers upon the wall in daily rotation."²

Probably the work of this king, in various building operations throughout Egypt, illustrates the renewed life and Civilization of the country as strongly as anything else. There are grounds for supposing that he commenced the great temple of Karnak.³ Fragments of a granite statue have been found there with his name engraved on them. He also worked the quarries of Hammamat and Tourah, near ancient Memphis. He repaired many of the ancient temples, especially that of Ptah at Memphis. His statue has also been found at Tanis (Zoan), where he constructed a temple. The features of this statue represent him with a flat and broad nose, lips thick and smiling, mouth large and cheeks plump.⁴ He built himself a palace,⁵ which he thus describes: "I built myself a house, adorned with gold; . . . its roof was painted blue, the walls in it . . . and the passages are of stone, (connected with) metal hooks; . . . the bolts are of artificial men-metal, . . . made for eternity: time shrinks before it."⁶ He also built a pyramid, known as Ka-nefer, meaning "lofty and handsome." A most interesting and impor-

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 135.

² It was probably this line of fortresses that gave rise to the Hebrew name of Egypt—viz.: Mizraim.

³ Most authorities state this. Tiele states that the second king laid the foundation. ⁴ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 137.

⁵ "Supposed to have been situated at Heliopolis." (Rawlinson.)

⁶ "Instruction of Amen-emhat," in "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 14. Rawlinson translates *men-metal* by iron.

tant inscription of this king is now in the Louvre. It records the destruction of Hittite places on the very borders of Egypt, showing that, as far back as the beginning of the twelfth dynasty, this people were pressing upon Lower Egypt. This has an important bearing on the question of the nationality of the so-called Hyksos kings, soon to be considered.¹

His successor, Usurtasen I., firmly established the power of Thebes, and advanced Egypt to a high point of



Tomb of Amen at Beni-hasen.

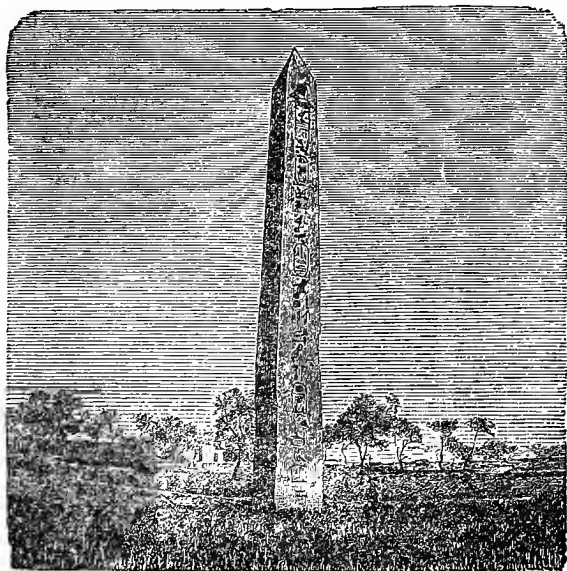
ancient Civilization. He reigned conjointly with his father—there seems to have been some friction between these two joint-kings,² and possibly Amen-emhat was assassinated by orders of his son.³ The most important foreign work of Usurtasen was the complete subjugation of Ethiopia. His principal general in this undertaking seems to have been the chief of the sixth nome of Upper

¹ Wright: "Empire of the Hittites," p. 47.

² See "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 13.

³ Birch: "Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 63.

Egypt, and bore the name of Ameni. On his tomb at Beni-hasen was carved a full account of his warlike deeds. Usurtasen imitated his father in repairing and building temples and public monuments. At Thebes, he continued the building of the temple begun by his father. Monuments of his time have been found at Abydus, the



Obelisk of Heliopolis.

Fayoum, and the Delta. At Tanis, his portrait has been found among some of the ruins. On, or Heliopolis, was, however, the scene of his principal labors. He repaired or completed the building of the great temple

of the sun at that place. An old papyrus gives us some details of the council convened by the king to consider this subject, and contains the address of the king.¹

As the pyramid was a great monument of the fourth dynasty, so the obelisk was the most striking monument of the twelfth. The great Obelisk of Usurtasen was erected at On in the Delta. The obelisk had long been known in Egypt, probably, as a religious emblem, and was employed as far back as the time of Khufa.²

¹ Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 130.

² Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 83; also, pp. 127, 128.

But the first of any importance, in point of size, dates from the reign of Usurtasen. The one represented in the cut was one of a pair guarding the entrance to the great sun temple. Its companion fell long years ago.¹ Its height is sixty-seven feet four inches. The hieroglyphics on the sides give us various titles of the king and the Egyptian date of its erection. Another obelisk of this king now lies broken and prostrate in the Fayoum.

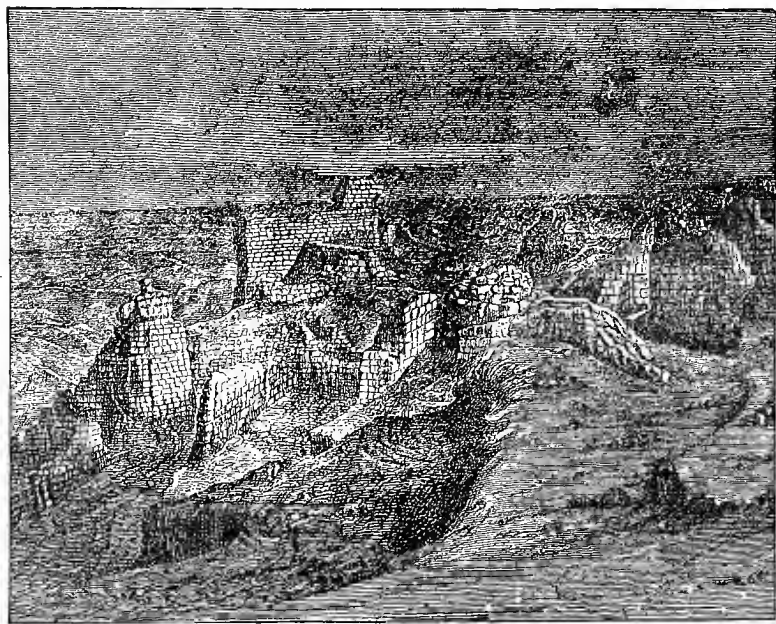
We can not do more than give a brief outline of this dynasty, and so can not give an account of each king's life. Of this dynasty, there were some seven kings who ruled Egypt for about two centuries. This entire period is one of the most glorious in Egyptian history. Egypt was respected abroad; there was peace at home. During this time, Nubia was conquered, and the peninsula of Sinai again made a subject country. The principal cities were adorned with temples and other public monuments. The strength of the central government was sufficient to insure peaceful relations between the various nomes. One of the kings of this dynasty carried through to a successful termination a gigantic engineering operation; it was nothing less than the erection of a great reservoir in the Fayoum, in which to store up the waters of an unusual overflow of the Nile, to be used when the inundation was defective.

This king was Amen-emhat III.² The Fayoum is a great depression in the level of the desert to the west of

¹ Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 127.

² This is usually so stated. But see Maspero: "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 112, in which he shows that probably he was only carrying out plans of the earlier kings. Amen-emhat I. and Usurtasen I. both erected monuments in the Fayoum. Amen-emhat III., however, selected that nome for his favorite site, and erected there his pyramid.

the Nile, about fifty miles south of Memphis. Here, by means of embankments and canals, he formed a reservoir, with a superficial area of from seventy-five to one hundred square miles. The canal leading to this lake was cut, part of the distance, through the solid rock. An immense dyke formed one of the boundaries, which is estimated to have been twenty-seven miles in length, thirty feet in height,



The Labyrinth.

and, in places, two hundred feet in width at the base. A system of sluices and flood-gates distributed the water when needed.¹ One of the names of this lake was Mi-uer, which became Lake Moeris of Greek tradition.

The formation of this reservoir made this Fayoum district a most important one, and here Amen-emhat III.

¹ See Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 160 *et seq.* Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 168 *et seq.*

built himself a magnificent palace, a view of the ruins of which is here presented. Later writers called this building the Labyrinth,¹ and a number of wonderful stories have grown around it. Lepsius, writing of these ruins in 1843, observes: "An immense cluster of chambers still remains, and in the center lies the great square where the courts once stood, covered with the fragments of large monolithic granite columns, and of others of white hard limestone, shining almost like marble."

The most glorious period of the Middle Empire comes to a close with the twelfth dynasty. Before passing on to consider the more troublous times that follow, when a second long period of almost complete historic darkness settles down over the land, we must glance at the changes noticeable in the culture of the people. In matters of religion, the principal change seems to have consisted in the elevation of the once local gods of the Thebaid to the supremacy. As there were three important towns in this section, viz., Hermonthis, Coptos and Thebes, so we have to consider the local gods of each place. We would naturally expect to find a great similarity between these local gods, and also with the gods of the Old Empire, because they arose out of the same mythic conceptions. But each period has a development peculiar to itself. If we only reflect that this whole period was one of internal prosperity, and that agriculture made great advance, we need not be surprised to learn that the fertilizing powers of the various solar aspects (and so of the gods arising from them) were dwelt upon.

¹ After the death of Amen-emhat, this palace was converted into a temple, and called *Lope-ro-hunt-i. e.*, Temple-at-the-entrance-to-the-sea. It is not strange, then, that the Greeks substituted for this Egyptian title their word *Labyrinth*. (Maspero' p. 112.)

The principal god of Coptos was called Chem, who was also the principal god of Chemuis, or Panopolis, further down the river. As a solar god, Chem was the sun-of-day. Hence he is a Horus-god,¹ and many titles used to designate him admit of ready explanation. Like Horus, he is sometimes styled the son of Osiris or Isis. He is even called the avenger of his father. The same old mythic conception also reappears, and he is called the "husband-of-his-mother;"² for is not the sun of day born of the dawn and united to her at sunset? But in accordance with the remark just made, he also represented the fertilizing power of the sun. In this



Chem.

connection, his worship became, in process of time, a corrupt one, and the representations made of him are not fit to be reproduced.

What we have had to say of Chem applies in some measure to each of the other local gods of the Thebaid; that is, Mentu of Hermonthis, and Amen of Thebes, though in each case differences are perceptible. Amen of Thebes was destined, at a later date, to become the great god of Egypt, but under the Middle Empire he represented the same conception as Chem.³ We have spoken of Men or Mentu as the war-god of Thebes; this is probably true of him only at a later date, but Tiele shows that he was really only a local god of the same nature as the other two. One reference to him seems to show that the Egyptians

¹ Page 519,² Page 520.³ Tiele; "Egyptian Religion," p. 123.

were acquainted with the week of seven days.¹ He is worshiped as the father of the child Horus in seven forms.² Probably in connection with the worship of all these gods there were licentious practices.³

Though we have spoken of animal worship, yet it is well to mention the worship of the crocodile, which assumed great importance during the twelfth dynasty. He seems to have been originally the local god of Ombos.⁴ When, by the exertions of Amen-emhat III., the Fayoum was converted into a fertile section, it was placed under the protection of Sebek, the crocodile god; and Lake Moeris became a sacred lake, wherein the sacred crocodiles were kept. The Egyptians had a tradition that the crocodiles deposited their eggs precisely at the limit to which, each



Amen (Louvre Bronze).

¹ This would not be at all singular, since the Accadians had this measure of time. (Page 378.) ² Tiele, p. 124.

³ In some instances, in times of war, the female slaves of the conquered were said to be devoted to Mentu. ("Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 141.) The meaning of this phrase is unmistakable. ⁴ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 134.



Sebek.

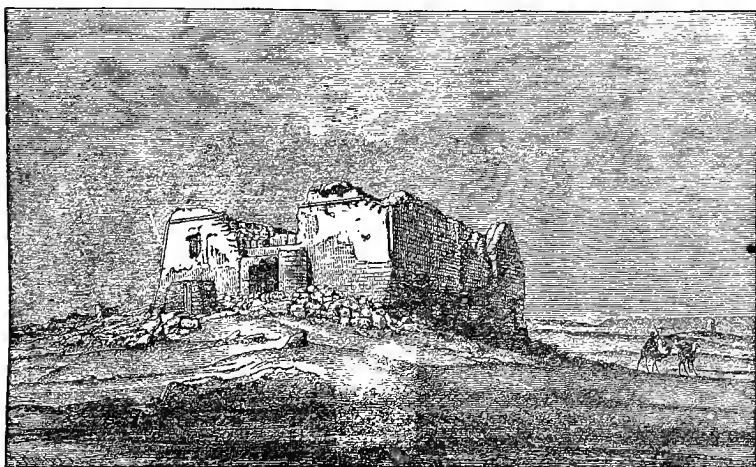
year, the inundation would attain. Hence, it was inferred that it was one of these animals that, as king of the river, regulated the overflow.¹

It has been observed, by those who have studied the matter, that the Civilization of the Middle Empire was of a much more practical kind than the culture of the preceding epoch. The resources of the empire were not spent in building imposing pyramid tombs for the kings, but in works of public utility. Arrangements were made for keeping a record of the annual overflow of the Nile. A great reservoir was prepared to store up the surplus water of an excessive inundation, against the time of a deficiency. An extensive system of canals lined the western bank of the Nile, capable of irrigating a large extent of country. It was also a commercial age. Exploring expeditions were made to Punt. New trade routes opened. Wells were dug for new caravan routes. Commercial relations were established with Nubia and Eastern Africa. All this must have conduced to the increase of national wealth.

In regard to political power, we think we can detect a change. We have referred to the nomes of Egypt as evidence of a division into tribes. The constant tendency of advancing Civilization would be to sweep away these tribal marks. No doubt the long supremacy of Thebes would do much to bring about such a result. As the power of

¹ Villiers Stuart has left an interesting account of his visit to the crocodile mummy pit, where the mummies of thousands of embalmed crocodiles were stored away. ("Nile Gleanings," Chap. viii.)

the ruling tribe became more and more firmly established, the independence of the nomes would gradually sink. The kings would more and more arrogate to themselves the power of appointing the chiefs of the nomes, or of enlarging or diminishing the powers of the same. The kings of the twelfth dynasty seem to have freely exercised such an authority.¹



Ruins of Fayoum.

One of the most interesting literary productions is contained in a papyrus at Berlin, and is known as the Story of Saneha.² Saneha seems to have been a person of some importance under the reign of Amen-emhat I., the founder of the twelfth dynasty. For some reason, but just what is unknown, he fled from Egypt. The details of his flight are quite graphically told. "When I was on the point of setting out," says he, "my heart was troubled, my hands shook, numbness fell on all my limbs." He,

¹ On this point, see Maspero: "Morgenlandischen Völker," p. 116. This state of affairs appears from the inscriptions in the tombs of Ameni and Khum-hotep, at Beni-hasen.

² See "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 135.

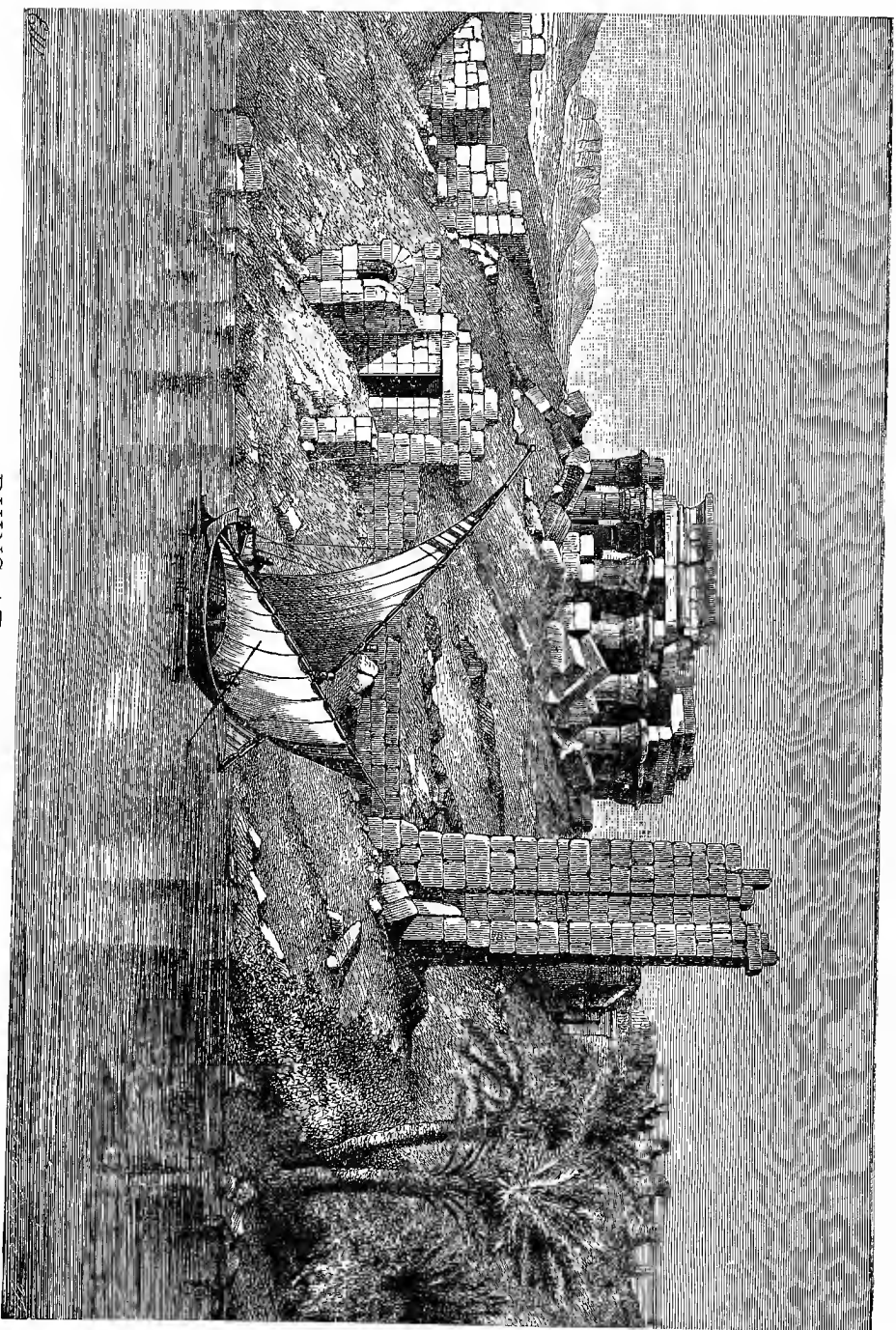
however, "simulated a herb-seller, in order to travel," and got along very well until he reached the "fortress which the king had made to keep off the Sakti,"¹ where he was "in alarm, seeing the watchers upon the wall in daily rotation." However, he passed them by in the night, and fled into the desert, where "thirst overtook me in my journey; my throat was parched; I said, this is the taste of death."

But this was the darkest hour of his flight. He soon fell in with a Sakti,² who took him from place to place, and finally before a king. Unfortunately, we do not know who this king was, nor where he ruled. We are simply told: "It was a good land; *Aam* was its name: there was fruit *tabh* in it, and the fruit *aru*. It abounded in wines more than in water. Its honey was plentiful, and its palms; all its trees were fruit-bearing. There was barley in it, and wheat; there was no limit to its cattle." Seneha's lines had indeed fallen to him in pleasant places, and he was soon on the high road to fortune. He was given the king's oldest daughter for wife; he became a person of great consequence. He says of himself: "All men respected me. I gave water unto the thirsty; I set the wanderer in the way." He became a great chief and warrior.

But, with old age, there came a desire to return to Egypt; hence he addressed a humble prayer to the Amen-emhat: "Let god be gracious to him whom he hath raised up, whom he drove into another land; . . . grant me (to return) home. Permit me to show myself. Have I not suffered anxiety? What more is there to boast? (Let me) be buried in the land where I was born. Let there be a fortunate lot hereafter; grant me pardon."

¹ This was the fortress-wall of Amen-emhat I. The Sakti were Asiatic people,

² Probably a Bedouin.



RUINS AT KOM-OMBOS.

This the king was graciously pleased to grant. He tells him: "Behold that which thou hast done. Thou shalt not be called to account for what thou hast said, or hast not said, in the assembly of the young men." He even urges his return. He promises him: "If thou comest to Egypt, thou shalt see a house prepared for thee. If thou dost homage to the Great House (*i. e.*, Royal House), thou shalt be numbered amongst the counselors." He reminds him: "Thou hast arrived at middle age; thou hast passed the flower (of youth). Think upon the day of burial, of the passage to Amenti."

Saneha is almost overpowered by the king's goodness. He assembles his household around him, divides his effects among his sons, sets off to Egypt, where he is received with honor, and basks in the sunshine of royal favor until the day of his death. Quite in accordance with Egyptian thought, he felicitates himself on his tomb. "I built myself a tomb of stone amongst the tombs of the chief officers. His Majesty chose its site. The chief painter designed it, the sculptors carved, the chief purveyor who was over the upper country brought earth to it; all the decorations were of hewn stone." Such is the end of one of the oldest stories of adventure and travel in existence. Its perusal tells us considerable of the home life of the Egyptian people in the palmy days of the twelfth dynasty.

The twelfth dynasty did not long outlast the reign of Amen-emhat III. Two short reigns, neither of them noted,—the last supposed to be that of a queen—close the series, and we are once more face to face with a break in Egyptian history, a time of obscurity, doubt and confusion, to elucidate which our scholars are not yet able. Neither do we know how long it was. When next the

historic light breaks on the scene, we are in the presence of the eighteenth dynasty of Manetho. We are confident that most important events have happened in the meantime, and know that Egypt itself, during a portion of the time, was in the hands of victorious foreigners.

Let us see what we can learn of this time of confusion, make the most we can of what few gleams of historic light illumine the scene. In the midst of so much that is unknown, let us be cautious in statements. Probably at some time our scholars will possess the means for reconstructing this period. A number of Egyptologists have held that while the thirteenth dynasty ruled at Thebes the fourteenth dynasty held power at Xoïs in the Delta; but others still claim to have shown that the kings of the thirteenth dynasty ruled all Egypt.¹ As far as we know, Manetho's list contains no mention of the names of the kings of the thirteenth dynasty.² The Abydos tablet likewise omits all names from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty.³ The Turin papyrus gives the names of more than one hundred and fifty so-called kings of this dynasty.⁴ The Karnak tablet gives a selected list of ten kings, most of whom are also mentioned in the Turin papyrus.⁵

It is noticed that, taking this last list, the names of most of the kings indicate that they were worshipers of Sebek, the crocodile god. They are called Sebek-hotep, meaning united with, or servants of, Sebek. Now Sebek had become the great god of Fayoum, and there, as we have shown, Amen-emhat III. had taken up his residence,

¹ For first view, see Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 176. Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 175. For contrary view, see Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 185. Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 16.

² Though he does state that it consisted of sixty kings and held power for four hundred and fifty-three years.

³ Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 316.

⁴ See Sayce's list, in "Ancient Empires," p. 285.

⁵ See Brugsch's comparison of these lists, in "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 193.

and it is quite probable that he had there transferred the seat of government.¹ The last queen of the twelfth dynasty was Sebek-nefru-ra; perhaps from her descended the Sebek-hoteps of the thirteenth dynasty.² However, for reasons we have given, this result does not necessarily follow. Now, if we are at all right in the above suggestions, we can see at a glance that trouble was in store for Egypt. The power at Thebes would not at all relish the idea of the seat of government being removed to the Fayoum. Neither would the priests of Amen, Chem and Mentu, a powerful body, acquiesce with equanimity in the elevation of the god Sebek to the supremacy. Hence, we need not wonder that when, at a later date, Thebes was once more the center of power,



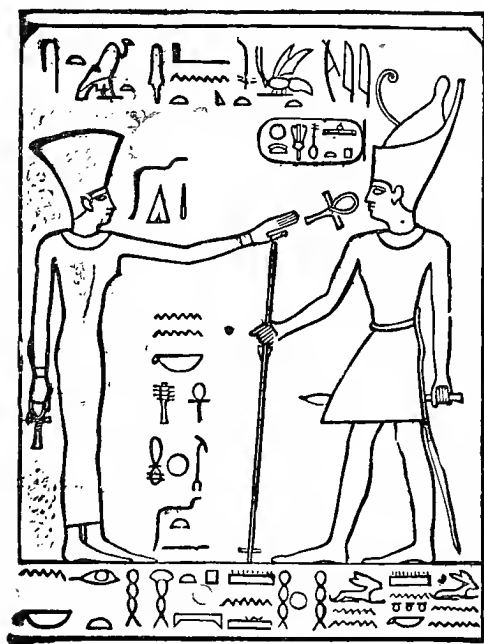
Granite Statue at Tanis of a Sebek-hotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

¹ The early Greeian writers declare that the Labyrinth was the place of meeting of the nomes for both religious and legal purposes (Poole, in "Contemporary Review," 1879); that is to say, there was the seat of government.

² This is so stated by most authorities. See Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 187. Villiers Stuart points out a singular relationship between the names of the kings of the eleventh and thirteenth dynasties. ("Nile Gleanings," p. 92.)

there should be manifested a determination to blot out, as far as possible, all historic monuments of the thirteenth dynasty, Fayoum itself being not even named in the lists of Egyptian nomes.

It is supposed, however, that for a long time the Sebek-hoteps ruled all Egypt. The fifth king of the Karnak list¹ left granite statues inscribed with his name at Tanis, in the Delta. The next king left various tablets in Upper Egypt (one near Philæ is here given), while the next king left his



Tablet of Nofer-hotep.

statue at Bubastis, in the Delta, also on the island of Argo, farther south than the Egyptian power had previously extended.² These scattered monuments, which are all we have of these kings, are sufficient to show that they ruled an extensive territory. Yet, as we have indicated, there was undoubtedly discontent, and so it is, perhaps, not singular

that another disintegration of power took place.

In short, a new confederacy was forming in Lower Egypt. Xoïs, in the Delta, was the new seat of power, and the confederacy of which it was the head, threw off

¹ The twenty-first of the Turin papyrus.

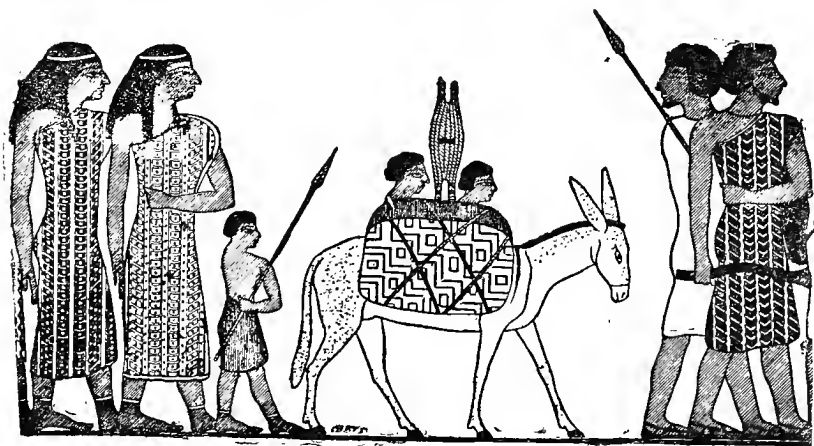
² Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 176.

the yoke of the thirteenth dynasty, and, in its confused lists, are the names of the kings of the fourteenth dynasty of Manetho. We know really nothing historically about this confederacy. We can, however, see that the country thus divided into two hostile sections would be an easy prey to foreign conquest; and, just about this time, a danger long threatening Egypt from the east suddenly assumed greater proportions, and a conquering host was at her doors, before which Egypt sank to the condition of a subject country.

We have before pointed out that the greatest danger threatening Egypt was from Asia, by way of the Isthmus of Suez. In our opinion, the inhabitants of the Delta possessed from the earliest times more of the Asiatic element than the inhabitants of Upper Egypt. There was, probably, from time to time, immigrations and attempted invasions from Asia. Perhaps from this cause is due the historical *lacuna* between the sixth and eleventh dynasties. The strong hands of the Theban kings of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties controlled affairs in the Delta as well as the other parts of Egypt. A fortress-wall was built, as we have seen, by Amen-em-hat I., to keep off the Sak-ti or Asiatic tribes; yet, from time to time, bands of these people ensconced themselves on Egyptian territory. In the tomb of Khum-hotep, we see a band of thirty-seven, who have but just arrived, and ask for territory on which to live.

United Egypt was able to keep back the tide; but divided, and perhaps hostile, Egypt could not stem it. From obscure statements made by Manetho and a few monuments, we know that while the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties were dividing Egypt between them, they were both suddenly overwhelmed by an invasion of

nomadic tribes from Asia. All Lower Egypt seems to have been completely subjected. Upper Egypt remained nominally under the rule of the Theban kings, conditioned, however, on the payment of tribute to the conquerors. As yet, we know but very little about these invaders. Manetho calls them Hyksos; that is, "shepherd kings." A number have derived this word Hyksos from the words Hik-shasu; that is, "kings of the Shasu or Bedouins." But the probabilities are rather in favor



Arrival of a Semitic Band in Egypt.

of the view that the Hittite confederacy was the real power that conquered Egypt; but, of course, among their allies were representations of numerous Semitic tribes.¹

¹ On this point consult Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 230; Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., pp. 190-1; Sayce: Work cited, p. 32; where it is said that the leaders of the Hyksos were, perhaps, Hittites, or at any rate not Semites. Brugsch-Bey, after a long discussion, comes to the conclusion that the Hyksos were Semitic Syrians ("Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 235); but he, himself, points out one of the most serious objections to this view (*Ibid.*, 254-5). Stuart Poole, also, in "Contemporary Review," Vol. XXXIV., p. 576, concludes they were Semitic tribes. At the time of the twelfth dynasty, we know the Hittites were confronting Egypt on the east. ("Empire of the Hittites," pp. 47-48-99.) Mariette admits that at least one of the Hyksos dynasties was Hittite. (*Ibid.*) As far as we can judge, from the physical representations from time to time coming to light in the Delta, the physical type of the Hyksos was the Turanian, rather than

But we are destitute of almost all details of this conquest. The seat of their power was the Delta, and their principal city was Tanis. According to tradition, Memphis was their first capital city. At a subsequent stage, Tanis (the Biblical Zoan) was the seat of their power, and there many monuments of them have been discovered. The last king made Avaris his capital. From the earliest times, this seems to have been an important point. It was strongly fortified and garrisoned, and was, perhaps, the base of operations against Egypt.¹ They seem to have overrun and conquered, not only all Egypt, but some thirty-six districts of Nubia.²

But their rule in Upper Egypt was probably never very secure. They seem to have contented themselves with taking tribute. Thebes was the head of the subject nomes of Upper Egypt. As to the nature of this conquest, there is some uncertainty. From Egyptian sources, it seems to have been a cruel one. "Wherever the Hyksos penetrated," says Rawlinson, "they spread ruin and desolation around, massacred the adult male population, reduced the women and children to slavery, burnt the cities and demolished the temples."³ We are of the opinion that this judgment is too severe.⁴ Of course, conquests at that early day, were accompanied by many painful, cruel scenes; but the Hyksos probably treated the Egyptians as mercifully as the latter did those whom they conquered themselves.

the Semitic. (Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," New York, 1887, p. 131. See, also, Payne, in "The Century," for May, 1887.) In considering the date of this invasion, we must bear in mind the great upheaval of Asiatic folks in Asia, at about the twenty-third century B. C., caused, perhaps, by in-wandering Aryans from Europe. (See Vol. III., This Series, Chap. i.)

¹ This follows from the reading of the first Sallier papyrus.

² Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 34. ³ "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 192.

⁴ See, on this point, Brugsch's judicious observations: Vol. I., p. 256.

The duration of this foreign conquest is yet an unsettled point. Manetho says they ruled Egypt over five hundred years. There is some slight evidence on which to base this assertion. A slab was found at Tanis of the time of Rameses II., dated in the four hundredth year of the Hyksos king Sut-aa-peh-peh Nubti.¹ Nothing definite, however, is known on this point, and, perhaps, it may be much less than the foregoing.² One reason why we know so little on this obscure period of Egyptian history is that when the kings of Thebes again gained the control of the entire country, they set about to destroy, as far as possible, all traces of their former masters. As Brugsch observes: "To destroy the monuments of the opposition kings, to annihilate their names and titles so as to render them unrecognizable, and to falsify historical truth by inscribing their own names, was the endeavor of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty."³

Let us briefly note the effect of this conquest on the culture of Egypt. The Hyksos, after conquering Egypt, were themselves conquered by the superior culture of the vanquished. They largely adopted Egyptian civilization. They became, to all intents and purposes, Egyptians. Magnificent temples were raised to the Egyptian gods; they were adorned with statues; avenues of winged sphinxes led up to them. They adopted also the official language and the hieroglyphic writing, and formed their court on the old model. In matters of religion, there was such a strong similarity, both in name and nature, between the Egyptian god Seb and their national god Setech, that

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. IV., p. 38. But compare Sayce's remarks: "Ancient Empires," p. 33, and note 1, same page.

² See Rawlinson's remarks, in "History of Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 198.

³ "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., p. 257.

they at once adopted him as their god.¹ In other respects, they influenced the culture of Egypt for good. They are thought to have given them some idea of fixed eras,² and especially did they teach them how to organize a strong



Hyksos King (Statue from the Fayoum).

central government. In a certain sense, they made the glories of the coming dynasties of Egypt possible.

Of the various kings of the Hyksos dynasty or dynas-

¹ Rather, there was no adoption at all. These two deities were the same. The same mythic conception and elementary name were common to both.

² Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. I., p. 237.

ties, we know, at present, almost nothing with certainty, owing to causes we have already named. Two, at least,



Sphinx at Tanis, with the name of
Aphosis.

and probably others, bore the name of Apapi or Apohis. We have a sphinx bearing the name Apohis on it. We present a front view showing the features. This may be a fair representation of the king of this name. These kings, at least the last one of them, ruled at Avaris, and we read in a fragmentary papyrus that thither was sent the tribute from all Egypt.¹

We are now about entering on the third great period of Egyptian greatness. Let us glance at our surroundings. Whether the rule of the Hyksos kings extended over several centuries, or was of comparatively short duration, we can see at a glance that there would probably be a complete shifting of power. Out of the confusion, Thebes gradually emerges. It was at the head of the nomes of Upper Egypt, though its kings were subordinate to the Hyksos kings of the Delta. When the clouds began to break away, the seventeenth dynasty was reigning at Thebes. The family name of these monarchs was Taa; the throne name was Sen-ken-en-ra.² Three of these kings stand out with more or less prominence, and it is

¹ The first Sallier papyrus, in "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 3.

² On these names Birch remarks as follows: "The names of individuals who lived at the period just before and at the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, are repetitions of those which appear in the eleventh and twelfth; proving that they belong to the same families, and were probably not separated by any great interval of time." ("Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 80.) It is well to bear this in mind when theorizing as to the length of the Hyksos rule.

interesting to note their titles. The first was simply Taa; the second was Taa the Great (Taa-aa); the third was Taa the Great and Victorious (Taa-aa-ken). These titles were probably bestowed upon them in consequence of their wars with the invaders.

From what we can gather from the papyrus already mentioned,¹ it seems that the Hyksos king, becoming alarmed at the growing power of Thebes (probably scarcely concealing its determination to be revenged), sought frivolous pretenses for a quarrel. He accordingly dispatched an embassy to Thebes, with a command in reference to religion. The command seems to have been to not serve any other god than Amen-ra. How this embassy was answered, it is impossible to say,² but a more exacting message was sent a little later. It seems to have borne reference to wells for cattle. Whatever it was, Sen-ken-en-ra "knew not how to reply to the messenger of King Apapi."³ He had good reason, however, to fear the consequences, for we read that, when the messenger departed, he "bade summon his mighty chiefs, likewise his captains and expert guides: he related to them the tale entire of the words which King Apapi sent to him concerning them. They were all silent at once in great dismay." The result was war between Thebes and the Hyksos. The kings of the seventeenth dynasty certainly did a great deal towards breaking the power of the invaders, if they did not drive them out entirely. We possess some interesting remains of this period: probably one of the most interesting is the mummified body of Taa-aa-ken, the great and victorious king. But we know now that he himself did not live to

¹ The first Sallier papyrus.

² Sayce says the command was complied with; Rawlinson says it was rejected.

³ "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 8.

know of his victory. He died in battle. His body is disfigured by his wounds, and there is all evidence that it was prepared for burial in a very hasty manner, in the absence of many conveniences usually applied. He was doubtless killed in the Delta, hastily embalmed, and taken to Thebes for burial. That his army was victorious, is shown by the fact that they recovered his body.¹

The seventeenth dynasty seems to have come to an end with the death of Taa-aa-ken—a successor to him (Kames) is indeed noted; yet nothing worthy of record is known of him. His reign was certainly a very brief one, and we doubt whether he belonged to the same family, or was king in any true sense of the word. In the troublous times of which we are now speaking, when the various sections of Egypt were engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with a foreign conqueror, what they demanded was a born leader. Aahmes, who appears as the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, was not from Thebes. He was chief of the fifteenth nome of Upper Egypt, whose capital city was Hermopolis. There is no proof that his family was at all connected with the Theban family of Taa. The probabilities are that when Taa-aa-ken was struck down in his fight with the Hyksos, the Egyptians ranged themselves under the leadership of this nome. Possibly Kames, at its head, was made king, but his reign was brief, and Aahmes appears as the founder of the eighteenth dynasty.²

Aahmes was the king who completed the work of his predecessor and completely freed Egypt from the dominion of the Hyksos and ushered in the fortunate days of the eighteenth dynasty. Thebes was once more the seat

¹ His body was amongst the number discovered at Dair-el-Bahari, in the summer of 1881. It is now in the museum at Boulak, near Cairo.

² This is a perplexing point. See Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., pp. 252, 253. Compare with Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 193.

of power, Egypt was again a united country, respected at home and feared abroad. In leaving behind us the subject of the Hyksos invasion, we can but express our candid conviction that this subject has been but poorly understood by our scholars generally. In our judgment, future discoveries will tend to shorten the interval of time to a comparatively brief period—say one or two centuries. We think they will also give it a different meaning. The people in the Delta were always more than half Asiatics. In-wandering tribes finally gained the upper hand, and then came the Hittites, who were the ruling people in all that section. When the Egyptians regained the supremacy, they did not so much wreak their vengeance on the Semitic tribes as they did on the common ruler of them both, the Hittites. But all this is thrown out as a suggestion, which future discoveries will tend to establish or disprove.¹

To treat with any fullness the period on which we have now entered, would require a volume by itself. We are compelled, therefore, to give only an outline. Egypt, triumphant over her enemies, became, in her turn, a conquering power, and for several centuries she was the acknowledged mistress of the world. The first ten kings of this dynasty were ruling in Egypt during the height of her prosperity. Then follows a period of confusion, in which four or five kings ruled at Thebes, during which the tribes in the Delta were again coming to the front, and finally the nineteenth dynasty appears on the scene. Of these first ten rulers, one was a queen, four bear the

¹ Most historical writers have had more or less to say in regard to Abraham and Joseph in connection with the Hyksos. Some state that Joseph rose to power under Apapi, the last Hyksos king. For the present, it is sufficient to refer the reader to the chapter on the Hebrews. The Hyksos invasion had probably long passed when the tribes of the Israelites arrived in Egypt.

name of Amen-hotep, and four that of Thothmes. Though the ruling tribe came from Hermopolis, yet Thebes was the capital.

The first two kings of this dynasty restored the authority of Thebes over both Lower and Upper Egypt, reconquered Nubia and chastised the Libyans, who were troublesome on the frontier. The third one, Thothmes I., finding the country at peace, and with a large force at his



Bust of Thothmes.

command, resolved "to wash his heart" of the disgrace of the Asiatic conquest, and forthwith poured his armies upon Western Asia. He overran Palestine, Philistia, and set up his monuments on the very banks of the Euphrates; and when his armies returned to Egypt, vast numbers of captives and great quantities of booty accompanied it. The king celebrated his victories by embellishing the great temple at Karnak.

He was succeeded by Thothmes II., who married his sister Hatsu and reigned conjointly with her for a few years. But Hatsu was a woman of no ordinary ability. Probably she connived at the death of her husband and brother,¹ and then, banishing her younger brother² to the far-off Delta, assumed the reins of government. Strange stories are told about this queen. She assumed male attire, and demanded to be spoken to, and of, as a man. She ruled with great energy, and brought to a rapid completion public works of importance. She built temples,

¹ Birch: "History of Egypt," p. 86.

² Thothmes III.

set up obelisks, and arranged long avenues of sphinxes. She dispatched expeditions for discovery and trade to distant Punt. She established friendly relations with that country, and brought from thence into Egypt great quantities of valuable materials, and even made an effort to transplant incense-bearing trees. Of her military expeditions, not much is known; but who can doubt that the rapid and peaceful development of the wealth of Egypt during her administration did much to advance the glories of the reign of Thothmes III.?



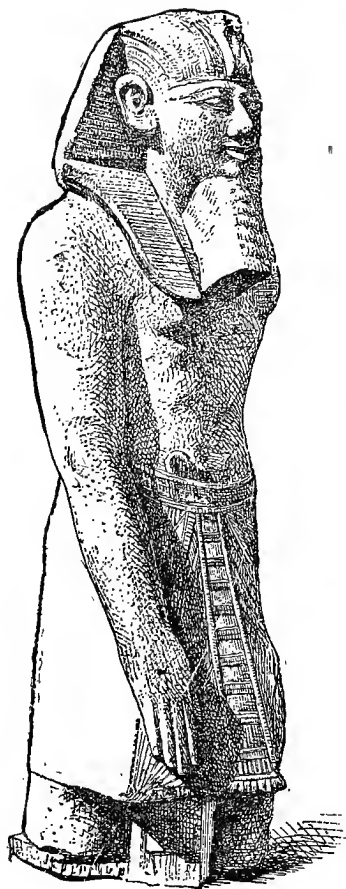
Queen Hatsu.

During the reign of this king, Egypt reached the very acme of her greatness. Time after time, Thothmes III.



Inhabitants of Punt.

marched from Egypt at the head of his armies in campaigns against Asiatic people. The combined force of the Hittite confederacy was defeated in a great battle near



Thothmes III.

Megiddo, probably in the great plain of Esdraelon. We hear of him carrying his victorious arms beyond the Euphrates, where he amuses himself by hunting elephants in the vicinity of ancient Nineveh. Great quantities of tribute poured into Egypt from all the adjacent countries. His numerous wars filled the land with captives, who were compelled to labor for the Egyptians. There was scarcely a city of Egypt but what was adorned by some public monument erected by order of Thothmes. He left profuse records of his doings. He caused great collections of rare and curious animals and plants to be transported to Thebes, where he strove to naturalize them, or else to perpetuate

their forms in carved inscriptions on the monuments.

But, *sic transit*, it is interesting to know that the mummy of this Egyptian Alexander was among the number found at Dair-el-Bahari, in the summer of 1881. He could have been but a trifle over five feet in height. The mummy was the first to be unrolled. The very flowers with which he was buried "looked as if they had been recently dried in the sun, and even the color of the petals



Sphinx at Karnak, with
name of Thothmes III.

could be discerned;"¹ but while the wondering eyes of savants were gazing on the face of this potentate, now first unwrapped from the slumbers of nearly forty centuries, it commenced to fade away, and there was only time for a hurried photograph before it fell into pitiful handfuls of dust, that were consigned to a final burial.

A few more reigns and we find ourselves approaching a period of confusion. The eighth king of the list, Thothmes IV., is known to have cleared away the sand from the sphinx at Gizeh, and set up a memorial tablet, and a small temple for worship. The next king, Amen-hotep III., took for wife a foreign princess named Tii. Considerable speculation has been indulged in as to who she was, but it seems that in one inscription she is called "the daughter of the chief of Naharina;"² this would make her a native of Assyria.³ This



Princess Tii.

¹ Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," p. 106.

² Payne, in "The Century," for May, 1887.

³ But this is not settled. Wilson says she was a Libyan. ("Egypt of the Past," p. 247.) Sayce shows we are not certain of her origin. ("Ancient Empires," p. 40, and note.) Brugsch does not express himself, but seems inclined to believe her of Abyssinian origin.

is thought by some to account for the singular change in the Egyptian state religion soon to be spoken of. Amen-hotep III. was also a great builder. The great seated



Amen-hotep III.

statues at Thebes, known as the Vocal Memnon, are representatives of this king. They are carved out of solid sandstone, and the larger must have been about seventy feet high when first erected.

We have now arrived at a very singular period in Egyptian history, and one that has

been, we think, wrongly treated by historical writers generally. We refer to the time intervening between the reign of Amen-hotep IV. and the nineteenth dynasty. In our opinion, this period was considerably longer than it has usually been considered. We think it shows a revival of Semitic influence, and further consider it a period of civil war, of local insurrections, finally put an end to by conquests of a confederacy formed in the Delta, that ushered in the nineteenth dynasty.¹

It is usually related of Amen-hotep IV. that he made an effort to change the state religion of Egypt; that he sought to substitute for the many divinities of the Egyp-

¹ We are largely influenced in this view by Mr. Stuart's discoveries at Tel-el-Amarna. See "Nile Gleanings," Chap. vii.

tian pantheon one god only, the visible disk of the sun being considered as representative of this one supreme god. This step met with bitter opposition from the priests. Consequently Amen-hotep IV. left Thebes,



Vocal Memnon.

changed his name to Khuen-aten and founded a new capital at Tel-el-Amarna, not far distant from Hermopolis. Here he was followed by at least three successors, but it is claimed there was a gradual return to the old religion, and

finally, under Hor-em-heb, this restoration was completed and Thebes again became the capital.¹

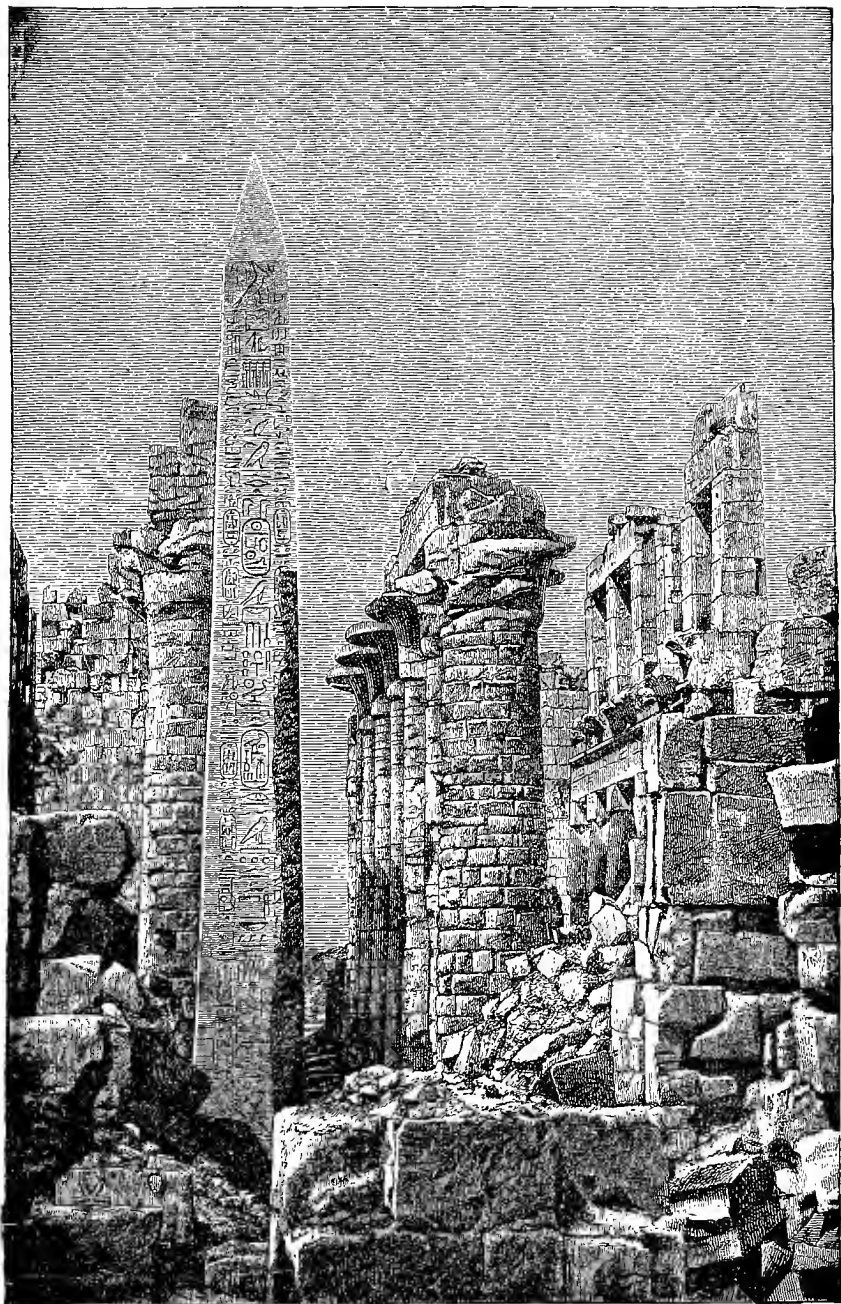
It is admitted that this whole period is a very obscure



Statue of Khuen-aten.

one. It is further admitted that the center of authority is no longer Thebes, but Middle Egypt, and that a

¹ This view is the one usually accepted. It is sometimes added that, the mother of Khuen-aten not being of Egyptian blood, he was regarded as an illegitimate king from the start.



OBELISK OF THOTHMES AT KARNAK.

complete change in the state religion has occurred. To the above, we must add that Khuen-aten himself, as far as personal appearance was concerned, was very different indeed from the kings of the eighteenth dynasty. This will be noticed in comparing this cut of him with the other members of this dynasty, but this is not all. The court



Khuen-aten.

and its surroundings were in some respects different from the ordinary Egyptian court. Birch remarks: "Not only are the scenes represented peculiar—the king is seen showering on his court donations of various kinds from a window of the palace, while the types, features and the abject prostration of his court, and unusual freedom of art, show the introduction of a foreign element into the annals of the country."¹ Villiers Stuart makes the same obser-

¹ "Ancient Egypt," p. 115.

vation, and shows from the portraits of some of his courtiers that we are probably in the presence of a different people than those in power during the eighteenth dynasty.¹

Now all this certainly points to the rise to power of some tribe in Middle Egypt—probably some tribe that possessed a large Semitic ethnic element. There is cer-



Khuen-aten and His Family Bestowing Gifts.

tainly food for thought in Lenormant's suggestion that possibly the Hebrews were more or less concerned in this matter.² Be this as it may, it is certainly true that Egyptian religion had long been influenced by Semitic philosophy, and Tiele shows that under this influence it

¹ "Nile Gleanings," p. 300.

² But the Israelites were probably not in Egypt at this time. ("Ancient History," p. 338.)

was verging more and more towards Monotheism.¹ Now the worship followed by Khuen-aten and his court was a form of Monotheism. There ran through it a high tone of devotional feeling, and quite a pure conception of the Supreme Being, though as His representative they adored a visible, material object.² This new power arose exactly in that section of country where the sculptors of the twelfth dynasty represent the arrival of Semitic bands. Probably the explanation of this whole period is that it marks the revival of Semitic influence and power, crushed when the shepherd kings were driven out of the country.³

As to the supposed connection between Khuen-aten and Amen-hotep IV., it seems that in the tomb of Queen Tii was sculptured a portrait of her son, Amen-hotep IV., and in this cut he does not at all resemble Khuen-aten. Further still, in a tomb at Thebes, discovered but recently, by Mr. Stuart, there were two sculptures: that on the left of the entrance being Amen-hotep IV., with his cartouch; that on the right being Khuen-aten and his cartouch; and we are told that the two figures did not at all resemble each other.⁴ From the name of the queen of the Khuen-aten, we judge she was a daughter of Amen-hotep IV., and a granddaughter of Tii,⁵ and, from the peculiar mode of address, she seems to have reigned in her own right.

Whatever we may ultimately have to decide as to the facts of the case, it is evident that for a considerable time a line of kings ruled all Egypt from their headquarters at

¹ "Egyptian Religion," p. 146.

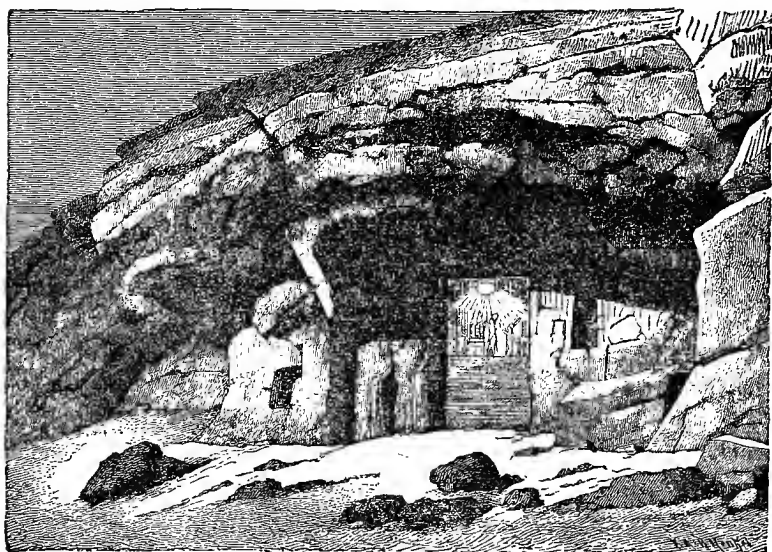
² Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 273.

³ See Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 164, note 3. It seems that Sir Charles Nicholson thinks he has proved that the hostility to Khuen-aten arose more from dynastic than from religious causes. This is exactly the position we have assumed.

⁴ "Nile Gleanings," but compare Sayce's "Ancient Empires," p. 40, note 1.

⁵ Ibid.

Tel-el-Amarna. The tombs are large and numerous. The scale on which they are excavated shows that a long time was required in this work. "After they were completed and tenanted, they must have been for many years visited by the descendants of the occupants, for they contain enormous accumulations of broken earthenware, the remains of the vessels in which offerings were brought annually by



Khuen-aten and Family Worshipping the Disk.

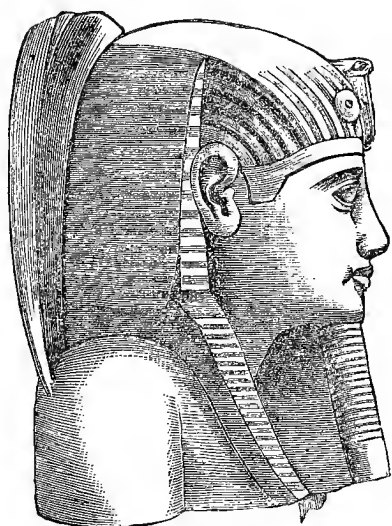
surviving relatives. . . . It must have been a period of much prosperity and luxury, judging from the rich dresses and furniture, and the numerous chariots and horses sculptured on the walls of these stately mausoleums; and the army seems to have been particularly well appointed, as every branch of it is represented in the tableau of a royal review sculptured in one of the tombs."¹

Still this entire line of kings was cordially hated by

¹ "Nile Gleanings," p. 85.

the Thebans, no doubt largely for the position they took in regard to the religion, and probably still more because they had overthrown Theban power. The immediate successors of Khuen-aten made an attempt to conciliate the rest of the country in religious matters, and adopted some of the old gods. Yet they were mainly unsuccessful, though the last king of the line was granted a burial in the royal tomb of Thebes. When the powers at Thebes had regained the supremacy, they destroyed, as far as possible, all evidences of this line of kings; hence we know but little about it. Three kings are mentioned,¹ but we are not sure that this is the correct number,² and are in doubt as to the order of succession.³ It seems, however, that after a time Thebes recovered her power; the old line seems to have been reëstablished. In the sculptured bust of Horem-heb, we see again the classical features of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty. Still the power of the eighteenth dynasty had been hopelessly weakened. The reign of Horem-heb was the last of the line. Another period of confusion ensues, and we are confronted with the nineteenth dynasty—a very pronounced Semitic one.

In regard to the culture of the eighteenth dynasty, we must remember the circumstances under which it



Horem-heb.

¹ Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 277.

² See Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 42, note.

³ *Ibid.*

arose. All the energies of united Egypt had been gathered to free the land from the suzerainty of the Hyksos. That effort being successful, the aroused energies of the people were put forth to develop their resources. "Industry and trade diffused prosperity throughout the thickly peopled land. Agriculture was pursued with especial care, as a sacred task; and the works which, in the Nile Valley, are so indispensable to success, were kept up or improved. Ancient towns grew in extent, and increased in magnificence and wealth of monuments, while new towns were founded."¹ Further, we must consider the wonderful increase of national wealth caused by their successful foreign wars. Western Asia and Northern Africa poured their tribute into the lap of Thebes. In addition to all this, we must take into account the impetus given to the national intellect by the foregoing. Egypt was no longer an exclusive country. They were brought into contact with the culture of surrounding people. It is not singular, then, that the entire period was one of great literary activity. Nor were the arts neglected: temples and public monuments of all kinds were erected; magnificent tombs were hewn out of solid rock, and richly carved and sculptured.

In matters of religion, we are assured that slow but sure progress was going forward, and, in our opinion, this was largely due to Semitic influence. We have pointed out that, from a very early time, Semitic people were passing from Asia into the Delta. When the Hyksos kings were driven out of Egypt, it was not so much the Semites that were expelled as it was their masters, the Hittites. The Semites remained. And we have pointed out our reasons for believing that the line of kings that

¹ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 146.

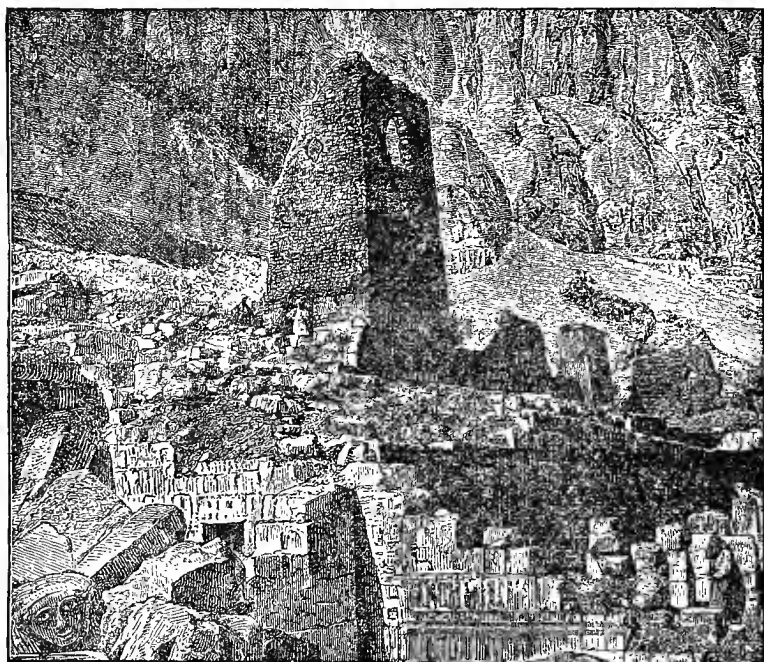
ruled at Tel-el-Amarna were of some Semitic stock. Now, one of the ways in which Semitic influence would make itself felt would be in the field of religion. They, doubtless, assisted the tendency, inherent in all systems of Polytheism, towards Monotheism.

It will be well to recall what was written in a preceding chapter¹ in regard to this last statement. During this period, the Egyptians came the nearest they ever did to Monotheism. Perhaps it was for reasons of policy only that this important step was not taken. Like the Chinese, the Egyptians were very faithful to traditions. It is quite natural that, as the country grew more and more united, the people would see that, after all, they were worshipping the same gods. Just as we have seen that the three local gods of the Thebaid—Amen, Chem and Munt—were considered as really the same in the times of the twelfth dynasty, so, now, the widening horizon of their intellectual sky enabled them to perceive the unity between the greater gods of Egypt, for these gods had all grown out of the same mythic conceptions and had much in common.

It would seem as if the Hyksos kings gave them a start in this direction, since they spoke of Amen of the South, in conjunction with Ra of the North, under the title of Amen-ra; and, in time, this deity became confounded with all of the principal gods. Shu, Tum, Osiris, are all, at different times and places, considered the same as Amen-ra. In addition to this, purer spiritual conceptions of the nature of a god were formed. However, the Egyptians of this time were not able to cast aside all the material conceptions of divinity. To the last, Amen-ra was considered as a god (masculine), and was joined to a

¹ Page 346 *et seq.*

goddess. Thus it will be seen that the religion of Egypt, under the eighteenth dynasty, presents itself to us in a most interesting light. Men seemed conscious that their various gods were but different names of the same god, yet they did not drop the worship of all but one. On the contrary, each god was, when worship was paid to it, considered as the supreme and only god. Side by side, with



Terraced Temple of Queen Hatsu.

purser conceptions of a god, existed other conceptions of a debasing nature. They stood on the very verge of Monotheism, yet did not take the step. We only want to add to the foregoing that they had come to this stage as a result of protracted development.¹

In resuming the thread of the historical narrative, we

¹ Our principal authority on this subject has been Tiele. ("Egyptian Religion," pp. 141-157.)

find ourselves entering upon an important epoch. This is the so-called nineteenth dynasty, and marks the revival of Semitic influence. In the obscurity concerning the commencement of this dynasty, we can but dimly make out the main points. We have shown that the eighteenth dynasty ended in a great deal of confusion, and have given our reasons for believing that Khuen-aten and his immediate successors mark the rise to power of a new section, with headquarters at Tel-el-Amarna, but have also noted the fact that the last king of the list, Horemheb, marks probably a return to Theban supremacy. Mr. Sayce¹ has shown that room must be found about this time for one or two more kings of which we at present know nothing. All this points to a much disturbed period—a time of civil wars, invasions and insurrections. The Asiatic dependencies not only threw off the yoke, but threatened Egypt with a conquest in turn.

In the midst of such a state of things, a new confederacy seems to have been formed in the Delta. The part most exposed to attack could no longer wait on the tardy action of Upper Egypt, but united its forces for self-protection, and, finding itself a powerful body, concluded to make thorough work by putting itself at the head of affairs in Egypt.² Now the Delta had been for a long time infil-

¹ "Ancient Empires," p. 42, note.

² Some authorities are willing to admit that the nineteenth dynasty came from the Delta. Tiele concludes this from "his name and the god to whose worship he was most devoted." Sayce contents himself by showing that "Rameses, its founder, came from Lower Egypt, and was probably of Semitic extraction, but was related, probably by marriage, with the eighteenth dynasty." He gives no authority for this view. Wilson does not mention the Delta, but styles Rameses I. "a gallant soldier who seized on the government." Lenormant says nothing about the northern origin of this dynasty, but thinks Rameses I. was the grandson of Horemheb. Brugsch says nothing as to place of origin, but thinks there must have been a close family connection between the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, but says: "Whether Rameses was the son, son-in-law or brother of Horemheb is as yet undecided." Birch says nothing of place of origin, but says of Rameses

trated with Semitic tribes—tribes who had been more or less connected with the Hyksos conquests. It would, therefore, not be at all singular that the physical appearance of the new dynasty should betray marked Semitic traits,¹ or even their connection with the old Hyksos conquerors be admitted. Both of these conclusions seem to be established by late investigations. The nineteenth dynasty was a rise to power of tribes containing a large Semitic ethnic element, dormant since the expulsion of the Hyksos, with the probable exception of the dynasty of Khuen-aten. The probabilities are all against there being any connection by blood or marriage between these two dynasties. It was a conquest, or at least an enforced union under the leadership of the Delta, to escape a threatened conquest from Asia.

The new dynasty was, however, a very politic one. Though the kings worshiped as principal gods the local gods of the Delta, yet they also worshiped the great gods of Egypt generally, and sought in every way not to offend their subjects in this respect. They were also active in erecting temples to the honor of these various gods. Neither did they seek, at least at first, to transfer the seat of authority from Thebes to another city. Probably with the great mass of people this change of dynasty was scarcely noticeable. No sooner was the new dynasty in power, than they set themselves to work to reconquer the provinces gained by Thothmes but lost in the troublous times following the reign of Amen-hotep IV.

The first king of the list was Ra-meses I.; that is, the

that "he is supposed to have been connected by marriage with the previous dynasty." Rawlinson, after noting these conflicting views, concludes that he was unconnected with the eighteenth dynasty; that he was "one who raised himself to power, at a time of political trouble and disturbance, by his own talents and energy."

¹ See mummy of Rameses II., pp. 590, 591.

son of Ra; and Ra was the chief god of Heliopolis. We know but little about the reign of this king. His coronation as king of Egypt is represented on the walls of Karnak. He seems to have waged war with the Hittites in Western Asia, the outcome of which was perhaps not decided, since a treaty of peace seems to have been entered into between these two powers, in which each agreed to respect the other's territory.¹ He seems to have reduced Nubia to his rule, since he built a storehouse for the temple of Bahani at the second cataract, and transported thither captives taken in his wars.² He also constructed for himself a fine tomb near Thebes, from the sculptured adornments of which we gather considerable as to the religious culture. It is noticeable that Set, the great god of the Delta, was especially honored.³

He was succeeded by Seti I. The exact relationship between these two kings is as yet unsettled,⁴ though the probabilities are that Seti was the son of Ramcses I.⁵ It is stated that Seti I., in order to render his reign more secure, married a granddaughter of Khuen-aten;⁶ but nothing is known for certain on this point, and, in our opinion, the probabilities are all against it.⁷ Be all this

¹ This fact is only known to us from an incidental mention of it in the treaty made with Rameses II. See "Records of the Past," Vol. IV., pp. 28, 29.

² Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. II., p. 9.

³ Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 287.

⁴ Some inscriptions speak of him as the son of Rameses I. This is the view of Brugsch, Birch, Sayce and Rawlinson. Lenormant speaks of him as "a soldier of fortune, a stranger by birth to the royal family, who, by marriage with the heiress of the crown, seated himself on the throne." His arguments, however, seem to us to be very weak. Wilson styles him "a young relative [of Rameses], Seti by name."

⁵ Rameses II. styles himself "son of Seti and grandson of Rameses I." ("Records of the Past," Vol. IV., p. 28.)

⁶ Such is the opinion of Wilson, Rawlinson and Brugsch. See, also, Prof. Payne's article, in "Century," for May, 1887.

⁷ The simple fact that the name of his queen was Tuá, or Tuaa, does not justify us in jumping to the conclusion that she was a descendant of Tii, the foreign

as it may, Set I. was the most energetic and warlike king Egypt had seen for a long time. Travelers and writers



Profile of Seti I.

generally have spoken with admiration of the "refined, sweet and smiling profile" of this king.¹ A late writer speaks of "his noble head, at once human and heroic, mild and proud."² We present a view of the profile

of this king. These smiling features were those of a man who knew how to command. Once again the armies of Egypt swept in victorious course through Western Asia. This time, however, they met with more of an organized opposition than that which confronted the armies of Thothmes. The Hittites had now thoroughly organized their forces, and presented a barrier against which the Egyptian army could make no permanent advance. He undoubtedly succeeded in depriving them of their subject tribes in Palestine, and received at least the nominal sub-

queen of Amen-hotep III. Maspero has shown that Tai-ai was an Egyptian name. (Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 40, note 1.) The fact that Rameses II. was spoken of as "king in his mother's womb"—thought to imply that he was the first legitimate king of this line—is, on the contrary, an example of how the obsequious scribes sought to flatter the praise-loving Rameses II.

¹ Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," p. 54.

² "The Century," for May, 1887.

mission of Mesopotamia.¹ He apparently inflicted a heavy blow on the Hittites themselves by the surprise and capture of their capital, Kadesh, on the Orontes; but it is to be observed that this victory is followed by a treaty, in which the Hittite territory proper is returned to them, and each party agrees to respect the territory of the other. This shows that the Hittites themselves were not much crippled by their defeat.² It may be that all he wished to do to the Hittites was to compel them to respect the treaty made with Rameses I.³ In other respects, his campaigns were successful, and the authority of Egypt seems as firmly established as in the days of the great kings of the eighteenth dynasty.

In public buildings and works of public utility, Seti was also active. The Great Hall of Columns, at Karnak, was his work, a view of which, in a restored state, we have presented. One wall of this hall is called the memorial wall, since it is covered with painting and sculpture illustrative of his numerous victories.⁴ He erected a somewhat famous temple at Abydos, the headquarters of the Osiris faith in very ancient times. This temple is renowned as being the location of the Abydos tablet. It would seem as if the kings of this dynasty were somewhat given to the study of antiquities, and sought to arrange tablets of the names of the kings who had preceded them. The variations, however, in these lists show that they had no certain

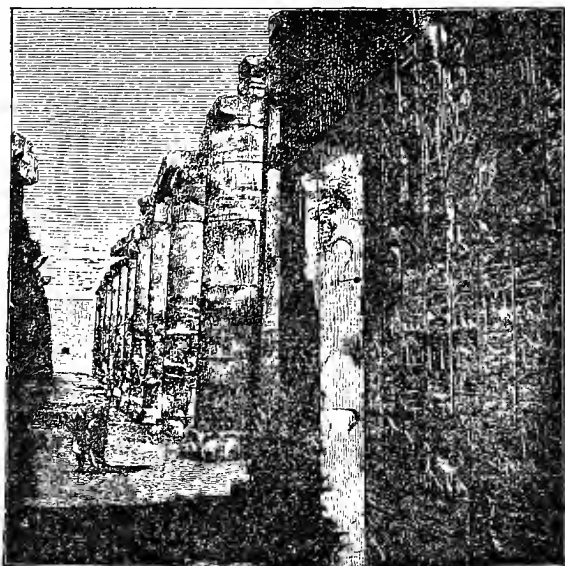
¹ Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 292.

² Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 243.

³ See Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 263.

⁴ "This hall contained one hundred and thirty-four columns, twelve of which are sixty-two feet high, and nearly thirty-eight feet in circumference. The remainder are forty-two and one-half feet high, and twenty-eight feet in circumference. They are designed after the papyrus plant, are elegant in figure, and superbly decorated with paintings and hieroglyphics." (Wilson.) Only about half the columns were erected by Seti I. See plan in Oncken's "Allgemeine Geschichte," No. 25.

basis to work on. At Quarnah, opposite Thebes, he erected a temple in honor of his father, Rameses I. This temple was completed by Rameses II. Finally he built for himself a magnificent tomb, which was discovered by the traveler Belzoni. This tomb has a number of very interesting points in connection with it. In one small room was a long hieroglyphic inscription concerning the destruction of mankind.¹ The sarcophagus, which probably once con-

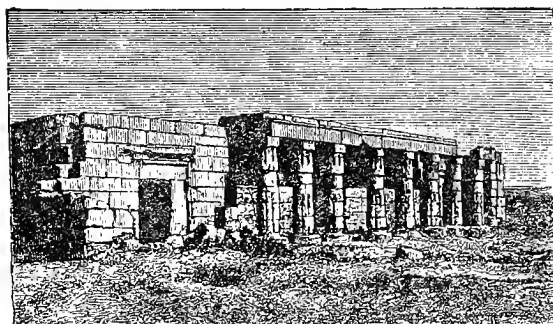


Ruins of the Temple of Seti I. at Abydos.

tained the king's body, is now deposited in the Soan Museum at London.

It has remained for the last few years to discover the veritable mummy of this once great king—found in the summer of 1881, in the rock-grave of Dair-el-Bahari, to the west of Thebes, in company with Taa-aa-ken, of the seventeenth dynasty; the redoubtable warrior Thothmes III., of the eighteenth; and the mummy of his greater

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 105 *et seq.*

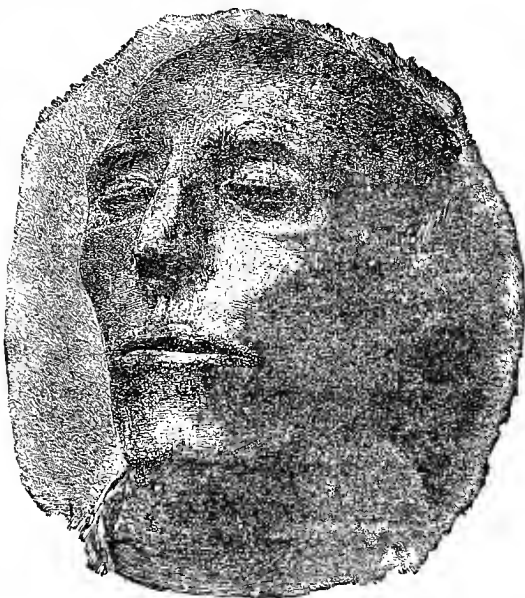


Ruins of the Temple of Quarnah.

son, Rameses II. Thanks to the great skill of the Egyptians as embalmers, we are now enabled to look on the very face of Seti. But oh, stop

and think how triflingly brief is the span of human life! More than thirty centuries, with their burdens of hopes and fears, have sped away into the illimitable past since that sheeted form was laid in its tomb.

Rameses II., the son and successor of Seti, is probably the most renowned king of Egypt, and yet when we ask for the grounds on which this great renown rests, we are conscious that they are not very satisfactory. He was known among the Greeks



Mummy of Seti I.

as Sesostris, and around his name there have gathered events and conquests that properly belong to other mon-

archs,¹ as well as some mythical events. He was a very great builder, and filled Egypt with slaves, whom he compelled to work on public monuments. Of his wars, the most successful ones were directed against the hapless Negroes of the south. Lenormant says: "Man-hunting expeditions among the unfortunate Negroes of Soudan were organized on a monstrous scale, unknown in former times. There was no longer any intention, as under the Thothmes and Amen-hoteps, of extending the frontier of the Egyptian empire so as to include the ivory and gold-producing countries. The chief and, in fact, only aim was to procure slaves. Nearly every year grand razzias were made into Ethiopia, returning with thousands of captives, of every age and of both sexes, loaded with chains."²

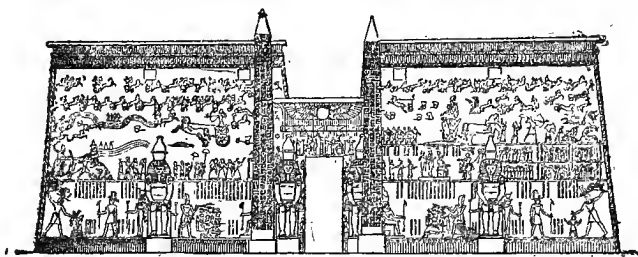
In the Asiatic campaigns, it is clear enough that the Egyptian power was weakened. It is possible that, nominally, Rameses still held the country first conquered by Thothmes and regained by Seti I. It is evident that the Hittites were able to successfully withstand the might of Egypt, against whom they united all the countries of Western Asia. The great battle of the war was fought near Kadesh, on the Orontes. In the list of the Hittite allies may be recognized Aryan tribes of Western Asia Minor. Though claimed as a great victory by the Egyptians, and extravagant praises heaped on Rameses for his personal exploits, it is clear that it was a drawn battle, if not an Egyptian defeat.

This battle of Kadesh, during which Rameses seems to have become separated from his command and owed his escape to personal bravery and prowess, was, on that account, seized on by court scribes and poets as a topic on which to exercise their skill; and as Rameses was such

¹ Birch: "Egypt," p. 125.

² "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 257.

a vain-glorious king, and was anxious to have his deeds known, it is not surprising that we have full accounts of it, written, however, with a full knowledge that the king and Egypt must be set forth in a favorable light. On the walls of the temple at Thebes, this battle is chiseled in deep work in solid stone. The many little details of the Egyptian campaign are represented. We have, also, a prose account of the battle in a papyrus roll, and the whole story is several times repeated on the walls of vari-



Front of the Temple of Luxor at Thebes.

ous temples. This battle was also made the occasion of a prize poem.¹

The wars with the Asiatic countries did not terminate with this battle of Kadesh, but continued for some years, probably with varying fortunes; but finally a new treaty of peace was made, in which each party agreed to respect the territory of the other. This treaty was soon afterwards strengthened by marriage between Rameses and a Hittite princess. It is clear that this treaty must have undermined Egyptian influence in Western Asia. It is considered, however, that when the Hittites entered into this treaty the several Asiatic dependencies of Egypt, whom the Hittites had stirred up to revolt, were forced to return to their allegiance; but Lenormant observes that the

¹ See "Poem of Pentaur," in "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 65.

"bonds of subjection in which these countries were held were much lighter than they had been under Thothmes III., and the Egyptian king prudently contented himself with gratified self-love as a substitute for real power."¹

It is supposed that Rameses was associated with his father, Seti I., when he was but a boy of ten.² He is sup-



Mummy of Rameses II. (Side View.)

posed to have become sole king when he was about twenty-eight.³ He lived to be a very old man. The sixty-seventh year of his reign is noted, but whether this is counted

¹ "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 256.

² The inscription at Abydos says: "I was a boy on his lap, and he spoke thus: 'I will have him crowned as king, for I desire to behold his grandeur while I am still alive.'" (Brugsch: "Egypt," etc., Vol. II., p. 24.)

³ Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 302.

from the time he was associated with his father, or from his sole reign, is not settled. It is evident that for a very long time he ruled Egypt. One result of his wars was to fill Egypt with a vast number of captives, who were kept as slaves. This accounts in some measure for the great number of public works erected by him, and in this matter he was actuated by a desire to excel his predecessors,



Mummy of Rameses II. (Front View.)

and thus hand down his own fame, for he "seems to have made self-glorification the end of his life."¹

Of his public works, we might mention the fortress-wall, supposed to have extended from Heliopolis to Pelusium.² This was commenced by Seti but completed by Rameses. Another work was the great canal, extending from near Bubastis, in an easterly direction, to the

¹ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 169.

² Birch: "Ancient Egypt," p. 131.

Bitter Lakes; through them south to the Red Sea.¹ He also built several cities. Tanis, or Zoan, which, as we have seen, had long been famous, and was one of the chief cities of Hyksos kings, he rebuilt and made it his capital. A private letter of that far-away time gives us a description of the city: "I found it flourishing in good things without a rival, like the foundation of Thebes. . . . The abode of felicity. Its meadows are filled with all good things. It is well provisioned daily. Its pools (are filled) with fish, its ponds with fowl. Its fields are verdant with grass. . . . Its threshing floors are full of barley and wheat."² The royal court was held here, and here was erected a great statue of Rameses II. It must have been about one hundred and twenty feet high, carved out of a solid block of Seyene granite.³

Two other cities of the Delta are of interest because they are mentioned in the Bible, and those in the erection of which the children of Israel were compelled to labor.⁴ These were the city of Rameses, the site of which is as yet unknown,⁵ and Pithom, the site of which is thought to have been satisfactorily located by M. Naville.⁶ At a number of places up and down the Nile, were temples erected by order of Rameses II. As celebrated a one as any is the famous rock temple of Abu Simbel. The facade is formed by four great seated statues of Rameses II., each seventy feet in height. The walls of the room within, all hewn out of the solid rock, are covered with paintings of scenes from the life of the king.⁷ All travelers and

¹ It is still possible to trace portions of this canal. ("Store City of Pithom," p. 2.)

² Goodwin's translation of the letter of Panbesa, in "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 13.

³ Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," p. 128.

⁴ Exod. i. 2.

⁵ Naville: "Store City of Pithom," London, 1885, p. 23.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Page 617.

writers speak in the highest praise of this wonderful temple.¹

After his long and generally prosperous reign, Rameses was laid to his rest in the "valley of the tombs of the kings," to the west of Thebes, where he had built himself a magnificent tomb. Here he slept undisturbed until nearly two centuries had flown over his head, when troublous times were again upon Egypt. So his body was moved around from place to place; but finally, along with others we have mentioned, it was laid to rest in the rock tomb of Dair-el-Bahari, and so was discovered a few years ago, and hence we also are permitted to gaze upon the veritable features of this king. Of these features it is said: "There is plainly to be seen an air of sovereign majesty, of resolve, and of pride."²

When the reign of Rameses Meriamum was brought to a close, we have something more to chronicle than merely the end of a long reign. The glorious period of Egyptian history is now closed. From henceforth we will proceed with greater rapidity, for it is always sad to trace the outline of a nation's fall; so we will hasten along this long period of decline and ever lessening influence. In the drama of the world's history, Egypt had already played her most important part. It is almost startling to reflect that during the many centuries we have thus far traced Egyptian history, we are almost entirely in the dark as to the rest of the world. But the thread of its history now begins to intertwine with that of other people in Western Asia, of whom we have more or less knowledge.

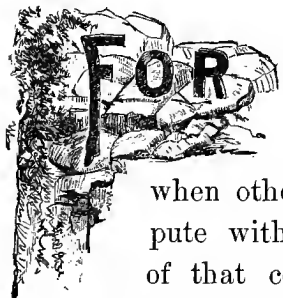
¹ Brugsch: "Egypt Under the Pharaohs," p. 92.

² Robinson: "Pharaohs of the Bondage," p. 71. Undoubtedly some will wonder why we do not speak about the Israelite bondage, which is generally thought to have been at its height under this king. This point will be fully considered in the chapter on the Hebrews.

CHAPTER VII.

EGYPT CONTINUED.

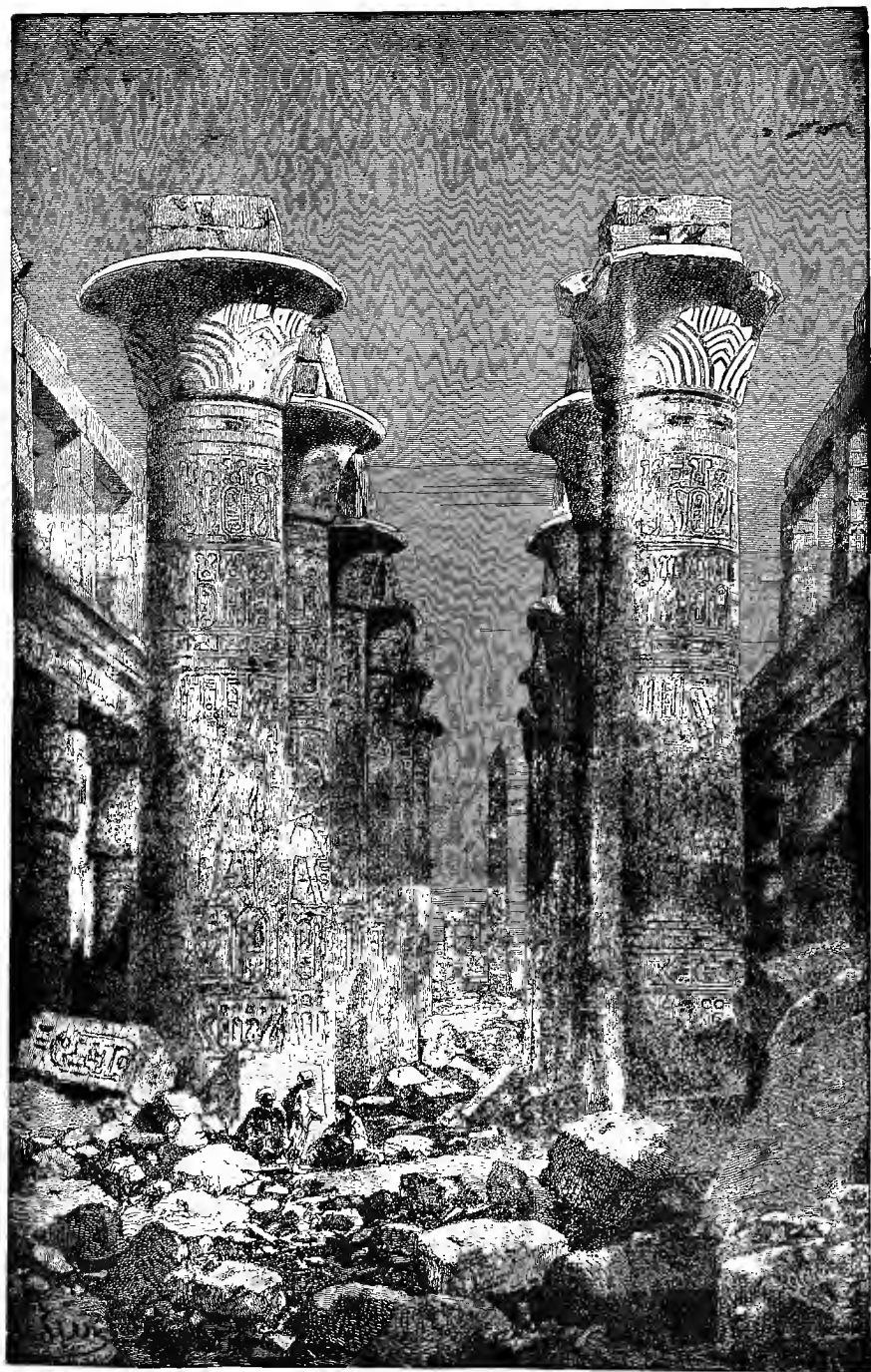
INTRODUCTION — Egypt's decline—Pelasgians—Menephthah—Invasion of Egypt by the Europeans—Seti II.—The Twentieth Dynasty—Invasion of Asia—Conspiracy against Rameses—Culture of the Twentieth Dynasty—Historical Confusion in Egypt—The Assyrians—Conflict between Egypt and Assyria—Influence of Egypt on Civilization—Egyptian Civilization Stationary—Egyptian Society Tribal—The Priestly class—Egyptian Ideas as to Immortality—The Judgment Hall of Osiris—Egyptian Sciences—Their Social Life—General Conclusions.



FOR MANY long centuries, Egypt had been the foremost country in the world. The time was now at hand, when other sections of the earth were to dispute with her for supremacy, and the issue of that conflict was the downfall of Egypt.

Many causes were at work during the reign of Rameses II. to weaken the power of the government. The foreign wars, the introduction of great numbers of slaves and the despotic manners of the court, which adopted many Oriental customs, all tended to weaken the national energy. In fact, the decline that was at hand commenced in the life of Rameses II., and the political sky of Egypt was already overcast, when the aged monarch passed away and was laid in his tomb. This decline is apparent in matters of art, in religion and in material greatness.¹

¹ Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 258. Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 170. Brugsch; "Egypt etc.," Vol. II., p. 112.



THE HALLS IN THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

But the wisest king of Egypt could not have entirely averted the impending storm. Causes far beyond the confines of Africa were at work, the results of which were to tell with disastrous effect on Egypt. The first migrating bands of Aryan people of Europe, who had perhaps become more or less mixed with the primitive population, were in turn exposed to invasion from still other Aryan people. When the multitudinous Germanic tribes had firmly seated themselves in Central Europe, there was movement all along the line. The Greeks and Romans were driven into the territory, where they were destined to evolve so brilliant a Civilization. But the former inhabitants of Southern Europe pressed still farther to the south took refuge, some on mountainous tracts, some on the islands of the Mediterranean, others in Northern Africa and some along the shores of Western Asia. If it be asked further who these people were, we can only give a theoretical answer. They were at the bottom undoubtedly Turanian, they were more or less mixed with Aryan people, and seem to have been, in places at least, called Pelasgians.¹

These people, driven thus away from their original home or confined in very contracted areas, took up the same course of life that the barbarians of Central and Northern

¹ This is saying a good deal. There is, probably, no question of the intermixture of Aryan and Turanian blood. [See Third Volume.] Winchell concludes that the Pelasgians were Hamites ["Preadamites," p. 23] but the Hamites were Turanians intermixed with other stocks. [Rawlinson: "Herodotus," p. 526 *et seq.*] It is well known that the utmost uncertainty exists in regard to the Pelasgians. Rawlinson calls them Aryans ["Herodotus," p. 541] but see Winchell's criticism on this. ["Preadamites," p. 24., note I.] For a long discussion on the Pelasgians see Thirlwall's "Greece," Vol. I., Chap. II., and compare with Grote's "Greece," Vol. II., p. 261 *et seq.* Prof. Sayce shows that the word "Pelasgian" is used in two senses, one, and the most common, is in a general sense about the same as our word prehistoric ["Ilios," New

Europe did centuries later. They became expert sailors and made piratical descents on the mainland, striving to establish themselves as colonists, if possible, or else to escape with all the booty they could gather. From time to time they gathered all their forces together and made an onslaught on Egypt. Thus the people of the Nile valley were brought into contact with people from Europe; and, time and again, Egypt was shaken to its very center. We detect the first appearance of the new danger as far back as the times of Thothmes III.¹ The first invasion of Egypt seems to have been in the time of Seti I., while Rameses II. was co-regent with him. The Sardinians and Etruscans united with the Lybians to invade the Delta, but they were defeated by Rameses.²

Rameses II. passed away and was succeeded by his fourteenth son, Men-eph-thah.³ It is usually stated that he was but a feeble and incapable ruler, but we are at a loss to know the grounds of this conclusion.⁴ It seems that during the last few years of Rameses II., incursions along the west of the Delta had become of almost habitual occurrence. The auxiliary army had been disbanded and

York, 1887, p. 126.] Coming now to the Egyptian side of our statement, it is shown that the Libyans between the sixth and twentieth dynasties, had either become greatly changed in features owing to intermixture with some other people, or else the original people were driven away by the advance of people from Southern Europe [Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 259] and it is agreed on all hands that the constantly recurring stubborn invasions of Egypt, were led, in the main, by people from Europe. The Etruscans seem to have been active in this matter. [See Poole in "Contemporary Review" for April, 1879]

¹ Poole in "Contemporary Review," April, 1879.

² See Poole: L. C., p. 118; but see also Brugsch: "Egypt" Vol. II., p. 123. *et seq.* Compare this with Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 331, and Appendix "B" of same volume.

³ This name is variously spelled.

⁴ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 176.

the fortifications of the land neglected. Finally, when Rameses was gone and his son reigned in his stead, the confederates, the Libyans and their allies and the Sardinians, Sicilians and Etruscans, thought it a good time to invade the land. So in the fifth year of Men-eph-thah, a mighty army poured over the border of the Delta from Libya and advanced almost to Memphis. The king with the utmost speed gathered his army, hastily fortified Memphis and Heliopolis, and sent his troops under the command of competent generals to meet the enemy. Victory



European People who Invaded Egypt.

remained with the Egyptians, but it is to be noticed that circumstances of barbarity, such as mutilation of the slain, followed. This shows that the Egyptians recognized that they were fighting for their very existence with a savage enemy.¹ Thus the first trial of strength between Egypt and Europe ended favorably to the Egyptians. It is considered as very probable that like the Romans of a later day, though the Egyptians had conquered in battle, they

¹ See Birch in "Records of the Past," Vol. IV., p. 37. Brugsch gives

were forced to allow numbers of these people to remain in the Delta.¹ The remainder of this king's reign seems to have been peaceful. He built palaces at Thebes and at Memphis, he dug wells in the desert of Arabia beyond the Egyptian frontier. His inscriptions have been found at Elephantine and at Tanis, sometimes on the monuments of other kings, either in conjunction with, or in substitution of, the original name.² But Menephthah was not the first



Face of Menephthah.

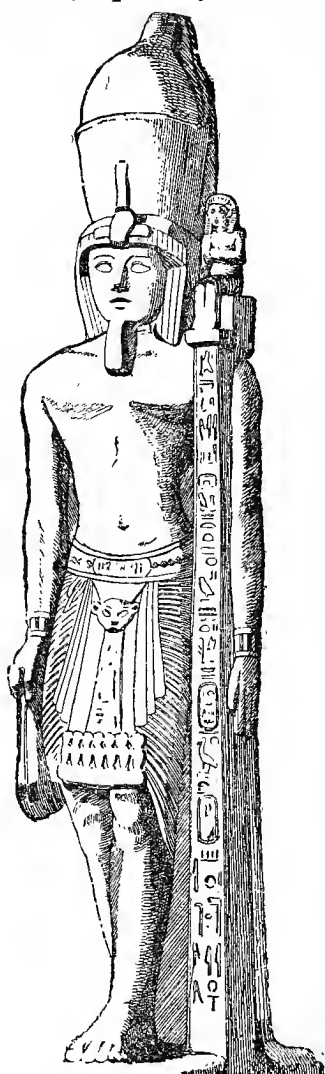
king who had stooped to such acts as these. His foreign

a different location of these allies of the Libyans "History of Egypt," Vol. II., p. 112, also "Appendix nine" to "Ilios," p. 747, but compare with them Poole in "Contemporary Review," April, 1879. It may be that we are in error in supposing that European nations are mentioned at all. See Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 331. Prof. Sayce also is skeptical on this point as he thinks these proper names in question are those of Libyan and Semitic people: "Contemporary Review" December, 1878, p. 75.

¹ Lenormant: "Ancient History" Vol. I., p. 261.

² Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 331.

relations, especially with the Hittites, appear to have been peaceful. He maintained the Egyptian authority over Canaan, and there still survive some curious memoranda on the back of a papyrus roll of the arrival and departure of Egyptian officers on their way to various parts of Palestine with dispatches.¹ He allowed several tribes of Bedouins to graze their flocks on the rich pasture grounds of the Delta.² His reign is generally stated to have lasted eight years. His tomb at Bab-el Moulook one of unusual excellence.³



Seti II.

The successor of Menephthah was Seti II., but just at this point is another of those confused periods in Egyptian history, and we cannot be sure of the succession of events. The capital from the time of Rameses II. had been located at Tanis. This may not have been exactly relished at Thebes. We have some evidence that during the reign of Men-

¹ Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 126.

² Ibid. p. 127.

³ It is generally stated that the Exodus took place under Menephthah. This has had a great deal to do with the general supposition

ephthah a rebellion broke out in the south. A chief by the name of Amen-mes from Central Egypt was at the head of it, and he seems to have been acceptable to the Thebeans.¹ He called himself king of Thebes, and his tomb was built in the "valley of the tombs of the kings." Probably he disputed authority with Seti II., but, after his death, Seti ruled without further trouble. The only inscription of his reign is in his second year. Yet from many indications we possess, we think his reign must have been long and peaceful.² His tomb at Thebes was a very fine structure.

This was a time of considerable literary activity. The priests deemed it a duty to transcribe for the future generations the learning of the past, so copies of important papyri were made. But new works were produced. One of much interest to us is known as the "Tale of the two Brothers." The first part of it is curiously like the story of Joseph's life. We also have a further illustration of how tenacious folk-lore stories are. All have heard of the giant who could not be killed because his soul was hidden far away. So this old Egyptian story of over three thousand years ago, tells us how the younger brother could not be destroyed until the tree in which he had hidden his soul was cut down.³

It is the general belief that another period of invasion put an end to the nineteenth dynasty.⁴ Although the

that his reign was a weak and incapable one, but see our chapter on the Hebrews.

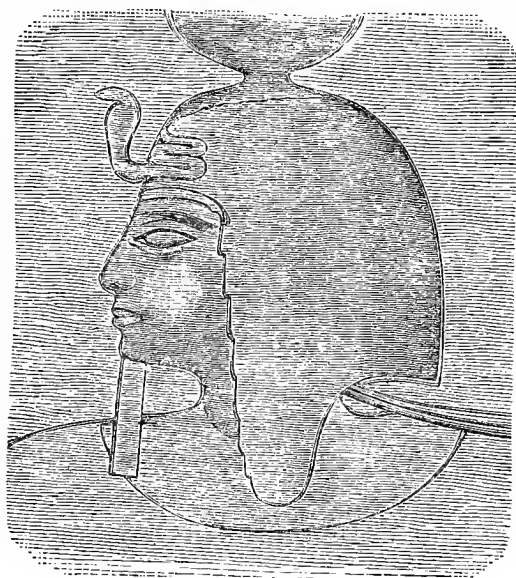
¹ This is the view of both Brugsch and Rawlinson, a slightly different view is supported by Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 341.

² Wilson: "Egypt of the Past", p. 338.

³ Renouf's translation in "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 137 *et seq.* Tiele has shown that this whole story is but the working over again of the old mythic conception of the Egyptains. As he expresses it, it is "the Ancient Mythology and theology transferred to the region of humanity." "Egyptian Religion," p. 183.

⁴ Poole in "Contemporary Review," April, 1879.

monuments are silent, yet we know that a time of anarchy and confusion lasting for some years passed by during which Egypt was broken up into many little powers. A description of that time declares that "the land of Kami had fallen into confusion, every one was doing what he wished, they had no superior for many years who had priority over the others. The land of Egypt was under chiefs of nomes, each person killing the other for ambition and jealousy."¹



Setnekhth.

The Libyans again made invasions into the Delta, and doubtless in this work they were assisted by their allies from the islands and northern shores of the Mediterranean.²

We catch a faint glimpse of two or three kings of this period who ruled at Thebes. But finally, after an unknown number of years, a new confederacy is formed, which suc-

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 46.

² Poole: "Contemporary Review," April, 1879.

ceeds in restoring order throughout Egypt, and freed the land once more from invasion. At the head of the confederacy was the first king of the twentieth dynasty, Setnekht. We do not know that there was any relation what ever between the twentieth and nineteenth dynasty.¹ Judging from the names of the kings, they were from the Delta. The papyrus quoted above² declares that Setnekht "adjusted the whole land which was in insurrection, he



Rameses III.

slaughtered the abominable who were in the land of Tameri (Delta), the great throne of Kami was purified."

The second king of this line, Ramses III., revived for a moment the fading luster of Egypt. It is generally stated that one of the first cares of the new king was to re-arrange

¹ Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II. p. 365.

² Harris Papyrus, "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 46.

the caste divisions of the country. The statement is too strong. There had been nothing just like caste in ancient Egypt.¹

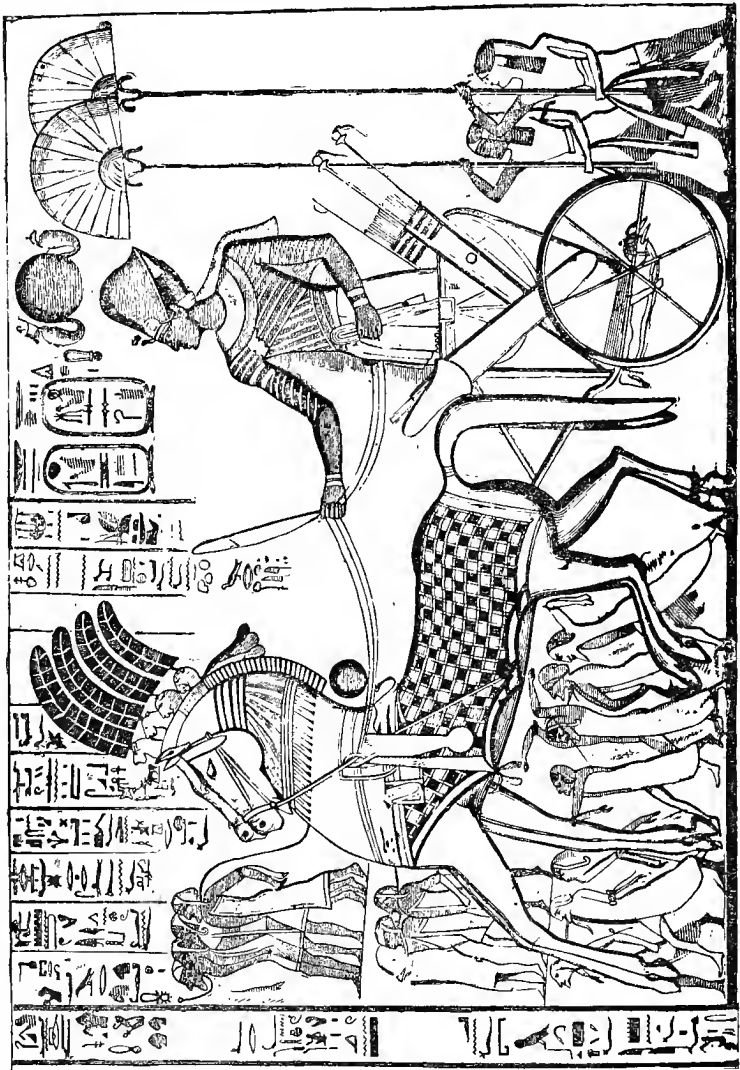
In a tribal state of society, caste can originate only by conquest, with the provision that the conquered tribes shall occupy a subordinate position, and that marriage between the tribes be strictly prohibited. This was not the case in ancient Egypt. But in the time of Rameses III., things were different. There had been conquest and reconquest, great numbers of foreigners had been incorporated into the country, some as prisoners and some as immigrant colonists, and large numbers of mercenaries were now enrolled as soldiers. It is, then, not singular, if the new dynasty made some classification of the various classes of its subjects.²

When Rameses had arranged the internal affairs of his kingdom, he set out to reconquer what had been lost. It seems to us, he had far better right than his famous predecessor to the title of "Rameses the Great." We read first of his victories over the tribes in Edom, then he gathers his forces to oust the Libyans and their allies from the Delta. In this he was successful. The Libyans were either taken prisoners or driven out of Egypt. But the greatest danger that Egypt had yet had to encounter was now upon it. The piratical tribes living on the isles of the

¹ See Birch's note in Wilkinson: "Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I. p. 158, London, 1878.

² Brugsch ["Egypt etc.," Vol. II., p. 140.] and Birch ["Ancient Egypt," p. 144] state generally that he reorganized the castes, Rawlinson [Egypt "Vol. II. p. 368., note 4.] thinks this classification could have been but partial. In support of the view stated above, we might take the priests. If there were any caste in ancient Egypt, the priestly caste was one; yet Tiele shows of this period: "A thing *hitherto unknown* in Egypt was now in process of formation there namely a separate spiritual caste, a fixed priesthood." ["Egyptian Religion," p. 179.]

Mediterranean and along its northern shores were gathering their forces for conquest on a large scale. Asia Minor



Ramesses III. and his Prisoners.

was the first point of attack. Of this invasion, the Harris papyrus relates "no people stood before their arms, beginning with the people of Khita (Hittites) of Kadi (Galilee)

and Karchemish, Aradus and Alus. They wasted these countries, and pitched a camp at one place in the land of the Amorites. They plundered the inhabitants and the territory as if they had been nothing."¹

Having thus carried things with a high hand in Asia Minor,² they turned their attention to Egypt. "Their hearts were full of confidence and they were full of plans," says Rameses, but an "ambush was prepared to take them in the snare like birds." The Egyptians were ready for them, not only by land but by sea. The allies were most disastrously defeated. "They who had reached the boundary of my country," says Rameses, "never more reaped harvest. Their soul and their spirit passed away for ever. They who had assembled themselves over against the others on the great sea, a mighty firebrand lightened before them, in front of the mouths of the river, a wall of iron shut them in upon the lake. They were driven away, dashed to the ground, hewn down on the bank of the water. They were slain by hundreds of heaps of corpses."³

Once more, only, was Egypt invaded during the reign of this valiant king. This time again from the west, and again were the invaders repulsed after great slaughter. In short, Rameses III. seems to have been everywhere successful, not only against Ethiopia, but against Western Asia, and amongst his prisoners was the "miserable king of the Hittites." These wars were probably undertaken for the sake of vengeance, and re-asserting the power of Egypt. A most interesting list of conquered people and places is given, and amongst this number, according to

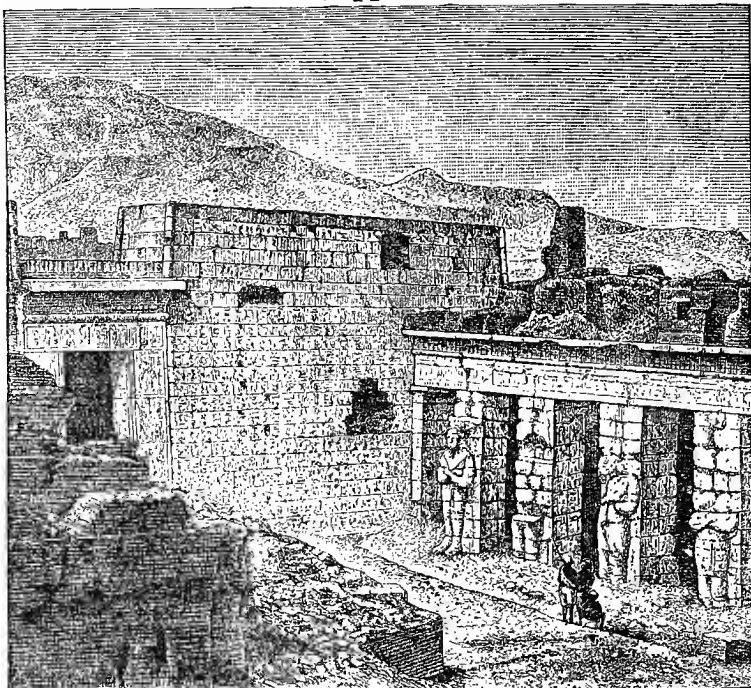
¹ Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 147.

² Just about this time is placed the fall of Troy by the most authorities. May it not be more or less connected with this invasion?

³ Brugsch: "Egypt, etc.," Vol. II., p. 148.

Birch, are the Pelasgians, Etruscans, and inhabitants of the Greek Islands.¹

With the immense number of prisoners and booty taken in his wars, together with the tribute imposed on the conquered people, it is not strange that he erected and richly adorned numerous temples. Perhaps the one most noted is at Medinet Aboo, opposite Thebes. The walls are



Medinet Aboo.

covered with scenes of his conquests. Yet, strange to say, this valiant king, who had done so much for Egypt, had to contend with a conspiracy within his own court which seems to have been directed against his own life, but which was happily frustrated.²

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 18. But compare with Brugsch's list, "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 152.

² "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII., p. 51-3.

We will pass rapidly from this point. There seems to be some question as to the extent of the Egyptian territory after the death of Rameses III. Prof. Sayce thinks the territory of Egypt was shrunken to its original limits.¹ But others think Egypt claimed and exercised suzerainty over a large territory in Western Asia.² The dynasty continues for nearly one hundred and fifty years after the death



Tomb of Rameses III.

of Rameses III. During that time, we have the names of ten kings, all of them having Rameses as one of their titles. The fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth Rameses were the sons of Rameses III. Rameses V. was an usurper of whom but very little is known. It is supposed that

¹ "Ancient Empires," p. 48.

² Lenormant: "Ancient History," Vol. I., p. 270.

Rameses VI. ruled conjointly with his brother Meritum.

There is a great scarcity of monuments of this period. It seems to have been a time of internal quiet. We are not without some proof that the kings claimed and exercised government over Asia Minor, and, perhaps, even over Mesopotamia. It is generally supposed, however, that there was a gradual decline of power, both on the part of Egypt as a kingdom, and on the part of the kings of Egypt as sovereigns. We have seen that, during the time of Rameses III., we caught sight of the formation of a priestly caste. This priestly caste was steadily growing in power during the continuance of this dynasty, and this growth was at the expense of the kingly office.

We gain a clear insight into one phase of Egyptian philosophy by two papyri of this dynasty. The first is the record of the conspiracy case against Rameses III. It shows that the Egyptians firmly believed in sorcery and magic. The charge against one official was that "he had made some magic writings to ward off ill-luck; he had made some gods of wax, and some human figures, to paralyze the limbs of a man."¹ Of another, it was said: "He formed human figures of wax, with the intention of having them carried in by the hand of the land-surveyor, Adiroma, to alienate the mind of one of the girls, and to bewitch the other."² Reasoning on general principles, we would have said that the Egyptians were firm believers in the efficacy of magic names and formulae, only we cannot admit that they had been growing into this belief. It was part and parcel of savage belief in general.

Another interesting papyrus shows us that the Egyptians and surrounding people of that day were firm believ-

¹ Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 146.

² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

ers in the evil spirit theory of sickness. It seems that when Rameses XII. was in "Naharana (Mesopotamia) registering the annual tributes," he became enamored of the daughter of the chief of the land of Bakhten, so he married her and took her away to Egypt. Subsequently, her younger sister was taken down with some sickness, and her father sent to his son-in-law in Egypt for "a person acquainted with things to see her." He found that



Ark of God Chonsu.

the princess was possessed of an evil spirit, but was not powerful enough to exorcise it. Application for relief was again made to Egypt, this time with a request to send a god from Egypt. Accordingly, twelve priests from Thebes bore the ark of Chonsu to distant Bakhten, though we do not know just where it was. This was just the remedy needed, the evil spirit acknowledged that he was powerless before Chonsu, and forthwith he departed from the afflicted princess. This belief again, as we have pointed

out in another place, is a necessary corollary of savage philosophy in general. The peculiar value of these two extracts is to show us that the Egyptians must have gone through all the stages of philosophy of other people in general.¹

When the twentieth dynasty passes away, we enter on a period which is far from being understood. It must therefore be understood that the statements here set forth are those which seem to be in keeping with our present light. They may have to be modified by subsequent discoveries. It seems to be evident that Egypt suffered a considerable decline in power. The Asiatic countries recovered their independence. Furthermore, troubles were rising in the Delta. So we are not surprised to find a sudden break up of power in Egypt. Perhaps the priestly caste in Thebes took the first step in this matter. At any rate, the royal power passed into the hands of the high priest of Amen, and the adherents of the old line of royalty were driven into banishment. Herhor, the high priest, became the king of Egypt.

If we reflect on the past history of Egypt, we feel reasonably sure that no sooner would a new power come to the front in this way, than other sections of the country would also make an effort for self-government. So it is not surprising to find, either at this time or very soon after, two rival confederacies in the Delta. One setting up its authority at Tanis, the other at Bubastis. They were both, in a true sense of the word, Egyptian, but the confederacy at Bubastis was largely composed of the descendants of invading tribes from Libya and other sources. We can readily enough see that the time must have been

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. IV., p. 53.

one of confusion, and of internal strife with the advantage resting now with one party and now with the other. But finally, the confederacy at Bubastis bore all before it, and once more united all Egypt under its rule.¹

The period which we have thus briefly outlined extended over one hundred years. During that period the Israelites had abandoned their loose confederation of tribes and had instituted a more centralized form of government. The monarchy had reached its greatest extent, and a daughter of one of the Tanite kings was given in marriage to Solomon. It was during this period of internal dissension that the bodies of Thothmes III., Rameses II. and other great kings of Egypt in her palmy days were transferred, for greater security, to the rock-hewn tomb of Deir-el-Baharai, where they rested in peace, until the summer of 1881.²

Ethiopia, the country to the south of the first cataract, was regarded as a valuable stretch of country, and so the Egyptian kings of an earlier age had firmly established their authority there. It had become virtually a part of Egypt.³ It is considered that, when the Thebean priests, who had usurped the power of government, were

¹ Brugsch, "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol. II., p. 191 *et seq.*, presents a very different account of the foregoing. Lenormant largely follows the views of Brugsch. But compare with Birch, Sayce and Rawlinson and it will be seen we have excellent authority for discarding Brugsch's theory of an Assyrian invasion. Tiele's few remarks on this point in "Egyptian Religion" seem to us sound. It is not worth while to enter into details.

² Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 50.

³ In this connection, we refer to what is vaguely known as Ethiopia proper, or the kingdom of Meroe. Extending from the third cataract south to the junction of the White and Blue Nile. Of the people of this section, we are told: "they were not very much behind the Egyptians in art or arms, or very different from them in manners, customs and modes of life. Even in race the difference was not very great." Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 434.

driven out of Egypt, they took refuge in Ethiopia. Here, from time to time, whenever they deemed it safe to make the attempt, they made efforts to recover their power; but these spasmodic efforts only served to keep the unfortunate country in a continual state of confusion.¹ The Bubastis confederacy, who came into power near the beginning of



Sheshank I.

the tenth century B. C., had for a king Sheshank I. His reign possesses for us some interest since, as being the founder of a new dynasty, he made an attempt to re-assert Egyptian supremacy in Asia Minor. This invasion is mentioned in the Bible. He it was who, in the reign of Rehoboam, came up against the kingdom Judah, took their principal cities, Jerusalem among the number. He also overran the southern part of the kingdom of Israel. It is

¹ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 186.

generally supposed that this invasion was made at the request of Jeroboam, king of Israel. On his return from this expedition, he caused a list of the captured towns to be engraved on one of the temple walls at Karnak. .

But a few reigns pass, before we find ourselves once more in the greatest confusion. It seems that a complete disintegration of power in Egypt has taken place. A number of small confederacies divided the country between them.¹ This was an opportunity that the Ethiopian kings, descendants of the Thebean high priests, would not lightly pass by. Besides, out of all the confusion incident to this matter, we are dimly conscious that affairs were shaping themselves more and more towards a conflict between Upper and Lower Egypt; between Thebes and the Delta, and, in such an emergency as this, Thebes preferred to call in the help of Ethiopia, than to be subject to the Delta. For Ethiopia was nearer to Thebes ethnically, than was the Delta with its Asiatic inhabitants.

Accordingly, when the Saitic confederacy with Tafnecht at its head had made considerable progress towards subjecting both Upper and Lower Egypt, Thebes sent a call for help to Pianchi, an Ethiopian king. He responded, and his armies swept all before him, and, for a time at least, he ruled the entire country.² The details of this conquest are gathered from a stele found in the ancient city of Napata in Nubia, and it is interesting to note what a strong element of religious ceremony is apparent

¹ Tiele, "Egyptian Religion," p. 194, says there were twelve or thirteen of these little powers.

² We have mainly followed Tiele. A different account, given by Birch and Rawlinson, is to the effect that Pianchi had gradually extended his authority over most of Egypt. Tafnecht was one of the subordinate princes who revolted against him.

in all the movements of Pianchi, fully in keeping with his character of priest-king.¹

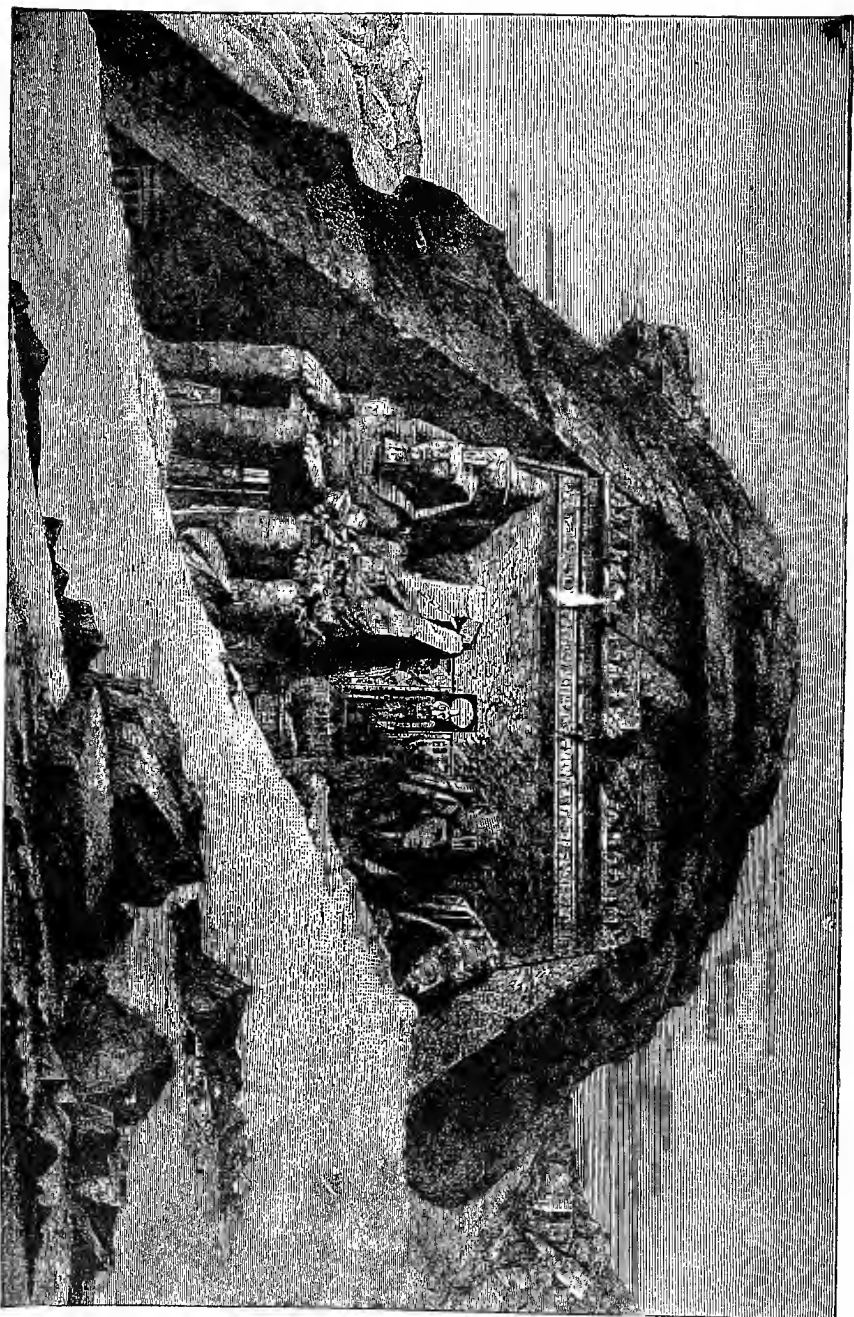
If we will but reflect, we will see that this whole period of confusion is undoubtedly much like those other periods of darkness in Egyptian history. Like that between the sixth and the eleventh dynasty, or between the twelfth and seventeenth. History was in the very act of repeating itself. As the seventeenth dynasties put an end to the long time of confusion and divided power between Upper and Lower Egypt, so the Ethiopian power in the south was about re-establishing order in Egypt; and with this, no doubt, would have come new life and energy, and this marvelous country would have entered on a new era of advancement.² But a new people in Asia had commenced to play an important part in the world's history. Egypt had no longer simply its own people to deal with. The Assyrians were now about to take a hand in the affairs of the Orient. The days of Egypt, as a great power in the history of the world, were now rapidly drawing to a close.

We have passed rapidly along and are now near the beginning of the twenty-fifth dynasty in the last quarter of the eighth century B. C. It is considered that, at the close of Pianchi's reign, another effort was made by the Delta for political independence. Bochoris, successor of Tafnekt, at the head of the Saitic nome, which nome was at the head of affairs in the Delta,³ established, for some years, an independent government in the Delta. But he was soon subdued, and the twenty-fifth, an Ethiopian dynasty, ruled

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 79 *et seq.* Compare with Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 198.

² Tiele remarks that it is a mistake to regard this Ethiopian conquest as a foreign one, for the Ethiopian kings were no doubt of pure Egyptian extraction.

³ Tiele: "Egyptian Religion," p. 199.



ABU SIMBEL.

an united Egypt. But now the Assyrians interfere, and the downward course of the country is more rapid.

At this point, the history of Egypt becomes so intertwined with that of Assyria and Judah that we will give only an outline of it. From the very start, the twenty-fifth dynasty had to contend with the Assyrians. The Assyrians under Sargon had carried all before them in Western Asia and, in 720 B. C., advanced to meet the Egyptian forces. The battle at Raphia, in Southern Palestine (B. C. 720) is one of the great battles of the world. There the forces of Africa and Asia met for supremacy, and victory remained in the hands of the Assyrians. Shabak, or Sabako,¹ the



Ethiopian Queen, wife of Pianchi.
[Boulak Museum.]

¹ Called So in II Kings, vii. 4.

Ethiopian king of Egypt, was completely defeated and made a treaty with the Assyrians, the clay seal of which, with Shabak's cartouch on it, was found at Nineveh by the explorer, Layard.



Shabak's Seal.

A few years later, we find Tirhaka king of Egypt. His entire reign was one series of contests with the Assyrians, and he seems to have had considerable to do with the relations between Judah and Assyria. Sargon was succeeded in Assyria by Sennacherib, and, about the beginning of the seventh century B. C., the Assyrian and

Egyptian forces were once more confronting each other at Eltekeh near Pelusium. It was here that some mysterious calamity happened to the forces of the Assyrians.¹ The result is that for some years Tirhakah was allowed to rule in peace, but when Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, became king of Assyria, one of his first acts was to finish the work of the Assyrians in Asia Minor and Egypt.

He was everywhere successful. The Assyrian armies overran Egypt, Tirhakah was driven into Nubia, and Egypt itself was divided into twenty satrapies. It is at this point (B. C., 570) that we propose to bring to a close this outline of the political history of Ancient Egypt. It is true that a few years later the power of the As-

¹ The Biblical account of this event is contained in II Kings, xix. 35-37. Some writers suppose this overthrow to have been occasioned by the Simoon or by a pestilence. There seems to have been a battle in which the Assyrians were severely repulsed if not defeated, though as a matter of fact, they claimed the victory, [Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 132] but the further fact that they at once retreated to Assyria shows that the battle was at least a drawn one.

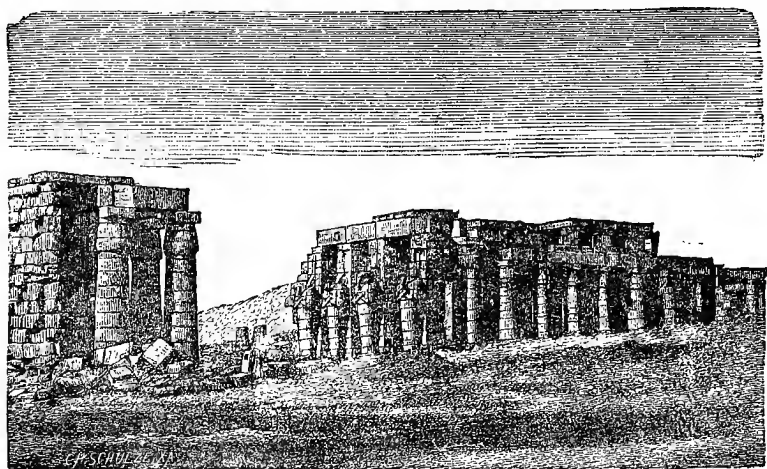
syrians was shaken off, and for a brief time Egypt was again an independent country, but this was but momentary. Every great power that now arose in the Orient¹ held Egypt as one of its tributary countries. Thus after a number of centuries, just how many may not be known, stretching up into the thousands of years, ancient Egypt, as a great power, disappears from the stage of action.

Let us summarize this sketch, and see what influence Egypt has had on the Civilization of the world and note more particularly some of their customs. What must strike every one in this historic sketch are the great cycles of history, the same round of events. Lying back of the first period of Egyptian history, we but dimly perceive a country divided up among a number of tribes. The historic period opens with a conquest of these various tribes by the more fortunate tribe in some favored locality. The conquering tribe ushers in a period of great governmental activity, public buildings are erected on a grand scale, neighboring people are reduced to tribute. Then follows a time of stagnation, there is a scarcity of public monuments, finally the historic light dies out altogether. Once again the country appears divided among numerous small tribes. A long time of obscurity passes by, and then the same round is repeated.

Is not this true of the old Empire? the historic dynasties of which were the fourth, fifth and sixth. Then we have that long break in history of which we now know but very little. Then come the happier days and the clearer historical light of the eleventh, twelfth and portions of the thirteenth dynasties, when Egypt was once more a united country, and public monuments were again

¹ Babylonian, Persian, Greek.

erected. We are then face to face with another break in history, the long interval of time between the thirteenth and seventeenth dynasties. Once more the cycle commences the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth dynasties round out a glorious and happy period of Egyptian history. Again the decline comes on, and we have seen that the twenty-fifth dynasty had once again united the country, and only because foreign surroundings were now different were they prevented from beginning the same cycle of changes.



The Memnonium of Rameses II. at Thebes.

Another point that must strike us is the stationary character of the Civilization of Egypt. It will not do to say that there was no progress but, by way of comparison, the progress within the last century certainly far exceeded all the advance made during the many centuries of Egyptian history. We have seen that in the course of time there was introduced into Egypt a considerable difference of population. Yet these various streams of various people could but barely overcome the inertia of Egyptian life. Egyptian life and times under the twentieth dynasty were

not so very different from what they were under the fourth, and yet some thousands of years had passed in the interval. There were, of course, slight changes in progress, but these changes are only preceptible when we mentally survey long periods of time. If we compare the case of Egypt with some European country, for instance England, we will notice the difference. See the enormous strides in everything going to make up Civilization in England within the last two thousand years. Yet the time is probably not as great as is the span of Egyptian history, where progress is but barely preceptible.

In casting about for some cause which shall explain this monotonous round of political changes and nearly stationary character of Civilization, we must take into consideration a number of factors. The climatic surroundings is one. All the meteoric influences seem favorable to changelessness. This must necessarily have exercised an influence on the people. But back of all this, we must consider the question of race. The conclusion we came to in regard to the Egyptian race was that a large ethnic element was from the Yellow, Turanian, Race, and that next to this was probably a Nigritian race. We have frequently pointed out that neither of these races can be regarded as progressive races. The Yellow Races early reach a grade of culture beyond which they do not advance.

If we consider only the political changes in Egypt, we can understand more clearly, if we only reflect that it rested on tribal society. In a thickly settled country like Egypt, the home of numerous independent tribes, no strong and enduring government can be erected that rests on tribal government as a basis. One section of country may get the upper hand of the other and reduce them to tribute. But as long as each tribe retains its own government, laws and

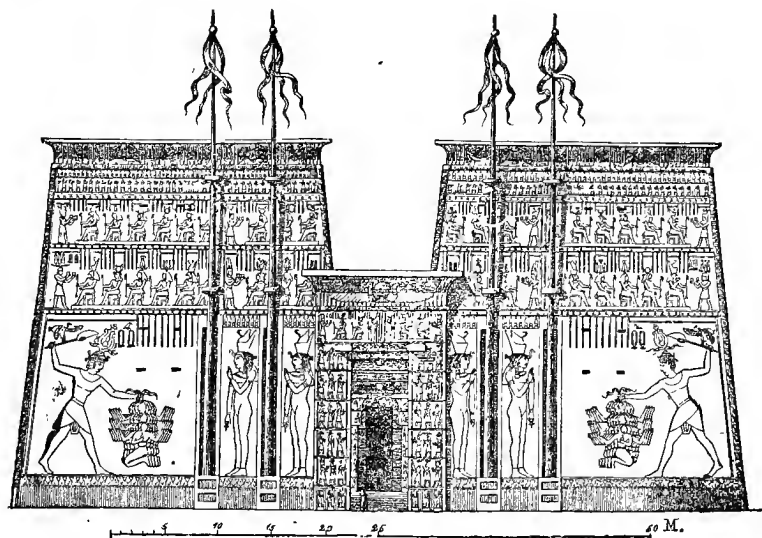
religion, the time must come when some other section will test the question of strength and very likely overthrow the ruling tribe. That means the overthrow of the old government, a period of confusion and the final rise to power of a new section of country. It is only when some strong central government is thus ruling in the country that we have anything like clear historic light to guide us in our investigations. Consequently, we need not be surprised to know that of the vast period of Egyptian history, we have historic light for only about two-fifths of the time.¹

We are afraid that we can not form so imposing a picture of Egyptian life and times as most of the historical writers. There is a great deal that is wonderful in their culture and history, but distance lends enchantment to the view, and this statement is as true of distance in time as in space. Of course, all stand in awe before the pyramids, or gaze in wonder on the monumental ruins of the temples, or ponder over the painted or carved scenes of home life of many centuries ago; but still, all these are what we might call public monuments, and, after all, tell us comparatively little of the home life of the people. We must remember that, from the first to the last, we have the clearest trace of tribal conditions in Egypt. However much the tribal lines might have been again and again broken down and re-arranged, yet the tribes remained a constant factor in their political life.

Never once did they thoroughly coalesce so as to form one united government. This is shown by the simple fact that, from time to time, the government disintegrates, and

¹ This follows from taking, for instance, Mariette's chronological lists and reckoning up the duration of the historic ones. We are of the opinion, however, and have shown, that some of the other dynasties were contemporaneous with them.

the units into which it disintegrates are found to be the tribes. As long as tribal lines were thus kept distinct, we may be sure that their home life, government, religion and laws, their culture in general must have rested on that as a basis, modified, however, by local coloring. Let us apply this principle to the various departments of Egyptian life, and first as to the office of king. We constantly talk of the powers of this office as if they had been the same at all



Temple of Edfu.

times of Egyptian history. Is it not evident that they must have varied with each dynasty, according as the customs of the ruling tribe varied? We have shown good reasons for concluding that under the fourth dynasty the office was elective. There are certainly no grounds on which to rest the opposite conclusion.

No doubt, under some dynasties, the rule was much more despotic than others. We are also accustomed to speak of the rulers of the various nomes as if they formed a privileged class apart from the mass of the people and

more or less connected with the ruling or royal family. This conception is certainly false for the larger part of Egyptian political history. The nomes come before us as local, self-governing tribes; only a portion of the time were they held in firm subjection under some ruling confederacy or tribe. In general, these tribal officers were members of the tribes to which they belonged. Under some of the more despotic dynasties, they might have been appointed by the king, but we may feel perfectly confident that this was an exceptional state of affairs.

In regard to the so-called priestly class, religion in the first place must have been local and tribal. This is admitted on all sides. The priests, then, must have been just like the tribal priesthood generally. It is only as a result of long, slow progress and development that these various tribal priests coalesce into a national, priestly caste. This result did not take place in Egypt before the twentieth dynasty. Therefore, it is evident that, when we undertake to define the powers of the priestly class, we must know of what period we are speaking. We have already seen that, in general, all tribal officers were priests, the chief of the tribe being the high priest, and, among the ancient Greeks, one of the principal duties of the so-called king was to act as high priest for the tribe or confederacy. The same state of affairs appears in Egypt, where the king was, *ex-officio*, the head of the priesthood.

It is sometimes said that they had regular judges who went on a circuit, and that an appeal lay from their decisions to the king. It ought to be added that this was true only under the Ptolemys, a period several centuries later than we have traced their history. That when they ruled in Egypt, political society had supervened in both Greece and Rome, hence it is not strange that such a state

of society existed in Egypt, but this could not have been true in ancient Egypt. Each nome must have conducted its own affairs, and no appeal would have lain to the king unless in cases where two different nomes were involved.

In fact, the picture we would paint is rather of a quiet nature. At times, however, the whole country is united under the sway of powerful dynasties; but, in general, each nome or tribe pursues its wonted way of life, and, in each nome, there are nearly always two great divisions of the people. In each, there was a large body of subject people, slaves captured on their many military expeditions and remnants of subject tribes. Then there was the upper element, the ruling tribe, the one that owned and controlled all the land, filled all tribal offices, and the one that furnished all soldiers for the general government. How quiet and placidly this life flowed on is shown from the fact that for some thousands of years it ran on in much the same way. No sudden change, no great advance. Now and then there were, to be sure, upturnings of the old order of things, a new section of country furnishes the ruling tribe, but affairs were soon adjusted to this new state and life continued as of old.

One other point remains to be spoken of, the Civilization of Egypt seems to have exercised but little influence on the world at large. The Civilization of the world at large owes but very little to Egyptian sources. Egypt was an isolated country. From time to time, waves of other people rolled in upon it. But if they maintained their position in the country, they were sure to become Egyptianized, they adopted the Civilization and language of Egypt and became one with them. There is, in all this, a strange similarity between Egypt and China. Both were isolated countries, both showed a strange ability to

assimilate other people, both built up a high Civilization within their own borders, but neither of them apparently exercised much influence on the culture of the world in general. And in both countries, we see an almost stationary condition of culture.

We have given but a brief account of the culture of each epoch, and here seems to be an appropriate place to give some details of a few points in the culture of the ancient Egyptians that do not seem to belong to any one particular era. First, in order to round out and complete a study of Egyptian religion, let us consider their ideas as to the future world. The first stage of belief of the Egyptians is what we would naturally expect to find among partially developed people. That is a confused belief in the existence of "another-self," called the *Ka*, or double. It was believed "to be a substance scarcely less material than the body, with all of the characteristics of the living person, which must be housed, fed, dressed."¹ So we understand some of the arrangements in some of the oldest tombs known to us. This *Ka*, or "other self," was the part that was to be worshiped. Perhaps in the firm belief that it might from time to time inhabit the body arose the art of the embalmer.² But it could make itself at home in an artificial body as well as not, and so, in some secret chamber in the tomb, were placed a number of small statues, so as to provide against all contingencies of breaking, where it could accommodate itself and enjoy the perfume of the offerings deposited in the memorial chamber, which communicated with this secret chamber by a small orifice.

¹ Poole: "Contemporary Review," July 1881, p. 56.

² Egyptian stories represent the mummies as conversing together and even occasionally as leaving their coffins and visiting the living. Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 147. In this connection recall what was said above [p. 316] as to the possible origin of idolatry.

It was to this double that prayers were offered, hymns sung and sacrificial offerings made by the surviving members of the household, from time to time. For it, the tomb was decorated with paintings of home life and scenes, more or less complete of the occupation of the owner of the tomb.¹



Ka, Re-visiting the Body.

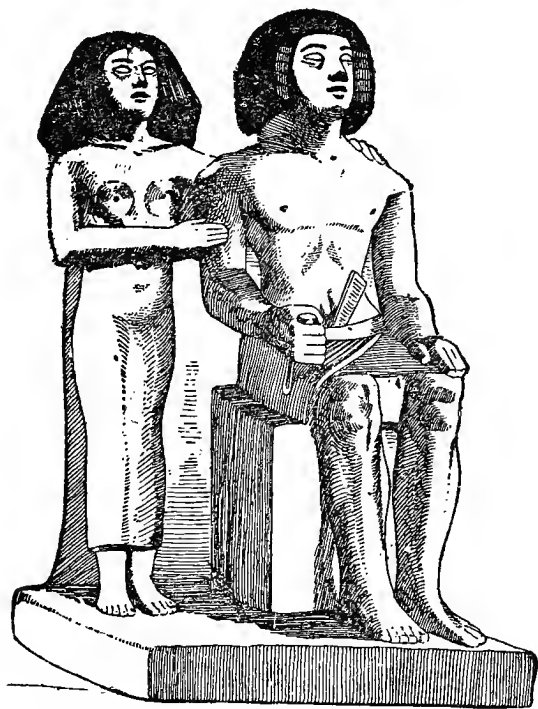
As time passed on, it is not singular that other conceptions should grow up in regard to this "other self." The result is that finally we are presented, under the eighteenth dynasty, with a theory as to three souls. One is the *Ka* which is still supposed to have some connection with the mummied body; the *Bai* which lived in the blissful fields and served as a body wherein resided the *Khu*, the intelligence of man.² As was the case with most partially developed people, they probably held these various confused beliefs in subordination to one principal belief, such as that the "other-self" was capable of living apart from the body.

As to the place where this soul resided and the manner of life there led, the results are equally instructive as showing that the Egyptians also passed through various stages of religious growth. In the time of the Old Em-

¹ This was true only of the tombs of the older period. The secret chamber was afterward abandoned.

² Poole: "Contemporary Review," July, 1881, p. 56.

pire, if we are capable of drawing any conclusions at all, it seems as if they held to the "continuance theory" of the future life. So we find numberless objects placed in the tomb for the use of the deceased, such as vases for unguents, changes of raiment, linen for all uses, vessels for food and drink, table and spoons, chairs and stools, head rests, and



Statues for the use of the Ka.

even viands for food and with men weapons, costly ornaments for women and with children playthings.¹ But this custom becomes in time merely a survival, and we see a change taking place.

Perhaps not immediately at the moment of death, but shortly after, the soul takes its journey to Amenti, the

¹ Ibid.

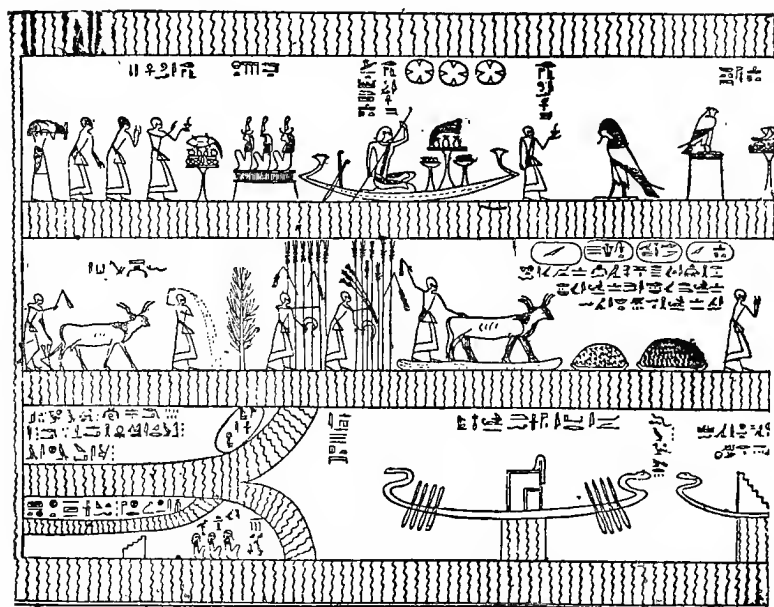
home of the dead. This was the underground world where the sun shone at night. The very place of entrance was known. "It was a cleft in the mountains on the west of Abydos. Here the boat of the sun plunged in its nocturnal course, and the souls of men enter with it under the protection of Osiris." So we have first the farewell funeral feast when the mummy is ready for burial. It is the last sad gathering where, in the midst of his family and friends, the mummy was placed to participate with them in a last feast. Singing women are present who address both the living and the dead, urging both to enjoy the present occasion, "the living because life is but a moment, the dead because he is about to enter on the eternal repose of the tomb."¹

But the soul is now ready to take up its journey and it seems as if the later in point of time we trace the development of Egyptian life, the more and more mystical grows this journey. We no longer see the pictured representations of the various scenes of home life in the tombs but details of this journey of the soul. After entrance is gained to the underground world (*Kar-neter*) his troubles have but just commenced. Terrible obstacles present themselves in his way. Frightful monsters, servants of Set, crocodiles and all manner of venomous reptiles seek to devour him. Now has he need of all the magical texts and papyri buried with him. Finally, after many trials he arrives at the Elysian Fields, and there we behold him occupied with all manner of agricultural work, and there the soul makes use of the various little

¹ It was the representation of this funeral feast which gave rise to the old notion that the Egyptians at their feasts brought out the mummies of their ancestors, to remind all that death must sometime come to all.

figures buried in the tombs, known as the Aiders, who assist the deceased in the labors of the mystical land.

But one trial remains. That, however, is the most important. It is the judgment scene in the hall of Osiris. This divinity presides over a court of four judges aided by forty-two witnesses.¹ In the center of the hall is a balance, in one of the scales of which is placed the heart, representing the conscience of the deceased,



The Elysian Field.

while in the other is the emblem of the goddess of truth. While the heart is being weighed, the person to be judged addresses in succession each of the forty-two witnesses, and declares that he has not committed that one of the forty-two special sins with which this special

¹ In spite of Mr. Poole's objections given in "Contemporary Review" for August, 1881, we cannot help believing this number forty-two is in some way mixed up with the number of nomes of ancient Egypt.

genius is concerned. If acquitted here, he passes on to final bliss, but if condemned, he wanders for a while, a



Ushabti, the Aider.

tormenting spirit, until annihilated by the second death. Thus we see that immortality was not the lot of all.¹

¹ We have drawn this sketch from Mr. Poole's article in "Contemporary Review" for 1881. Part from Lenormant: "Ancient History." It would be well to compare it with Perrot and Chipiez,

It must be evident from the foregoing, that the beliefs of the Egyptians were not singular and that they must have traversed the same road that other people did in advancing from Barbarism to Civilization. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that they were firm believers in other elements of primitive philosophy. They also believed in numberless spirits, everywhere surrounding them. Consequently, they were strongly tinged with fetichistic notions and firm believers in magic and sorcery. Of a certain magic book, we read that it "triumphs over enchantments, connects ligatures, prepares ties, destroys the lock. Life and death proceed from it. If any one falls in its power, he dies, as if killed by blows, forthwith."¹ Of another magical mixture, it is declared of its possessor; "Thou art protected against accidents of life; thou art protected against a violent death; thou art protected against fire; thou escapest in heaven, and thou art not ruined on earth."²





Having now a fair idea of the philosophical mode of thought, in which we see it was not of a very high order, let us see how they stood in the matter of sciences. The results of modern research seem, on the whole, to compel us to set a less value on their scientific attainments than we once did.³ First, with regard to mathematics. At present, we know of but one manuscript treating on mathematics, and this was written under the Hyksos kings.⁴ It is a sort of elementary treatise on arithmetic and geometry. The only fraction they seem to have known anything about was two-thirds. They had separate signs for thou-

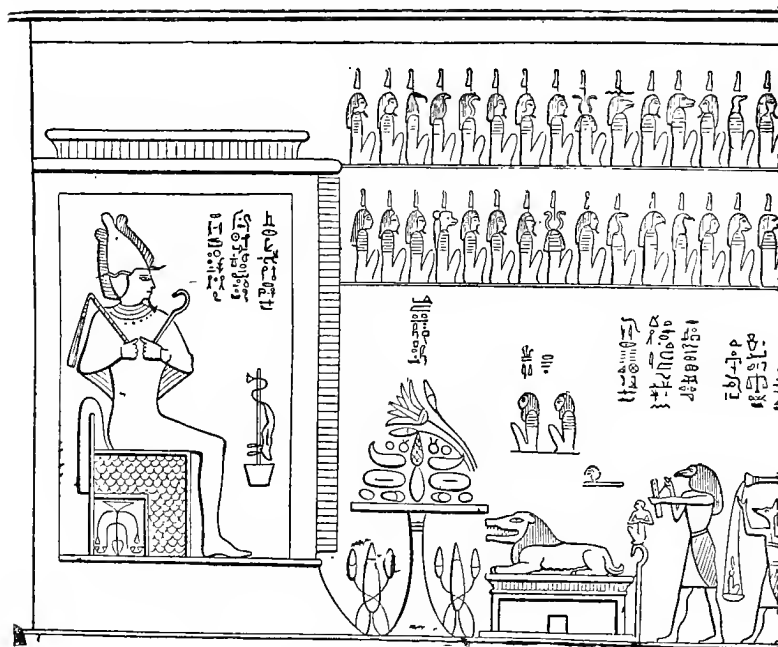
¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 117.

² "Records of the Past," Vol. VI., p. 125.

³ Poole: "Contemporary Review," September, 1881.

⁴ Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 34.

sands, hundreds, tens and units ; for instance, the number one thousand, one hundred and eleven would be represented as follows:    . But if their knowledge was limited, they certainly made good use of what material they had. Such structures as the pyramids are before us, which must have had some sort of mathematical design. They



Judgment Hall of Osiris.

must have also understood surveying, so as to re-arrange the boundaries after the annual inundation.

In regard to astronomy, they certainly had no good knowledge. "There is not a single list of observations, not a solitary dated record of an eclipse."¹ The fact is about all the use they had for astronomy was for astrological purposes. "Thus those lists of the positions of

¹ Poole: "Contemporary Review," 1881.

stars which Egyptologists used to consider scientific, as recording the real dates of heliacal risings, are merely conventional lists of an astrological character."¹ Hence it is that we find in Egypt none of that practical application of astronomy, that is as an aid to chronology. All the dates given on Egyptian monuments, with one exception, are in reigning years of some king. There is a great probability that they had what is known as the sothic cycle of 1461 Egyptian years, but if so, they never made use of it. It is generally admitted that their knowledge of astronomy was much below that of Chaldea.²

In medicine and surgery, the Egyptians held a high position for the time, though even here they have been overrated. Thus, for instance, Wilson shows that the idea that they had dentists who filled teeth with gold is a mistake.³ The idea that they practiced dissection of the body to gain a knowledge of anatomy is also false.⁴ Their knowledge of surgery was certainly limited since, in some cases, broken bones were allowed to grow together again naturally.⁵ There probably were two modes of treatment, one in which doctors, proper, sought to effect a cure by medicine and nursing. But over against this, there was the priestly method of attacking diseases. That is by driving out the evil spirits, by means of the aid of some superior god or magical formulae, charms and incantations.⁶

¹ Ibid. But compare this with Rawlinson's discussion on this subject: "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 296.

² Rawlinson gives a slightly more favorable account of Egyptian astronomy than we do. See his "Ancient Egypt," Vol. I., p. 246 *et seq.* See Poole in "Contemporary Review" for 1881.

³ "Egypt of the Past," p. 27, note.

⁴ Poole: "Contemporary Review," 1881.

⁵ Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 77.

⁶ Ibid. We cannot believe, however, that this later method of treating diseases gradually superseded the other. It was part and parcel of primitive philosophy in general,

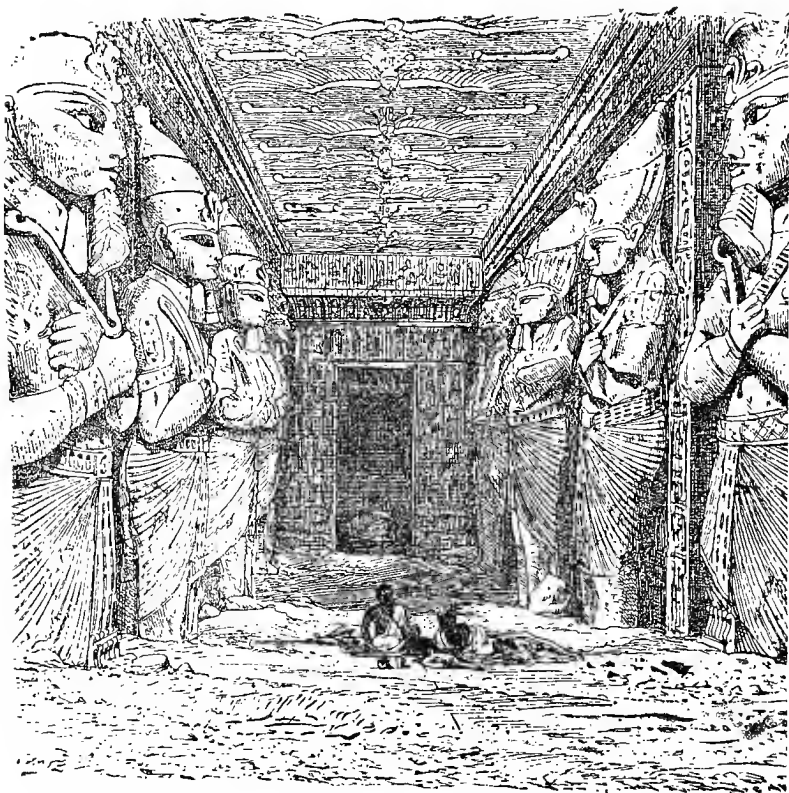
In their engineering science, they certainly made great attainments. Rawlinson observes: "In their cutting of hard materials, in their finished polish of surfaces, in their exact production of whatever angle they required, in their perfect fitting of stone to stone and, again, in their power of quarrying, transporting and raising into place enormous masses, this ancient people was, and still is, unsurpassed."¹ "In massiveness of construction, they far exceed all that any other nation has ever attempted." When we consider the immense blocks of stone they moved about, we are at a loss to know how they proceeded. We hear of obelisks nearly one hundred feet high, that must have weighed over four hundred tons, transported hundreds of miles and set up on a pedestal. Indeed, one of the colossal statues of Rameses II. is estimated to have weighed nearly nine hundred tons.² Yet for all this, they probably made use of very primitive means.

One of the most striking points in Egyptian culture, one that must strike every observer, when he compares them with other people of antiquity, is the peculiar respect they showed for women. In their pictured scenes of home life, women are represented quite as often as men. There was none of that Oriental isolation of women. By the side of the king, is represented the queen, she is always spoken of with honor and respect. In the history of Mesopotamia, only one mention is made of a queen by name, and only once is a queen represented in company with the king. And very few times are women represented at all. The case was entirely different in Egypt, and in no one respect is the peculiarity of their culture more strikingly shown.

¹ "Egypt," Vol. I., p. 307.

² *Ibid.*, p. 238, note 4.

We have succeeded in giving but an outline of Egyptian life, but we must now leave them. As the result of our brief study, we give it as a deliberate conclusion that the importance of Egypt, in the culture history of the world, has been overrated. They are indeed a most interesting people, and their monumental records go back to



View in Principal Hall, Abu Simbel.

a profound antiquity. They had, after all, little to do with the ancient world as known to us. Only a few people contemporary with them during the greater portion of their history, are known to us. They had much to do with the Hittites, that is from the twelfth dynasty down, but it is

only within a short time that we have succeeded in locating the Hittites. It is only lately that we think we see any connection between the Egyptians and the Europeans.

Instead of regarding Egypt, as we once did, as the source of all culture and history, we are to see in it an isolated country, whose people early attained their Civilization, built their cities and played their *role* in the drama of history, while, in the great world beyond them, those silent, slow changes were going forward, which in time were to usher in the greater nations of antiquity, before whose superior energy and culture, Egypt stood no chance. In a forest there may be growing two trees side by side. In a few years one has reached its growth and may be pointed out as an object of beauty in forest growth. The second requires almost as many decades to come to its full growth as the other did years, but its limbs will be tossed by the winds of centuries.

So in Egypt, a combination of favorable circumstances, not often met with in the world, produced that strange mixture of people and gave new life and energy to the already stationary culture of the primitive Turanian inhabitants. The issue is the Egyptian people, whose history we have now outlined, and the true value of whose culture we have tried to set forth. In bidding them adieu, we feel that we have now fairly completed the older period of the world's history. With the next chapter we enter on a new period and begin to trace an influence, that has extended in an ever widening circle, and whose end is yet, we trust, far off.

CHAPTER IX.

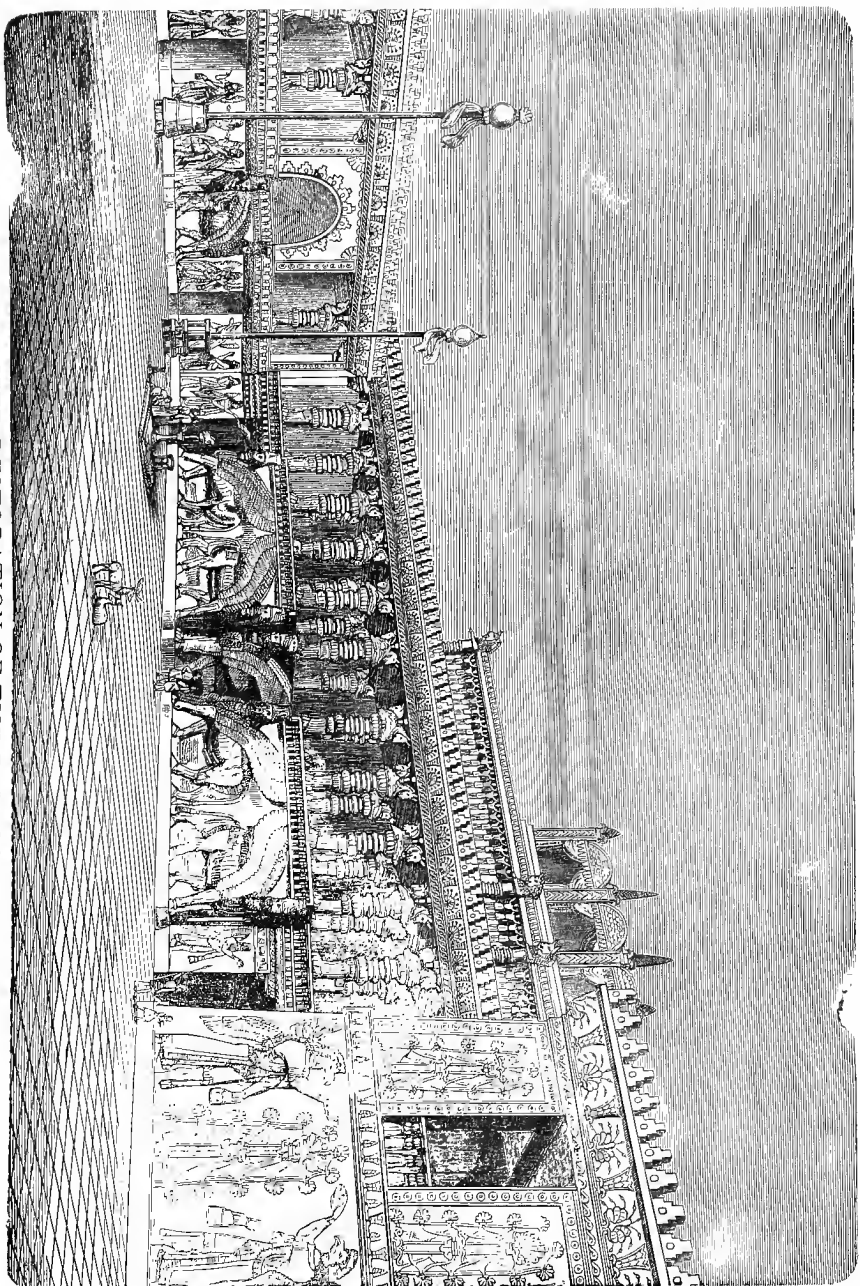
THE SEMITES.

INTRODUCTION—The Semitic Race—Home of Semitic People—The Dispersion of the Semites—The Northern Semites—The Western Branch Beginning of Civilization in Chaldea—Mesopotamia—Abu Sha-rein—Eridu—The Chronological Place of Eridu—Sargon I—Sirgulla—Meaning of "Patesi"—Ur-ghanna—X-kur-galla—The First Turanian Period—Rise of Accad—Legends of Sargon I.—The "Omen" Tablet—In-anna ginna, patesi of Sirgulla—Naram-sin—Discoveries at Tello—Gudea—The two Ethnic Types—Statue of the Architect—Ur—Ur-ba'u of Ur—Erech—"Ur of Chaldea"—Rise of Karrak—The Elamite Invasion—Aryan Migration, the Cause of—Babylon—Hammurabi—The Cassite Dynasty—Review of Accadian Culture—Accadian Pantheon—Accadian Incantation—Accadian Mythology—Semitic Culture—Modern Arabs—Religious Culture—Semitic Monotheism—Coalescing of Accadian and Semitic Culture—The New Religion—The Creation Poem—Conclusion.



The SEMITIC people built their cities, founded their empires, and for a long period of time, swayed the destinies of the Oriental world, before the Aryan nations commenced to play the important part they are now taking in the world's development. In all its elements, our present Civilization shows the influence of Semitic thought. Christianity, built from a Semitic foundation, and Islamism, the religion of Western Asia to-day, sufficiently attest the influence of the Semitic people in the field of religion. When first the morning light of history falls on Western Asia, before the darkness

IDEALIZED RESTORATION OF THE PALACE OF SARGON.



was dissipated in the Mediterranean area, it discloses to us a comparatively highly civilized Semitic people, in the secure possession of the fertile valley watered by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. To-day, the investigators's spade brings from unsightly mounds the inscribed tablet or discloses to view the pictured walls of palaces, from which we reconstruct, as best we can, the history of these once mighty people, endeavor with what art we have to re-color the all but vanished picture of their material greatness.

Let us now spend some time in studying the Semitic people, determine if we can their home land, trace their separation into closely related people, study their common culture, outline as far as we can, their race peculiarities, and estimate their influence in building up the Civilization of the world. The field is broad, information on many points here outlined is but scanty and difficult to obtain, and we have to guard against preconceived opinions. Let us however enter upon it, and make the best of the materials at our disposal. One lesson following from it will be this, that no people are an especially favored people, but that all have had to advance by slow degrees, profiting by the experience of the past, and handing on the results of their experience to others.

The Semitic people are classed as belonging to the White Races.¹ We are to understand, however, that this classification is one of convenience only; we have in several places pointed out that it is almost impossible to detect any contact between the two principal branches of the White Races, that is between the Aryans and the Semites. If they ever were co-dwellers in some common

¹ Above page 82.

home, it was at a time immensely removed from the present, since the two languages are so different in principle.¹ The Semitic people can be conveniently divided into several sub-groups. There are Semitic people in both Asia and Africa, and they occupy adjacent sections of country, spreading both ways from the shores of the Red Sea.

It is at present best to consider the place of origin of the Semitic people, as undecided. The older writers generally assumed that their primeval home was somewhere in the neighborhood of the Caspian Sea. There is no good reason for such a conclusion as this. It is fully in accordance with the line of reasoning that persists in deriving the Aryans from the same source. As far as we know anything about the movements of the early Semitic bands, they have been from the south to the north and west. Very eminent scholars have come to the conclusion that Arabia is the true home of the Semitic people, from whence they wandered forth in various directions.² Tiele³ concludes that all Semitic people were once living together in Arabia, leaving undecided the question where they had first originated. Latham thinks the Semitic tribes originated in Africa.⁴ We should not be surprised to see this the generally accepted view, before many years.⁵

¹ Above p. 37.

² Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II, p. 167. Schrader: "Die Ursitz der Semiten" in "Zeitschrift D. M. G.," 1873.

³ "Hist. of Religion," Berlin 1877 p. 62.

⁴ "Comparative Philology," London, 1862, p. 524 *et seq.* and p. 602.

⁵ See Bertin in J. R. A. S. for 1885, p. 77 where he comes to this same conclusion. We are told that the anthropologist Gerland supports this view. [Tiele: "Hist. of Religion," p. 63.] Noeldeck refrains from coming to any conclusion on this point but seems to favor Arabia. [Article "Semites" in "Encyclopedia Britannica."] Prof. Hommel casts his influence in favor of Central Asian origin, we think his arguments will apply just as well to Abyssinia. "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 267.

For the present, we need not consider the African Semitic tribes at all, since they have played but a very small part in history. Taking up the Asiatic Semites, Arabia comes before us as the center of dispersal for these people. When they were living in this section of country as closely related tribes, the Turanians undoubtedly held possession of Mesopotamia and indeed of all Asia Minor.¹ This was at a time long preceding the dawn of history, and before Civilization had anywhere attained any great development. Even traditions are silent on this point. But the evidence of language cannot be gainsaid. All Semitic people speak closely related dialects, closer, if anything, than the connection between the various Aryan speaking people.

Arabia is not by any means an unmixed desert waste. The traveler Palgrave tell us that the central table land, comprising nearly one-half the peninsula, is mainly cultivatable land. It is surrounded on the south, east and west by a sandy waste, and towards the north by a stony one.² The area of this elevated and comparatively fertile section of country is not far from twenty-five thousand square miles. At the present day, it is entirely occupied by Semitic Arabs. And these Arabs are supposed to represent the primitive Semitic stock in a very faithful manner. It is from them that we are to gather the best details as to the primitive Semitic culture.³

At a very early time, still before the dawn of history, a wave of Semitic people appears to have moved toward the north and occupied the shores and islands of the Persian

¹ Yet see Bertin in J. R. A. S. for 1886, where he states his reasons for thinking that the Semites were in Chaldea before the Turanians.

² "Central and Eastern Arabia," London, 1865, p. 91.

³ Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 62.

gulf. And one wave of them came in contact with the Turanian settlers in Mesopotamia. The country around the upper reaches of the Persian Gulf thus appears to have become a second center of dispersion. The tribes radiating from here speedily came in contact with Turanian people, and were greatly influenced by their culture. Collectively they constituted what is known as the Northern Semites. This branch includes: The Assyrians and Babylonians, the Hebrews and Phoenicians, and the Syrians.

As the dispersion of the Semites forms a very important epoch, we will introduce a sketch showing the probable movements of the various bands. Of course, everyone will understand that this chart is not given as a result, but is simply to help us form clearer conceptions of the probable course of events. It is, for instance, pointed out on linguistic and other grounds that the Syrians were probably the first to leave the primitive home.¹ The Remainder of the Northern Semites are supposed to have lived together for some time after the separation of the Syrians; but it is further supposed that the Western, or Canaanitic branch, separated before the complete union of Turanian and Semitic culture in Mesopotamia.² Still they are not entirely free from that influence, we therefore represent this stream as diverging from the Assyrio-Babylonian near Accad.

It was from Accad that the Semitic influence gradually extended itself throughout Chaldea, and from thence the Assyrians went forth to the land of Asshur.³ These movements are indicated on the chart. Turning more

¹ Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 167, 170. Schrader in "Zeitschrift D. M. G.," 1873, p. 423.

² Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 81. Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 194. Schrader, Op. cit. ³ Genesis x. 10.

particularly to the Western, or Canaanitish stream, we find that all the members spoke closely related dialects of the same stock language, and had many other points in common in their culture. But it seems to have consisted of two portions, and considerable difference of time between the migrations of these two portions seems to have

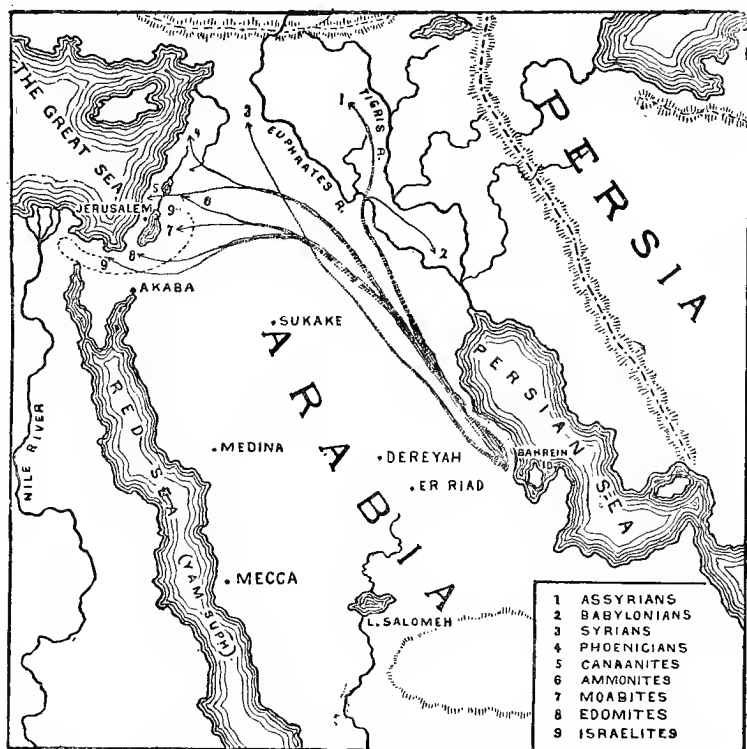


Chart of the Dispersion of the Semites.

elapsed. The first wave consisted of the Phoenicians and the Canaanites, the first occupying the sea-coast, the second the hills and valleys of Palestine. Afterward there followed them, the Hebrew people in four divisions; the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites and Israelites. These latter people found the best portion of the land already

taken up, and led a more or less wandering life, but gradually settled to the east and south of the Dead Sea and Palestine, though, at a comparative late date, the Israelites forced their way across the Jordan and gradually subjugated the first settlers there. We have indicated, as far as we could, their movements on the chart, and will now turn our attention to the details of the same.¹

It will be seen that the Northern group of Semitic people contained by far the most important people; those who had a good deal to do with the ancient world. It is to them, then, that we will now turn our main attention. There is not a name mentioned in the foregoing list, which does not possess the greatest of interest for the reader. What visions of antiquity are connected with Babylonia? What scenes of sanguinary warfare with Assyria? To speak of the Phoenicians is to recall that they were the inventors of the alphabet, and were the great traders of antiquity. They were not great inventors, nor warriors, they were skilled neither in arts, literature nor sciences, yet they accomplished a wonderful work in furthering the cause of Civilization. It is not necessary to mention the Hebrews, since every one knows the tremendous influence they have exerted on the world in the matter of religion. It is a thought in which there is an element of sadness to reflect that, though for some thousands of years the Sem-

¹ That the various Canaanitic tribes were Semitic is no longer in doubt. [Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 181. Schrader: *Z. D. M. G.*, 1873, p. 402.] We think, however, that Ewald is right in supposing them to be, to some extent, mixed with the aboriginal inhabitants, who were probably Turanian ["History of Israel," London, 1869, Vol. I., p. 224] That the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites and Israelites formed one closely related group is shown by the traditions of the Israelites themselves [Genesis xix. 36-38, xxxii. 3] and by the evidence of language as well; the inscription on the Moabite stone being in nearly pure Hebrew.

itic people were the most advanced in Civilization, and were the most powerful people then living, yet neither of these sayings could be applied to them since some centuries before the Christian era. Races and nations, as well as individuals, run their courses and then forever disappear from the stage of action.

We have in a former chapter pointed out that the Yellow Turanian race preceded the Semitic in ancient Chaldea. There is not much question on that point.¹ In order to give a connected account of the course of events in that interesting section of country, it may occasion a partial review of ground already gone over, but we think this course will be overlooked, in view of the importance of the subject. For we are now about to inquire into the beginning of Civilization in and about Chaldea. That country, which is now a pestilential expanse, or an arid sun-baked waste, was, in all probability, the first place where the stage of enlightenment reached by man was such that we may speak of him as civilized. This is the country, also, to which many references are made in the opening chapters of Genesis. Here was located the plains of Shinar, here were the cities of "Babel and Erech, and Accad and Calneh,"² and this probably was the land to which the Hebrew traditions refer as the "Garden of Eden."

Mesopotamia means the "land between the rivers." A glance at the map shows that the Euphrates and the Tigris form the two rivers in question. Flowing in a generally southern direction from their mountain home, these rivers carry every year vast quantities of sediment into the Per-

¹ Though M. Halevy disputes this altogether, see *J. R. A. S.* for 1879, and Bertin, in same journal for 1886, concludes that the Semites were in the country before the Turanians.

² Genesis x. 10.

sian gulf. The consequence is that the land has from late geological times continually encroached on the sea. The Euphrates and Tigris now unite their waters and flow in one channel into the sea. Yet at no very distant day, they entered it by separate mouths. It is supposed that, in the long course of ages, all the land south of an irregu-

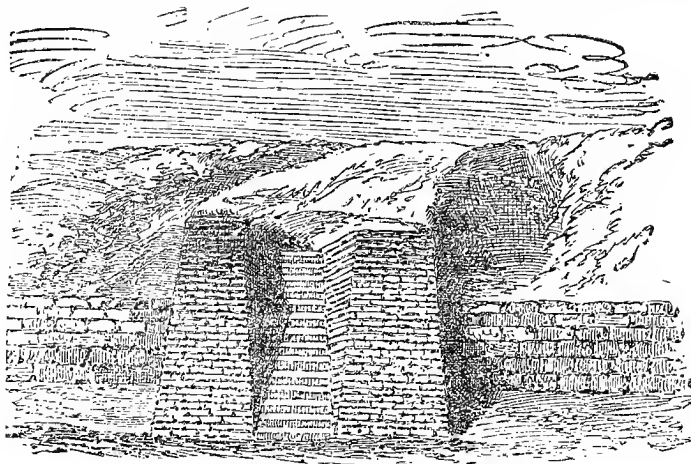


Map of Chaldea.

lar line running from Hit on the Euphrates to Samarah on the Tigris has been thus gained from the sea.

Everyone knows what sort of a country this must be. One level expanse of very fertile land. When the rivers are at their flood, extensive portions of this land are inundated; and, if not promptly attended to, vast pes-

tilential marshes would be formed. The distance from Hit to the sea is some four hundred and thirty miles, though, as just pointed out, anciently this distance was much less. This land was ancient Chaldea. At an extremely early date, the Turanian tribes moved from the highlands of Elam on the east, down into the plains. The usual effects of settlement in a fertile river valley soon followed. The people commenced advancing in culture, canals were dug, temples built, and civilized life began. All this goes back far beyond the dawn of history, and



Ruins at Abu Sharein.

probably before the Semitic bands had arrived on the scene.

One of the oldest settlements in the country was near the modern town of Abu Sharein on the left bank of the Euphrates, known in earliest times, that is Turanian times, as *Nun-ki*, that is "the place of the first water." Now we must recall that Hea was the Turanian god of earth and water,¹ and he was the beneficent god, or god of

¹ See Chapter V.

goodness, and so the place was called the "city of the good god," or *Uru-dug-ga*, which in course of time became shortened into Eridu.¹

This seems to have been the first starting point of Turanian Civilization. Eridu lived in the memory of the people of Chaldea as a holy place. The god Hea, who played such an important part in ancient Chaldean religion, was regarded as the local god of Eridu. One inscription speaks of him as the "king of Eridu."² Long after this, temples were sometimes said to be built like those at Eridu, "to be a holy place." Most of the magical formulae, songs and incantations date from this far away time. When any place is mentioned in the exorcisms, it is Eridu.³ There was the place where the "holy palms" grew. Some have not hesitated to say that the Hebrew traditions of the Garden of Eden refer to Eridu.⁴

We can see how much interest this place has for us. It seems to have been the earliest religious center of the entire district. How gladly would we learn of its history, but as yet this remains a sealed book. Of necessity, it must once have been the seat of government of that section;⁵ but it is probable that as early as five thousand years before Christ its political glory had passed away, and from henceforth it was to the Chaldeans only a holy place, the especial home of their god Hea.

¹ See Hommel: "Geschichte Babyioniens und Assyriens" in Oncken's "Allgemeine Geschichte," p. 196.

² Ibid., p. 198. ³ Ibid., p. 197.

⁴ See Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 95.

⁵ George Smith, in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., commences his outline "History of Babylonia" with two patesi of Eridu, but compare with this Hommel's note in "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 266, note 1, where he shows that the patesi there spoken of, probably do not belong to the oldest time here referred to.

A slight digression may not be out of place to explain the reasons for assuming the date, 5000 B. c., just named. It is admitted by all scholars that the Babylonians and the Assyrians adopted a most excellent system for registering events.¹ They had also reduced their calendar to a very good system. At a very early date, they had official astronomers, "who observed the heavens and regulated the calendar."² They also kept lists of the years and recorded the most important event occurring therein. Portions of these lists have been recovered for short periods of time, and are of the very highest value. This is sufficient to show us how much better as historians the Assyrians were than the Egyptians, who seemed to have been lacking in historical instincts.

Now Nabonidas, the last king of Babylon, in a certain inscription speaks of repairs he had made in the great sun temple at Sippara. It seems that when a king founded a temple, he inclosed in one of the corners a cylinder giving a short account of himself. Nabonidas in repairing this temple made a search for the cylinder of its founder and thus describes his success: "Shamas the great lord . . . suffered me to behold the foundation cylinder of Naram-sin, the son of Sargon, which for thrice thousand, and twice hundred years none of the kings that lived before me had seen." He herein declares that three thousand, two hundred years had passed from the time of Naram-sin to his own reign. He ruled about 550 B. c., so we have here the date of 3750 B. c. for Naram-sin, and about 3800 B. c., for his father Sargon, of Accad.³

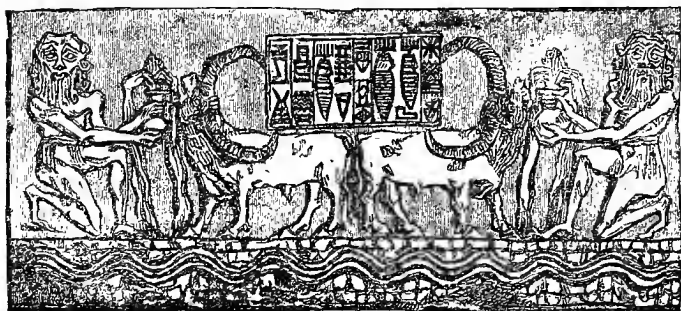
We fortunately possess some monuments of Sargon,

¹ Smith: "Assyrian Eponym Canon," London, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³ See above p. 371.

one has been given,¹ another was his cylinder which is here shown. (A cylinder is a sort of seal, and will be explained later.) This gives us a starting point 3800 B. C., now from many points which it is not necessary to enumerate here, such as the characters used in writing, the language employed, the degree of artistic development, etc., etc., we gather approximate dates for the beginning of Civilization in Chaldea. It must be borne in mind, however, that they are approximate only. We may have to change them considerably one way or the other, and we must further bear in mind that this assumed date, that is 5000 B. C., by no means takes us back to the founding



Cylinder of Sargon, 3800 B. C.

of Eridu. Only to a time when its political supremacy had passed away, and it existed as a place so ancient as to be invested with a halo of sacredness.²

If Eridu was the center of religious life of the earliest period of Chaldean history, the center of political power seems to have been somewhat further removed to the north. The place seems to have been variously called at

¹ See above p. 372.

² Sayce remarks that the date of its foundation may be approximately fixed by the rate at which the alluvial soil has grown seaward. ["Ancient Empires," p. 95.] We have not, however, seen any calculation made by competent engineers.

different periods. In very early times, it seems to have been known as *Gir-su*, more generally, however, as *Sirgulla*, which M. De Sarzec seems to have come across in the low mound of ruins, called at the present day Tello, situated on the left bank of the canal known as Shat-el-hie, flowing from the Tigris into the Euphrates a few miles above Eridu.¹

At the far away time to which we now refer, viz: about 5000 B. C., we can only recover here and there an historic gleam. Our knowledge is very fragmentary indeed. We judge, however, that a tribe with headquarters at Girsu (*Sirgulla*) was rapidly rising to importance. The cylinder of one of their chiefs, supposed to date from



Cylinder of a Patesi of *Sirgulla*.

about 5000 B. C., is here represented.² We must call attention to the peculiar features represented on this cylinder. The type, seen also on the cylinder of Sargon, is neither Semitic nor Turanian,³ but what race is represented is a yet unsolved ethnological problem. A peculiar in-

¹ We have located Tello by means of a small map, given by Hommel in "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 115. It is necessary to remark that it is a question whether *Girsu* and *Sirgulla* are the same or not. See Hommel, p. 202.

² See Hommel: p. 290.

³ Smith suggests that it is an Ethiopian type: "Chaldean Genesis." p. 194.

terest attaches to this physical type since that legendary hero Izdubar (of whom more later) is always so represented.

The reader should also notice the form of the characters employed. The cuneiform shape (tapering to a point) has not yet appeared. The title of this official was *patesi*. Some discussion has taken place over the exact meaning of this title. At a subsequent stage, it meant about the same as viceroy. But this was not its meaning in the first instance. It meant literally the "carrier of the sty-



Inscription of Ur-ghanna.

lus," or the tool with which writing was done, but in its use it seems to have been synonymous with the word "priest."¹ We must recall that at first the chief was also the priest of his people, so we conclude that this title of *patesi*, meant about the same as the word chief generally. Confederacies of several tribes had probably not yet made

¹ See Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 294. He remarks that the original word was something like Ghadda-ti-siddi "Mit der Bedeutung 'Griffel führer' als eines Synonyms für Priester."

their appearance, we are dealing with one individual tribe though doubtless a very prominent one.

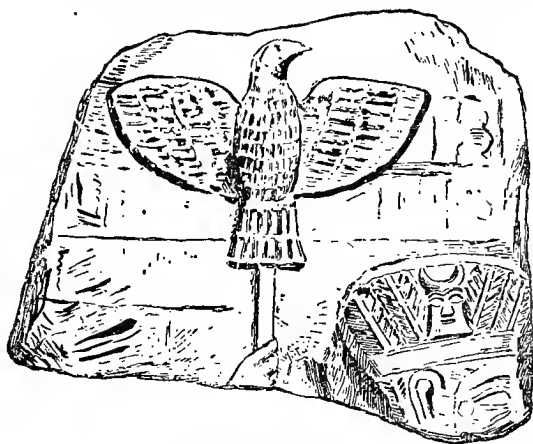
The date of the cylinder is placed at about 5000 B. c. The next figure visible in the dim light of these almost prehistoric times is no longer "patesi" but "king of Sirgulla." This change in title shows that political progress



Bas-relief of Ur-ghanna.

has gone forward. There was probably a union of several tribes under one leader, and Sirgulla was no longer the headquarters of a tribe but of a confederacy. Though the date of the reign of this king is placed at about 4500 B. c., yet he comes before us as quite a real flesh and blood king.

we know his name, that of his father, and some of his achievements. The cut, page 657, is a representation of an inscribed tablet found at Tello by M. De Sarzec. It acquaints us with the fact that Ur-ghanna son of Chalginna was king of Sirgulla, and then tells us of many temples and other buildings he had erected. It further tells us that he had caused his statue to be erected and had built a fortification wall for Sirgulla. All this shows us that even at that early time the foundation of Chaldean culture had been laid.¹ We have also a bas-relief bearing the name of



March of an Army.

this king and his title, which is important from an artistic standpoint. The subject of the relief is evidently an eagle with out stretched wings, whose talons are sunken in a lion's back. The material of this relief, as of other monuments of this period, is limestone, which, in the course of time, has suffered from the weather. The writing is nearly illegible, but we can still puzzle it out.

We also know the son and successor of Ur-ghanna, though we are not sure of the first syllable of his name.

¹ See Hommel, p. 286.

Amongst the objects found by M. De Sarzec at Tello, was a stele of white stone, unfortunately broken and not all the fragments recovered, both sides of which are covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions. The bas-reliefs seem to represent a military expedition. One small fragment, here represented, was probably a part of a relief representing the arrival or departure of the army. "Very little is left, but that little is significant: . . a hand holding a military standard . . and the head of a personage, perhaps the king walking in the procession: and that is all."¹



Birds of Prey.

Two other fragments are equally significant, one represents birds of prey dismembering the bodies of the slain, perhaps defeated enemies. And one of similar import representing the burial of the dead, perhaps the bodies thus honored are those of the victorious soldiers.² The cut on page 661 represents the inscription on the lower part of the fragment whose upper part represents the vultures. Strange to say, it has no reference, apparantly, to the bas-relief. We gather from it that . . . Kur-galla (the first

¹ Perrot and Chipiez

² Prof. Hommel thinks that both of these cuts represent conquered

syllable is uncertain,) son of Ur-ghanna was king of Sirgulla. It tells of a number of temples he built and restored; and, what is important, we notice that the sun appears at this early time to have been worshiped as the representative of the "Spirit of Heaven," that is *zi-anna*.¹

We hear of one more "King of Sirgulla" who is supposed to date from about 4200 B. C.² Only one or two short inscriptions of him are known. His name, with the first



Burial of the dead

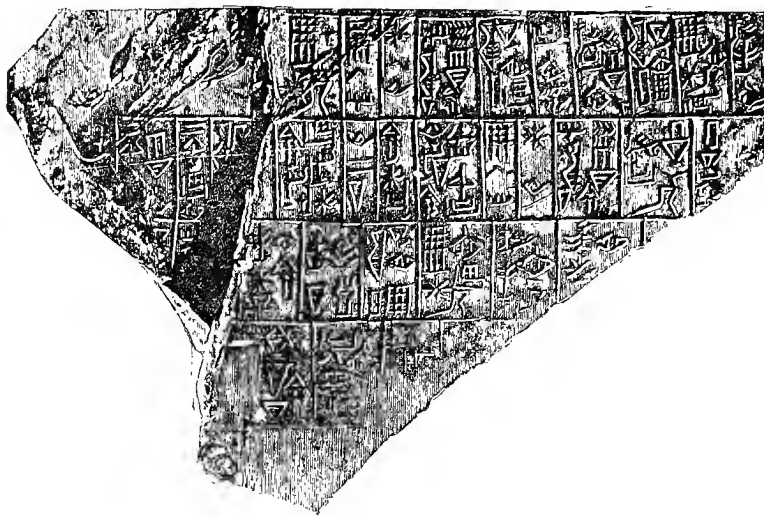
syllable in doubt, seems to have been Uru(?)-ka-ginna. One short inscription is of importance since it contains what is, at present, the oldest known reference to Babylon.

enemies. Perrot and Chipiez suggest the division we hold out as probable above. As to the features represented, Heuzy remarks that "the Semitic profile is more strongly marked than in the monuments of the following age," while Prof. Hommel thinks that, in accordance with primitive art, the forehead and nose are represented by one slightly bending line, and that the features "nur scheinbar an Semitisches erinnert," See "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," Vol., II. p. 177, and "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 241. ¹ See above Chapter V.

² Hommel, p. 291.

It speaks of building "a palace to the oracle of the god of Tin-tir," which is one of the several names of Babylon of old.

Thus we see that for the centuries lying between four and five thousand years before Christ, the darkness here and there lifts for a time and discloses to us an ancient city near Tello, which seems to have been the seat of considerable political power. We see its rulers exchanging a title about the equivalent of the word chief for that of king.



Inscription on the Vulture Stele.

Those who have studied the question declare that there was an advance in writing and in art in general. We learn of the march of victorious armies. We see the country plentifully supplied with temples. In short, all the elements of Babylonian Civilization seem to have been developed. We have as yet learned nothing of the Semites. But the scene now changes, and we are made aware of the fact that they have arrived in the land and are gradually becoming the masters of it.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that our knowledge

of this period is extremely scanty. Gaps of several centuries occur of which absolutely nothing is known, and when light appears it is but momentary in duration. We need not be at all surprised if future discoveries put a different meaning on our present interpretation. We are not to suppose this period was an altogether quiet one. Intertribal warfare was going on, marauding expeditions were undertaken, and the pressure of invasion from the ruder Semitic tribes had been gradually growing stronger and stronger, until finally a portion of the country passed under Semitic control, and straightway there commenced the process of blending into one the culture of the Turanian and Semitic people. Let us examine this question more particularly.

At what time the Semitic tribes commenced to swarm out of their common home in Arabia is as yet unknown; but, passing to the north, they everywhere found confronting them Turanian people. Intermixture between these two people must have gone forward. That part of Mesopotamia known as Assyria proper was held by a large number of Turanian tribes, known collectively as the Kutu.¹ The first entrance into Mesopotamia by Semitic people seems to have been along the northern part of old Chaldea, though two cities, Accad in Northern Chaldea and Erech in Middle Chaldea, divide between themselves the honor of furnishing the first Semitic kings. We have three cylinders, the inscriptions of which are in the Semitic language, two of them tell us of kings of Erech, and one of a prince of Accad. Our scholars are yet undecided as to their relative age.

¹ See Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 91. Notice the presence of the K phonetic element. They were otherwise known as the Gutl, which became the *Goyim* of Genesis xiv. 1.

As everything connected with these early times is of interest to us, let us examine these cylinders. This is a representation of a cylinder from Erech. To judge from the writing and the figures represented, it is the oldest of the three. The three personages on the left of the cut are supposed to represent



Cylinder from Erech.

sent gods. The Semitic inscription reads as follows: "The lord of Erech, In-an-dub of the house of Erech, son of the king."¹ A second cylinder from Erech is shown below. The figures are supposed to represent an immigration or captive soldiers or tribute bringers. The inscription reads as follows: "His servant, the scribe, (devotes this)



to U-bil-darra, brother of the king of Erech." These cylinders both refer to Erech in middle Chaldea.

The next cylinder, however, refers to Accad in Northern Chaldea. We call especial attention to the figures. They have to do with the old Turanian legends of Izdubar, which we will speak of soon. The inscription reads: "His servant, Izilum the scribe, (devotes this) to Bin-gani, king of the city, son of the king." If we are ignorant of the order in which these cylinders made

¹ See Hommel, p. 300.

their appearance, we can still draw some important conclusions from them, they show that, at about 4000 B. C., Semitic people had made their appearance in Chaldea. They show further that migration could not have been from the north or east, but must have been from a south-westerly direction.¹ Since the inscription and proper names are Semitic, the Semites must have become the ruling class, but we also learn that they had adopted Turanian writing, art and mythology. All this must have taken no inconsiderable number of years to accomplish.



Cylinder from Accad.

Leaving these little-known kings, we turn to that important personage, Sargon of Accad, whose date has already been given as 3800 B. C. The location of Accad was long unknown, but now it has been identified with a portion of the ruins of Sippar. Two monuments of this king have already been given.² We have also some details of this king's life and reign, that are not without interest. They were given in an inscription supposed to have been placed

¹ There was one solid mass of non-Semitic tribes confronting them in all other directions. Notice also that both Accad and Erech were located along the western border of Chaldea.

² See above, p. 372 and 654.

on the pedestal of his statue.¹ The original inscription is gone, but we have an Assyrian copy made for the library of Assurbanipal.

We have all heard stories about fated children, who come through all sorts of danger to a life of greatness. Notice in the following account of the infancy and boyhood of Sargon the same mythic conception at work. The inscription reads as follows: "Sharruk-inu, the mighty king, king of Accad am I. My mother was a princess, my father knew I not, while the brother of my father lived among the hills. My mother, the princess, bore me secretly in my city of Azu-pirani, which lies on the banks of the Euphrates; she placed me in an ark of reeds, with asphalt she closed the door, and put me below in the stream, which did not flow over me, the stream bore me to Aki, the water-drawer. In the goodness of his heart, Aki the water-drawer lifted me up. He raised me as his own son, and made me his gardener. The goddess Ishtar felt drawn towards me in my vocation as gardener."²

It is generally supposed that the real meaning of the above is that Sargon was a successful soldier, who raised himself from an obscure position to the throne. The reign appears to have been successful, for the account continues: "I became king and for forty-five years exercised royal authority. I ruled the black haired people. . . . Over difficult places in chariots of honor I rode. I governed the upper countries. (I ruled) the princes of the lower country. Three times I passed through to the sea-coast. Dillman surrendered, Dur-illa, the great, bowed itself." This

¹ This is Mr. Talbot's view: "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 2.

² We have translated Prof. Hommel's German translation. Two English translations are contained in "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 3 and 56

is regarded as an honest copy of an ancient inscription. From it, we learn that Sargon claimed to exercise sovereignty over all of Chaldea. He was ruler in the upper country, and held the "princes" of the lower country in subjection. Three times he marched his army the entire length of Chaldea, from Accad on the north to the Persian sea on the south. Dur-illa was an important town on the boundary of Elam, and Dillman was located on the Persian Gulf.¹

We possess still another tablet professing to give an account of the doings of this king. It is called the "Tablet of Omens," for at the head of each paragraph, containing an account of a war or military expedition, is a description of the omen from the moon under which the expedition was undertaken, for the Chaldeans never started on an expedition unless the omens were propitious. There are fourteen of these paragraphs, eleven of which refer to events in the life of Sargon. The only copy remaining of this tablet is one made for an Assyrian king. Prof. Hommel, after carefully studying this tablet, which claims to treat of Sargon the first, concludes that it also contains much that does not belong to his reign at all. It includes events belonging to the reign of kings very much later in time. It would not be at all singular were this the case. It would be only another instance of what has often happened in the history of great men.² According to this tablet, Sargon played a far more important *role* than the

¹ We have translated Prof. Hommel's German translation, but have changed it slightly to agree with Smith's English translation in "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 57.

² An English translation of this Omen Tablet is given in "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 58 *et seq.* Prof. Hommel's criticisms are in "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 304-8. It must be said that a number of scholars give full credit to this tablet.

modest one set out above. The three expeditions to the Persian sea are now transferred to the Mediterranean coast, and he is even said to have conquered Cyprus and set up his image there. He is here probably confounded with Sargon II. of about 700 B. c.



Inscription of In-anna-ginna.

Not taking into account this latter tablet, it can be seen that after a prolonged effort extending over probably some centuries of time, the Semitic invaders had established their power, and had assimilated the Turanian culture, and finally had reduced the whole of Chaldea to their reign. What had become of the kings of Sirgulla, whom we have seen at a still earlier time ruling quite an extensive scope of country? If we recall that Sargon speaks of

ruling the princes of the lower country,¹ we shall probably not err if we conclude that among these "princes" are the former "kings" of Sirgulla now playing the part of a vassal or a *patesi* in the secondary meaning of the word, which it came in time to have. Fully in keeping with this is the fact that we come on traces of various *patesi* of Sirgulla, who belonged to about this time, judging from the style of work.

The preceding cut is an inscription on a piece of hard alabaster containing the name and title of In-anna-ginna, *patesi* of Sirgulla. Heuzy, who is authority on such topics, tells us that this inscription "has a peculiar style and



Cylinder of Naram-Sin.

shows a progress in technic, which bespeaks a parallel progress in art generally."² Although the writing is still linear and not cuneiform, yet the characters are clear and

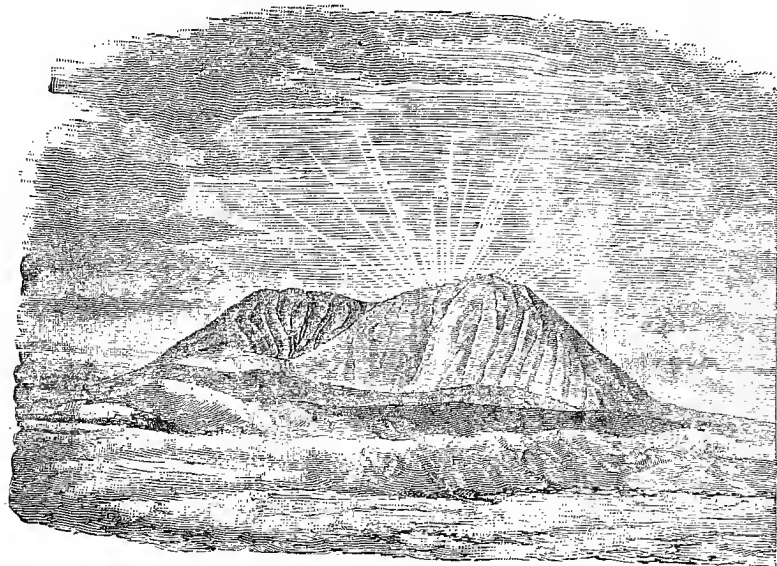
are cut with a confidence and precision hitherto unknown. The material used is not the soft limestone of the primitive period but a harder kind of stone. But along with this progress in art, has gone a decline in political power as is shown by the use of the word *patesi*. Now returning to the kings of Accad, we find Naram-sin given as the son and successor of Sargon. His seal-cylinder is here shown. There are one or two short inscriptions of him in existence also. The inscription on the cylinder reads as follows: "Mar-Istar, son of Ilubalit, servant of Naram-sin." The figures represented are rather peculiar. There is first, on the right, a priest, the central

¹ Smith renders the word "King;" Hommel, "Haupter,"

² From Hommel's German Translation.

figure represents, perhaps, Naram-sin himself, the figure on the left, with the horn-like ornament on the cap, represents a god.¹

Naram-sin was a builder as well. We must bear in mind that it was his cylinder, placed in the corner-stone of the sun temple at Sippar and discovered by Nabonidas, that gives us the date of his reign.² Three paragraphs in the Omen Tablet, which we have described, recount



Ruins of Tell Ede.

events of Naram-sin's life. They tell us first of his conquest of Amar-ak a city supposed to be represented by the mound of ruins known as Tell Ede, which, we shall see, played an important part in ancient Chaldea. They also tell us of a successful expedition to the land of Maganna. This most probably refers to the southern part of Chaldea,

¹ Sayce thinks [probably from the object he holds in his hand, the representation of lightning] that the god Ramman is here represented. Hommel suggests Nergal. See "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 309.

² Page 653

lying on the west bank of the Euphrates and bordering on Arabia. This was noted for its stone quarries. A fragment of a vase at Tello, speaks of a "vase of polished work, from Magan."¹

As near as we can judge, some centuries seemed to have passed by before we again have the aid of inscriptions and monuments. When light again appears, it is in Southern Chaldea, and it is indeed significant of the direction in which Semitic people entered the land to find that the new inscriptions from Sirgulla, for it is there we return, are in a Turanian language. We find ourselves confronted with the highest developed culture of the Turanian people in Chaldea. The artistic remains of this period are indeed wonderful. They take the shape mainly of statues, containing inscriptions.

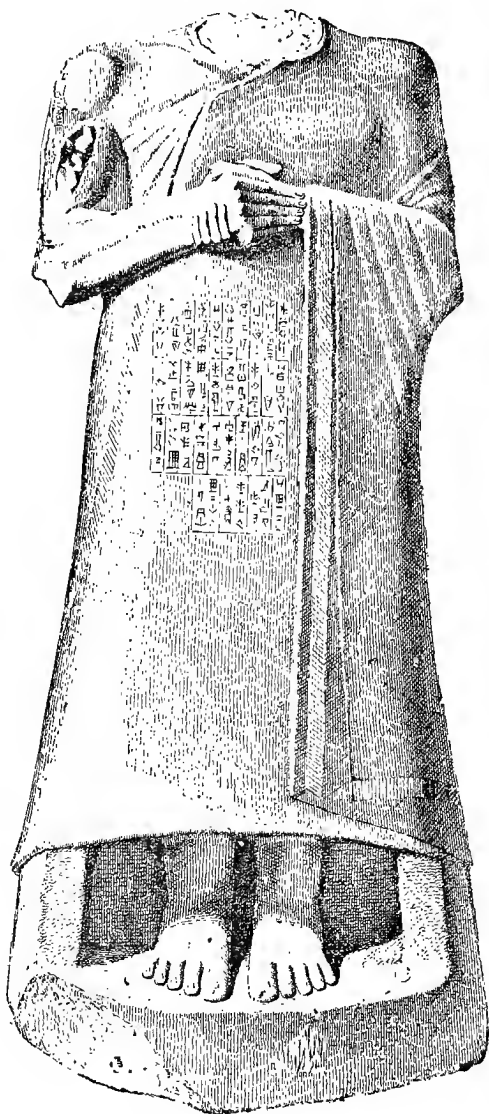
This cut is the representation of a certain Ur-ba'u of Sirgulla. M. De Sarzec, whose discoveries on the site of Tello we have often referred to, found some ten statues, all more or less broken, the heads of all being wanted. Nine of them bore the name and inscriptions of Gudea. One bore the name of Ur-ba'u.² Prof. Hommel, from a careful study of the form of the writing, concludes that Ur-ba'u was older in time than Gudea and places him at about 3300 B. C. We must pay some attention to this work, since it is regarded as the finest extant monument of ancient Chaldean art, and in no way shows any trace of Semitic or Egyptian art.

The figure is that of a heavy-set man. Observe the careful attention to details in the exposed portions of the body, the muscles, fingers, toes and nails are all carefully

¹ See Hommel: p. 309.

² The name is also read Lik-bagas. See "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," p. 180.

represented. The dressing is very plain and simple, but



Statue of Ur-ba'u.

observe the slight fringe and notice how gracefully it is thrown around the body. An inscription is to be seen on the front of this statue, another was cut on the back.¹ The title of Ur-ba'u was "Patesi of Sirgulla." The inscriptions tell us mainly of the building of temples, in some cases the restoration only is meant, since some of the earlier kings and patesis may have mentioned the building of them. The cities of Girsu (Sirgulla), Eridu (Nunki) and more are named. It will be observed that only the south-eastern part of Chaldea is men-

¹ See Hommel: p. 218.

tioned. The majority of De Sarzec's great find belong to a somewhat later date, about 3100 B. C. At this supposed date, there was ruling at Sirgulla a most noted personage, whose name is generally read *Gudea*. His inscriptions are still in a Turanian language, but from many sources we know that the Semites are at hand. We detect traces of their influence in the field of religion, and those scholars are probably right who think they can detect Semitic features in some of the sculptures and carvings. Let us examine this question. If we will compare the heads



Bronze Votive.
Offering

in question. The one is broad-headed (Brachycephalic) with a smoothly shaved or beardless head, with slightly prominent cheek bones; the other is long-headed (Dolicocephalic) with a heavy head of black hair, and a long chin beard.¹ Or if we will compare the cut on page 660 with the next cut we will see represented the same two types. It is supposed that the first type represents the Turanian Chaldean, the second, the Semitic people, perhaps from Accad, which at this time had long been in the possession of Semitic people. A fragment of ancient Chaldean bas-relief shows us, in dim outline, the features of a man and woman, supposed to represent a king and a

¹ Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 241. See above, page 665, where Sargon says he "ruled the black haired people." Compare the above with remarks on page 191 of Vol. II. of "Art in Chaldea and Assyria" by Perrot and Chipiez. They seem to regard both types as representations of the same people, the Semites.

queen.¹ The features represented are those of our so-called



The Semitic Type from Tello.

Semitic type. Finally in the cut on page 693 we have again the Turanian features in a statuette from the Louvre.



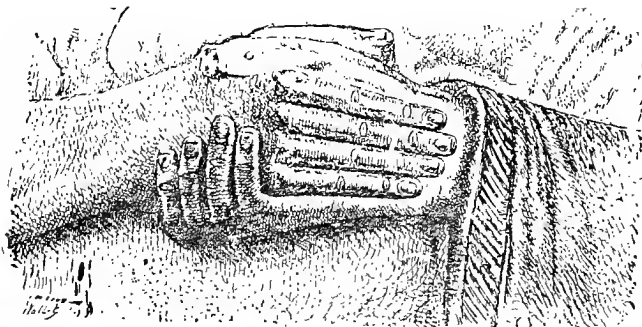
Semitic King and Queen.

chitect. But it bears the same royal inscription as the others. One point to be noticed in all these statues is the attitude of the hands. We give a nearer view in the next

Nine statues were found at Tello bearing the inscription of Gudea. They include both seated and standing figures. The cut shown on page 373 is one of the seated statues. On page 700 is represented another one, sometimes called the statue of the arch-

¹ "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," Vol. II., p. 191.

cut. This is the attitude often assumed by eunuchs in the presence of their masters, the kings, but found as well in the representation of kings before the effigies of their gods. We can, then, see the propriety of this disposition of the hands in these statues, which were probably placed in some part of the various temples, where the king was represented, as it were, in the attitude of worship before his god.¹



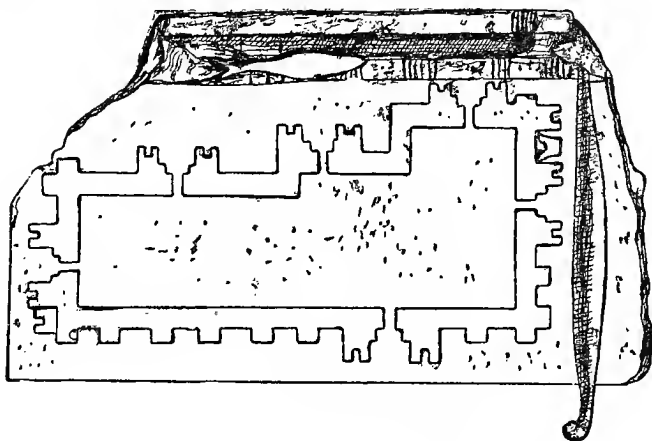
Position of the Hands.

The statue of the architect on page 700 is seen to be holding a slab of stone in its lap. This is of sufficient importance to be noticed by itself, especially as from this, the name of "The Architect" has been given to the statue. On the left is to be seen "one of those styles with which letters or images were cut in the soft clay, at the bottom of the tablet there is a scale which we know from another monument of the same kind to have been originally about ten and a half inches in length, representing the half-cubit or span. The larger part of the surface is occupied by an irregular figure in which the trace of a fortified wall may be easily recognized. Some have supposed this to be the plan of a city, others of a palace only."²

¹ "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," p. 181.

² "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," Vol. I., p. 327. See also "Contempo-

Gudea, though he styles himself patesi of Sir-gulla, was not simply some petty chieftain. His monuments are found over a considerable extent of country and on the sites of important cities.¹ He was certainly a king in power, as but few were in these early times. Under him, Turanian art in Chaldea reached its highest point, and his power seems to have extended over at least a part of Elam and the greater portion of Chaldea, perhaps even to the north in Assyria and to the west in Lebanon.² It is interesting to



Drawing on the Stone Slab.

note that this powerful patesi, the builder of numerous temples, leaves an account of his early life in many respects like that of Sargon. He declares that the ocean depths were his father and mother.³

rary Review" for 1886. Mr. Sayce speaks of this statue as proving that the stone was derived from the peninsula of Sinai and showing the influence of Egyptian art. But Maganna, to which the inscription refers, was probably the boundary line between Arabia and Lower Chaldea.

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 7.

² Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 318.

³ Ibid. 320 The relative position of Gudea in history is not yet settled. Budge places him considerably later than our date ["Babylonian Life and History," p. 41.] Prof. Sayce thinks he was the grandson of

From what we can gather from the dim light of history in Chaldea, and have in a measure set forth above, it seems that, though the Semites early gained a supremacy in Northern Chaldea, they met with more of a determined resistance in Lower Chaldea, though their influence was felt there, and they, at times at least, exercised suzerainty over the country. For a long time, Sirgulla had been the principal city in Southern Chaldea. There is a period of nearly two thousand years intervening between the first patesi of Sirgulla and Gudea, of whom we have just treated. During this time, other cities were in existence. We have seen Babylon mentioned as early as 4200 B. C., and from seal cylinders, the kings of Erech vie in antiquity with Sargon of Accad. We would naturally expect the center of political authority in Southern Chaldea to shift from Sirgulla to another point, since in the course of time, some other tribe located elsewhere would be sure to contend with the tribe at Sirgulla for supremacy, and (in a tribal state of society political power changes with kaleidoscopic rapidity) succeed in changing the relation between them.

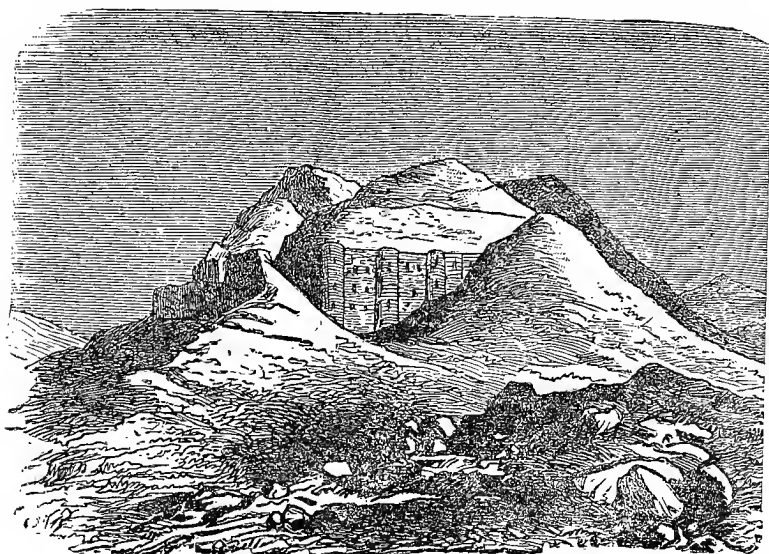
This introduces us to Ur. We have evidence that this was certainly a very ancient city. Bricks are found here the inscriptions on which are in writing of very ancient characters. The cut given on page 247 is one of this character.¹ At about 3000 B. C., Ur had become the center of political power in Chaldea. Its kings assumed the proud title of

Ur-ba'u [Lig bagas] of Ur. and consequently several centuries later than our date. ["Ancient Empires," p. 110.] On this point, see Hommel p. 318. Smith, in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 7, places him long before Sargon of Accad, but when he wrote, we were ignorant of Sargon's date, 3800 B. C. Ragozin, "Story of Chaldea," p. 214, contents herself with showing that he was probably between three and four thousand B. C. Prof. Hommel places him about 3100 B. C.

¹ Prof. Hommel places the date of this inscription at about 3600 B. C. "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 113.

"King of Kingi and Burbur,"¹ and their authority seems to have extended over the larger part of Southern Chaldea and at least a part of Accad.²

Our next cut is the seal-cylinder of the first known and most famous king of Ur. His name has been read several different ways. Following Prof. Hommel, we will call him Ur-ba'u of Ur.³ Ur-ba'u was a great builder. His reign



Ruins of Ur.

¹ By this expression, South and North Babylonia were meant. At a later date, the expression was changed to "Sumir and Accad." Eridu, Sirgulla, Ur and Larsa belonged to Kingi: Erech and the towns to the north of it, to Burbur, or Northern Chaldea. Kingi probably meant "the land," perhaps the home land. The meaning of Bur-bur is more obscure. Possibly it meant about the same as, "The two Rivers," having reference to the Tigris and Euphrates: or perhaps it meant "The two Places," having reference to the double town of Sippar and Accad. Hommel: p. 233-4.

² Ragzoin: "Story of Chaldea," p. 216.

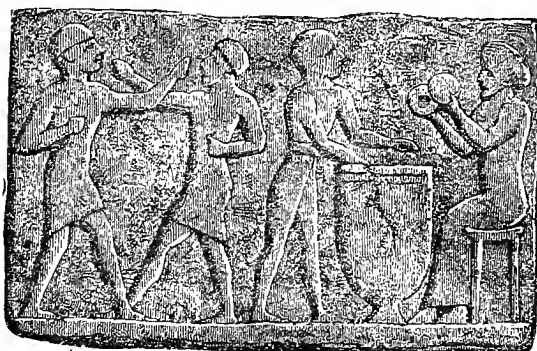
³ Ragozin remarks as follows "This name was at first read Uruk, then Likbabi, then Lik-bagash, then Ur-bagash, then Ur-ba'u, and now Prof. Fried Delizsch announces that the final and correct reading is, in all

must have been long and prosperous. It is said: "That the remains of his buildings even now exceed those of every other Chaldean monarch except Nebuchadnezzar."¹ It has



Seal Cylinder of Ur-ba'u of Ur.

been noticed that in many places where important buildings once stood, the foundation bricks bear the name of Ur-ba'u,



Clay Tablet from Senkereh.

though other kings may have completed them.²

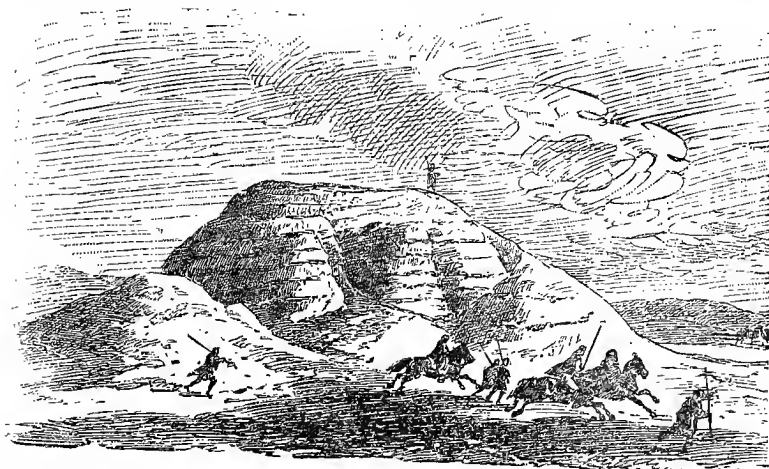
Many other details might be mentioned all going to

probability either Urea or Arad-ea." This Cylinder, long supposed to have been lost, is now in the British museum. See J. R. A. S. 1881, p. c v.

¹ Smith: "Early Hist. of Babylonia," p. 9.

² Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 102.

show that Ur-ba'u was the king whose reign marks the commencement of a new era in Southern Chaldea. Ur was now the capital city and was adorned with temples and public buildings.¹ Larsa, now known as Senkereh, appears to have been founded by him. At any rate, its history does not go further back than his date. This was the site of a famous temple of the sun. For Larsa was devoted to the worship of the sun, as Ur was of the moon.² Erech too (though as we have seen there were kings of



Ruins of Temple at Erech.

Erech long before this time) was the scene of his activity. His bricks are found in the foundation of the great temple of Ishtar which is here represented, also at Niffer (the Scriptural Calneh) he founded temples.³

These public works undertaken by Ur-ba'u were, some of them at least, of very great size. The platform mound of the temple at Erech is estimated to have required thirty million bricks, and this is only one of several build-

¹ Smith: *Op. cit.*

² This Larsa is the Ellasar of Genesis xiv. 1.

³ Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 103.

ings. It is considered quite likely that Ur-ba'u must have had control of captives, perhaps captives of war, the fruits of successful war with the surrounding tribes. His power must have been built up at the expense of Accad and Sirgulla.¹ At this latter place he also built or repaired a temple.² It has been observed that while the name of Ur-ba'u and his immediate successor are Accadian and their inscriptions often in that language, yet, from a religious stand-point, we perceive the influence of the Semites.³ It will be observed on the cylinder of Ur-ba'u, that the moon god (the seated figure) is represented as having features of the type we have called Semitic.

Ur-ba'u was succeeded by his son Dungi, who seems to have completed many of the buildings begun by his father.⁴ What traces we have of him at present are principally from Ur and Erech. He styles himself king of "Kingi and Burbur." There is a question whether Ur here mentioned was the "Ur of Chaldea," spoken of in the Bible as the primitive home of the Hebrews.⁵ It has been shown that one reading of the cuneiform sign from Accad is *Ura*, and Prof. Budge thinks this is the Ur of the Bible.⁶

With the death of Dungi, we are once more left in the dark, and for an unknown length of time, we know but

¹ Ibid., p. 102.

² Smith: "Early History of Babylonia," p. 9.

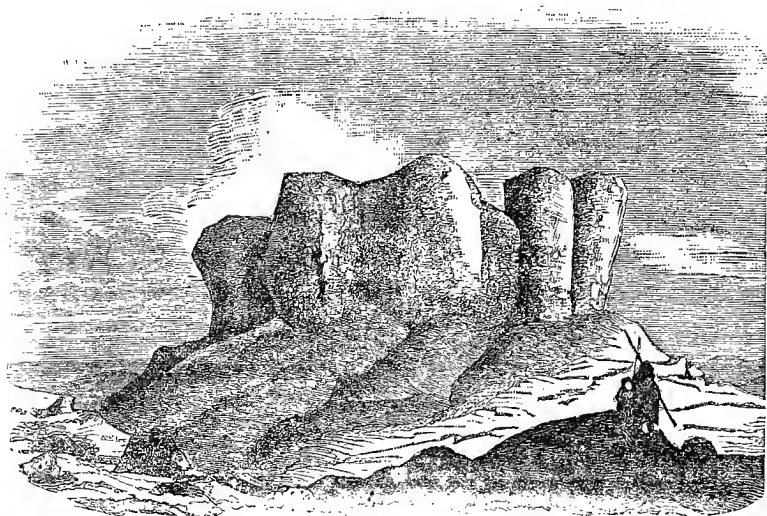
³ Ragozin: "Story of Chaldea," p. 218.

⁴ The name of this king is in some places given as Ilgi. The syllable *dun* is but another name for *ba'u*.

⁵ Bible, Genesis x. 31.

⁶ "Babylonian Life and History," London, 1885, p. 25. On this point also, see Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 213. He shows there are strong reasons for supposing that Harran, the second starting point of Abraham, became mixed in popular etymology with Ur, both were places especially devoted to the worship of the moon god, and even the names may stand in some relation to each other.

very little of the course of events in Chaldea. We know the names of a number of kings, who in their inscriptions claim to rule an extensive section of country. Probably some of these were contemporaneous. It seems probable that Ur ceased to be the capital, though it remained a very important city, and Karrak became the new capital.¹ The location of Karrak is not yet fixed with certainty,



Ruins of Hamman.

though it may be but another name for Nisin, which Prof. Hommel thinks is now to be found in the ruins of Hamman.²

We have the names, at present, of several kings of Karrak.³ The names are Semitic. One of the most celebrated ones is Ismi-dagon, who built a palace at Ur. We will quote an inscription of this king, which will give us a good idea of the extent of their power, and what they claimed

¹ Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 41.

² "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 221.

³ Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries," London, 1883, p. 441.

for themselves. The reference to Niffer in the first line, seems to show that this was a holy city.¹ We must further remember that Niffer is probably the Calneh of the Bible.² The inscription in question reads as follows:³

“Ismi-Dagon, nourisher of Nipur,
The supreme over Ur, the light of Eridu,
Lord of Erech (the powerful king),
King of Karrak, King of Sumir and Accad.
The relative, the delight of Nana.”

The worship of the moon was very widely extended in Chaldea. The moon god's name in Semitic was Sin. It is, perhaps, not singular that a number of kings' names should be known in which the word Sin forms a part. They need not, however, have succeeded one another. Some may have ruled at one place, some at another, and they may be separated by quite a period of time. It is necessary to speak of this because some historians speak of “Monarchs of the Sin Series.”⁴ There was no series of monarchs of that name, and, further, later scholars are reading these names somewhat differently.⁵

We are now down to near the beginning of the twenty-third century before Christ. Few are probably aware that the twenty-third century before the commencement of the Christian era was a period of great commotion in

¹ See Hommel, p. 221.

² Genesis x. 10. See Rawlinson: “Seven Great Monarchies,” Vol. I., p. 14.

³ Smith's translation, “Records of the Past,” Vol. III., p. 14.

⁴ Rawlinson: *Op. cit.*, p. 189. Smith: “Early History of Babylonia,” p. 15.

⁵ Thus take the name of Zur-sin, who is stated by Rawlinson and Smith to have built Abu-sharein. This is wrong for Abu-sharein is old Eridu in existence long before. Smith himself later reads the name of this king Amar-agu. Hommel returns in part to the first reading, calling it Amar-sin, and assigns him to about 2400 B. C.

the world's history. It is of course impossible to give exact dates, but the movements of many different people seem to have begun at about that time, all pointing to some great break up in Western Asia. Let us examine this point. In a former chapter, we have shown that, as far as we can draw any conclusion from the scanty traditions of the Chinese, they made their appearance on the headwaters of the Hoangho, about the twenty-third century B. C., as a migrating host, forcing their way among tribes who had long been living in that country. We have also shown that they had probably been driven out of a section of country to the east and south of the Caspian sea.

But this was not the only direction of movement. People from out this same section were propelled toward the west. It was about this time that Chaldea was overrun and conquered by invading Elamites, who, probably, driven by the pressure of invasion from their own home, had to conquer for themselves a new home further to the west. In fact, the waves of these troublesome times rolled far toward the west, until they passed over all Asia Minor and finally spent their force in distant Egypt. Borne along in this western movement, were probably many Semitic people, such as the Hebrews, Phoenicians and Assyrians, who were forced from their homes in Northern Chaldea. For it was probably about this time that "Asshur went forth and founded Nineveh," and the traditions of the Hebrews indicate that it was also about this time that they went out from "Ur of Chaldea."

Let us pause a moment to inquire into the cause of these sudden and vigorous movements. What was it that broke up the numerous tribes to the east and south of the Caspian sea, and drove some to the east, others to the

west, and thus drove so many out of their old homes? A few years ago, no probable answer would have suggested itself. Now, we think we begin to understand the matter. A few words of explanation are necessary. Until within comparatively late times, it has been assumed as a matter beyond all dispute that the Aryan people are of Asiatic origin. On this point, however, a great revolution in opinion has been in progress, until at present, some of the most eminent scholars claim that the Aryans are of European origin. This is not the place to discuss this interesting question.¹ We must reserve it for another volume. Any one, however, who sets out to study this question, will discover that the whole tendency of modern research points to this conclusion. Every year sees some scholar, after careful study, coming to this conclusion. Even so eminent a scholar as Prof. Hommel, who does not accept this conclusion himself, candidly admits, that it is fast becoming a matter of scientific belief.²

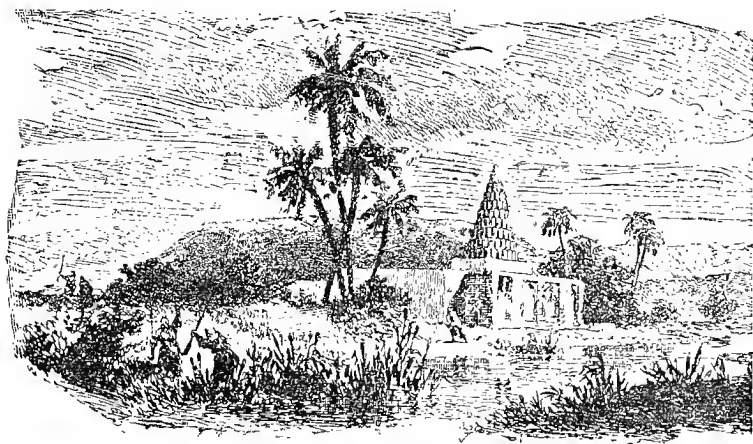
We suggest, then, that the inciting cause of these emigrations and invasions was the appearance in Asia of a vast body of Aryan people, the forefathers of the Iranian and Indian Aryans. Gathering their forces in South-eastern Europe, to the north of the Black sea, they finally swept in a resistless torrent around the Caspian sea, and scattered before them in all directions the Turanian tribes inhabiting that country. This, we admit, is a rather bold conjecture. It will rise or fall with the theory of the European origin of the Aryans. If that stands, then this suggestion will stand; should it be rejected, then we must

¹ The Aryans will be fully treated in Vol. III.

² See his review of several late books on "Die Urheimat der Indogermanen" in "Archiv für Anthropologie" for 1885, Supplement, p. 167. "In der jüngsten Zeit fast zum Dogma gewordenen Satz von der Europäischen Urheimat der Indogermanen,"

look elsewhere for an efficient cause for the great break up of people in Western Asia, which certainly took place about the time in question.¹

But now, returning to the history of Chaldea, it is necessary to speak more particularly of Elam. The country known by the name of Elam lay to the north and somewhat to the east of the Persian sea. Its ancient name was Anzan. The ancient Chaldeans called it *Llanu*, that is "the highlands," from whence comes our word



Ruins of Susa.

Elam. The earliest inhabitants, of whom we know anything with certainty, were Turanian tribes, near relations of the ancient Chaldeans.² Elam is one of the oldest centers of Civilization known, and was for a long time a much

¹ This date agrees remarkably well with all that we know of the movements of the Aryans in Asia. As early as 2000 B. C., the Aryans were situated along the upper courses of the Ganges.

² This is the view of a majority of scholars. See Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. I., p. 532; Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic," p. 217, where he cites the concurrent opinion of Norris, Oppert and Mordtmann; Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 94. We see no evidence, however, of the Semites being the nobility of the land, as stated by Ragozin. Prof. Hommel, as stated above, page 401, does not fully agree with this view.

feared rival of Babylon. Though overrun by the armies of Assyria, victory ultimately rested with Elam, and under the leadership of their great king, Cyrus, the old empires in Mesopotamia were overthrown.

In the year 645 B. C., Assurbanipal of Assyria, in his war with Elam, took the capital city of Susa. He tells us he found in a temple an image of the goddess, Nana, which sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before, had been carried from her temple at Erech by Khudur-Nak-hunte,¹ the Elamite, who at that time had overrun and conquered Lower Chaldea. This carries us back to the year 2280 B. C., as the date of the Elamite conquest. It would seem as if the Elamites made Larsa (Senkereh) their principal capital, though subject kings also ruled in some of the older cities. This Elamite supremacy probably lasted about three centuries. We can see that, not being very different from the Chaldeans ethnically, a rapid assimilation of culture would go forward as they gradually extended their conquest.

One of the later Elamite kings was Kudur-Mabug. He is of interest to us because some have supposed him to be the same as Kudur-Lagamar (Chedorlaomer) of the Bible,² who is represented as waging war in Palestine. On his inscriptions, he is called "the father of Palestine," so he may have claimed supremacy over that country.³ The name of a son of the foregoing, who was made king of Larsa, is read Rim-agu.⁴ One of the most important events of his reign was the conquest of Karrak. Now Karrak was probably the same as Hamman, and was but a few miles to the north of Larsa. It was of enough import-

¹ See above page 430. ² Gen. xiv. 1.

³ Sayce: "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments," p. 48.

⁴ Prof. Sayce reads the name Eri-agu and identifies him with Arioch of Gen. xiv. 1. See also Hommel p. 168.

ance however to serve as a date from which to reckon events. Contract tablets are still in existence dated as follows. "Month Ululu in the fifth year after Karrak was captured."¹ Karrak was one of the old capitals of Chaldea. Perhaps it had been able to maintain its independence up to the reign of Rim-agu.

We must hurry this sketch along. We have as yet said but very little about Babylon. The time is now at



Ruins of Babylon.

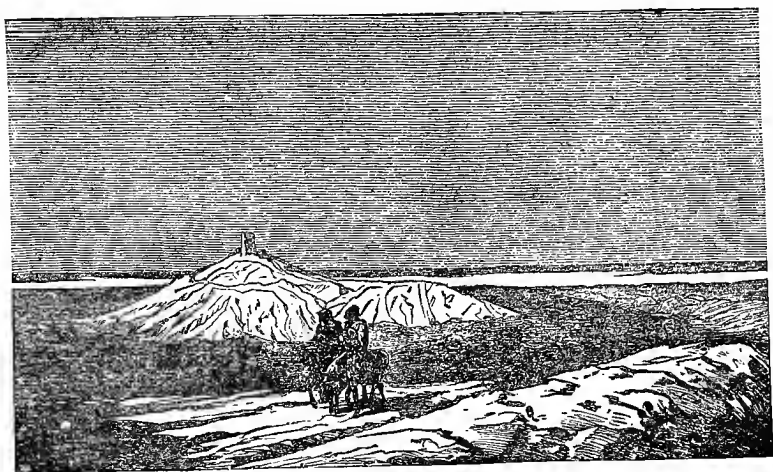
hand when this city is to take the leading place in the history of Chaldea. We have seen that as early as about 4200 B. C., Babylon is mentioned in an inscription of Uru (?)ka-ginna. It is there called Tin-tir meaning "The Seat of Life."² Another name for it in early times was "Ka-din-gir-ra," meaning "The Gates of God." The name by which it has come down into history is simply a Semitic translation

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 66.

² Hommel: p. 229. Budge translates it. "The Wood of Life."

of the last name, Bab-ili. There is in this nothing of the meaning of "confusion."¹

Babylon, in the earliest times, does not seem to have been a place of much importance. It seems to have been a holy place, the site of numerous temples from an early time. It, or its temples, are frequently mentioned in the so-called penitential psalms of the Babylonians, that probably date, many of them at least, from the time of the Elamite



Ruins of Bor-sippa.

conquest. The greater portion of the present ruins of Babylon are not later than the date of Nebuchadnezzar. In the ruins of Borsippa or Birs Nim-rud is to be seen the ruins of the famous temple of Sagilla which probably figures in the Hebrew traditions as the "Tower of Babel."²

Undoubtedly Babylon was the headquarters of an important tribe from a very early time. But no details of its early history are known. When the Elamites conquered Chaldea, Babylon probably remained under the local gov-

¹ There is in Hebrew a root *balbel* meaning "to confuse," which shows how this notion arose. Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 14.

² Hommel: *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

ernment of their own chiefs.¹ Mr. Sayce thinks that Amraphel, king of Shinar, spoken of in Genesis, was a Babylonian king, or chief.² Babylon gradually grew in strength, probably it came in time to be considered as the champion of the native Chaldean interests as opposed to the Elamites, whose head-quarters were at Larsa. At any rate, about the year 1900 B. C., we find Hammurabi, king of Babylon, engaged in conflict with Rim-agu, of Larsa for the supremacy.³

Victory remained with the Babylonian king. The Elamite conquest came to an end, and Babylon entered on her career of greatness. It seems that Rim-agu governed the entire country at least twenty-eight years after the conquest of Karrak.⁴ This period was not altogether a peaceful one, since one notice refers to a war with people in the northern part of Chaldea. Perhaps it was when weakened by this war, that Hammurabi of Babylon took up the battle for independence. At first victory remained with Rim-agu,⁵ but eventually he was defeated. With the conquest of Hammurabi, we enter on a new period in the history of Chaldea.

He has the credit of being a wise and energetic king. He not only repaired the numerous temples in his kingdom, but he built some important buildings. At the present city of Kalwadha, bronze rings have been found

¹ We have a list of the local chiefs of Babylon going back to about 2400 B. C. The first dynasty is a Sumerian one. During their reign probably occurred the Elamite conquest. Hommel: *Op. cit.*, p. 175.

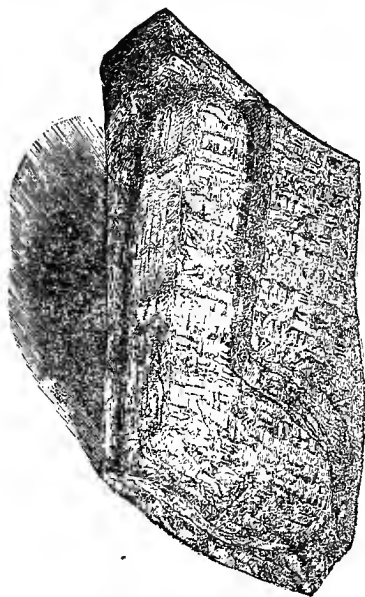
² Gen. xiv. 1. "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments," p. 47. This king was a local chief of Babylon and appears in the inscriptions as Amarmubalit, the father of Hammurabi.

³ We have followed Hommel for the above date. Mr. Budge gives 2100 B. C. as the date of Hammurabi.

⁴ "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 67.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

with the inscription "Palace of Hammurabi."¹ He also dug huge canals to render the country fertile. He especially prides himself on one which he names after himself "Hammurabi, the delight of men." Under his rule, commerce seems to have revived considerably. There are now in the British Museum quite a large number of contract tablets dated in his reign. The contract, or deed of sale,



Contract Tablet.

was written on both sides of a piece of clay, which piece of clay, for the sake of better preservation, was placed within a clay envelope, upon which the contract and seal were again inscribed. From the dates inscribed on these contract tablets, we gather much historical information. Here at this point occurs an historical *lacunae*, which we are not as yet able to fill. We know the name of the son and successor of Hammurabi, Samsu-il-una, which is very common on dated contract tablets, but has not yet been found on any of the public monuments. These same tablets, however, speak of canals dug by this king.² Probably for a long time this dynasty continued to reign.³ It is to be noticed that from the time of Hammurabi, the phrase king of "Kingi and Burbur" is exchanged for the phrase king of "Sumir and Accad." We must recall that Larsa,

¹ Ibid., p. 75.

² Ibid., p. 76.

³ According to Prof. Hommel's calculation, this dynasty lasted until 1713 B. C.

the Elamite capital, is now known by the name of Senkereh, which Prof. Hommel shows, is probably the origin of the word Sumir. This shows that Larsa had then become a very important place. It gave its name to all of "Kingi" or Southern Chaldea.¹

About seventeen hundred B.C., we find a new dynasty ruling in Babylon. A change in dynasty meant a conquest in ancient times. The conquering people, in this instance, seem to have come from the north-east. They were the Cossaens whose home seems to have been to the north of Elam. They were Turanian people, though they may have been more or less intermixed with other ethnic stocks.² There was probably no very great difference between them and the Chaldeans. Babylon remained the capital. The culture and religion of the Chaldeans were acceptable to the new-comers, and life doubtless went forward much as before. For a number of centuries the Cossaens remained the ruling people in Chaldea, in fact, until the Chaldean empire was subverted by the Assyrians, which happened near the beginning of the thirteenth century B. C.³

Of this long period of time, we, as yet, know but very little. The names of quite a number of kings are known, but, of their order in the series and their relations to each other, almost nothing is known. Certain great movements alone are visible. It was during this time that Assyria commenced to come to the front as a great and growing power. It was during this time that Egypt enacted the brilliant part of conquest in Asia. It is not unreasonable to suppose that their conquests had something to do with

¹ Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 220.

² Prof. Hommel classes them with the Alarodians. ³ Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 117. Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 44.

the rise of Assyria.¹ Perhaps Chaldea felt the tramp of Egyptian armies. Finally this is the period which terminates the ancient history of Chaldea.

Before we turn to consider the culture of Chaldea, and the influence of the same on the culture of the world, let us briefly summarize this historical outline. Any one who cares to investigate this subject carefully will discover that Assyriologists, those scholars who make a specialty of cuneiform research, are very far from agreement among themselves as to the antiquity and relative location of events in Chaldea. It has only been by the expenditure of very great labor, involving the most patient painstaking care, that we have been able to recover anything of this ancient period of Chaldean history. Fifty years ago the world was ignorant of ancient Chaldea, it is not at all singular that we have had to revise some of the first formed conclusions in this matter, nor need we flatter ourselves that the outline we have laid down will remain unchanged. All we need feel sure about is that it is in accordance with present light, and that future discoveries, though they may change minor points considerably, will not, we believe, materially affect the outline as here given.

At the same time, let us hold ourselves in readiness to accept whatever conclusion future discoveries may bring to light. We are, as it were, gazing on a canvass that was once resplendent with an artist's masterpiece. But time has so faded it that we can not make out the details. With the greatest of care, we have made out here and there a part, and think we begin to understand the general plan. But as yet the larger portion is a blank, waiting the time when skillful workmen shall clean, repair

¹ Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 116.

and bring to light what is now unseen and unknown. As to the antiquity here disclosed, we can only say that it is accepted by a number of the foremost scholars, and is not greater than what seems demanded to account for all the circumstances of the case.¹

In tracing the development of culture in Chaldea, we must constantly bear in mind the peculiar circumstances under which it developed. That is the two ethnic elements in the population of the country. It is difficult to decide just what is due to the Turanians and what to the Semites. Our scholars have a vast amount of work before them in this matter. Assuming, as nearly all do, that the Turanians were the first settlers in Chaldea, we have to decide first as to their culture, and then wherein it was modified by the Semites, this will give us clearer ideas of the culture of the Chaldeans, during the period of time covered by this chapter.

We have already given a brief outline of Turanian culture in Chaldea.² The results there obtained, briefly summed up, are as follows: In organization for government purposes, the Turanians had reached quite a high stage of development. In social organizations they were, relatively, not as far advanced. They had descent in the male line, but plain traces of the older rule of female descent are noticeable. We may perhaps doubt whether

¹ As in this question of antiquity, so much depends on the date of Sargon of Accad, we would advise the reader to consult Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 166. Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 36 *et seq.* In this connection, we must recall that the important cylinder of Nabonidas, which gives us the date 3800 B. C., was not discovered until 1882. Hence it is that Smith in "Early History of Babylonia," published in 1875, places Sargon so late in time, after Rim-agu in fact. It is somewhat strange that Prof. Sayce still adheres to this view. "Ancient Empires," p. 112 *et seq.*

² Above page 374 *et seq.*

they had fully made this change, when the Semites appeared on the scene. The joint-family had, however, made its appearance, and this does not arise until descent has fully passed into the male line. They practiced agriculture, digging for this purpose irrigating canals. They



Statue of a Turanian Woman.

were the inventors of the cuneiform system of writing, and had laid the foundation for a system of mathematics in which twelve and sixty are the bases of calculation, and not ten.

advance before the Semites arrived. It is a law of the Yellow Races that they soon reach a stationary stage of culture, beyond which they advance only by reason of contact with other people. Turanian Chaldea may have reached this stage. We have also given a brief outline of primitive Chaldean religion. It was found to be an *expose* of savage philosophy as outlined in a former chapter.¹ The begin-

This outline has to do with the Turanian culture in general. But the particular body of people who settled in Chaldea, doubtless made further

¹ Above page 379.

ning only of a pantheon was mentioned. Some of the greater fetich gods were described. We have seen the sky and the earth worshiped as fetiches of great power. In their name, the priest exorcised all evil demons. It is well to take up the thread at this point, and show a somewhat later development of their religious conceptions. Zi-anna meant simply the sky as a fetich. We have evidence that, at a very early stage, the sun was regarded as the representative of this fetich.¹ But another process was at work. One of the names of Zi-anna was very appropriate, In-lilla, "Lord above." In process of time, and in full keeping with the laws of mythology,² In-lilla and Ana became differentiated from each other, both become gods. In an entirely analogous manner we have seen Hea derived from a title given to the fetich earth.³ But Hea, as lord of the earth's surface, was early regarded as the god of the sea. That is in an especial sense the primal sea from whence all was derived.⁴ This same conception gave birth to a number of gods and goddesses. The origin of this new religion seems to have been Eridu. Hea was the center of this pantheon, his mother was Ba'u which also meant the primal water.⁵ His wife was Damkinna. His daughter was Channa or Chamma, meaning originally "fish", from whence came possibly the fish god. But the most important personage of these secondary gods was the first-born son of Hea. We have stated that one of the

¹ In the time of Ur-ghanna, of Sirgulla, the sun was addressed at times in the place of Zi-anna. Hommel, p. 254, note 2.

² See above page 336.

³ See above page 385.

⁴ See above page 386. The form I-a means simply "water-dwelling." It must have originated at a time when the earth was regarded as a dwelling, the home of animated beings, and derived from the water. Their belief was that the earth floated on the water.

⁵ In Genesis i. 2, this word appears as Bohu.

names of Hea was Dugga, meaning "the good."¹ This important god whom we have just mentioned was called sometimes the son of Hea, at other times the son of "the good" or Mirri-dugga.² To these, we must not forget to add the goddess Ninni, who seems in a certain sense to have been the feminine personification of the primal ocean as Hea was the masculine.³

This pantheon had become fully established at a very early date. The very earliest kings bear names connected with this pantheon, such for instance as Ur-ghanna, Ur-ba'u, Dun-ginna, in which Dun is but another form of Ba'u. The inscriptions too of these early times are principally concerned with these gods. In the oldest phase of the Sumerian religion, Mirri-dugga and Hea play the most important parts. We have seen that all the ills of humanity were regarded as the work of evil spirits. The remedy then was to drive them away. For ordinary occasions, a magical song or incantation was sufficient. Here is the incantation said over a fever-stricken patient:

"Painful fever, violent fever,
The fever which never leaves man,
Unremitting fever,
The lingering fever, malignant fever,
Spirit of the heavens, conjure it!
Spirit of the earth, conjure it!"

The Shamans had such magical formulae for almost every conceivable case. But here we learn the important *role* played by Hea and his son Mirri-dugga. Hea was the good god, the one who knew all things, in his wis-

¹ See above page 651.

² We here follow Hommel, p. 255. Lenormant reads this name Silik-mulu-dug. "Chaldean Magic," p. 19, note 1.

³ Hommel; "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 256.

dom he knew just what steps to take to put to flight the most powerful demons. His secret name, which he never divulged except to his son, possessed enough virtue for this purpose. But this good and beneficent god could not be approached directly by the priests. Here comes in the good offices of his son Mirri-dugga. He was the mediator between God and man, when the sick persons had submitted to all the purifying processes known, but without avail, then was Mirri-dugga besought to help him, and such appeals were seldom in vain. Let us quote the following tablet of such a cure :

“Mirri-dugga has seen his misery.

He has entered the house of his father Hea and said :

‘My father, the disease of the head came from the under world.’

And he spoke to him the second time,

‘What shall this man do, he knows not wherewith he may be healed ?’

Then answered Hea his son Mirri-dugga.

‘Go, my son, take a vessel and put therein a quantity of water from the mouth of the stream.

Impart to this water thy pure, magic virtue,

And sprinkle therewith this man, the son of his god.”¹

But more interesting is it to learn of their mythology. These people, as we have seen true of all races in a certain stage of development, sought to give an explanation to the mysteries of life. Some of these mythical stories probably go back to a most profound antiquity, perhaps to a time when the Yellow Races had not left their common homeland in the Altai mountain regions.² But undoubt-

¹ We have translated Prof. Hommel's German translation in “*Babylonien und Assyrien*,” p. 355. Compare with translation in “*Chaldean Magic*,” p. 22. ² See above page 360.

edly this mythology grew with their pantheon. It is difficult to decide just how much of it is due to the Semites, and how much to the Turanians. At present it is sufficient to say that they undoubtedly had long stories to tell of the creation, the fall of man, the confusion of tongues, and the flood. We will return to this subject again.

Amongst these highly developed Turanian tribes, the Semites appeared at an extremely early date, as an invading people. They were nomads, who then lived doubtless much the same life as the nomadic Arabs of to-day. They overflowed the central table land of Arabia, and, passing to the north, finally effected a lodgment in Northern Chaldea, from whence they gradually extended their influence to the south, until after many centuries of contact, the whole country became Semitised. We have to briefly consider the Semitic character in general, and the probable advance they had made when they entered Chaldea, which, at the lowest estimate we can allow, must have been as early as 4500 B. C.

Speaking of the Arabs, Duncker remarks as follows: "The life of the roving tribes in the interior whom the Arabs denote by the general name of Bedawi,¹ *i. e.* "Sons of the Desert," has undergone few changes; at the present day but slight deviations have been made from the customs and conditions of the ancient time."² Elsewhere he remarks that the general features of this life have remained "unchanged for thousands of years." It is quite probable that they are living much the same life and are much the same people as the Semites in general before the separation of the northern branch.³

¹ Bedouins.

² "History of Antiquity," London, 1877, Vol. I., p. 102.

³ Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 62.

If we now turn to the Bedouin tribes of the desert, we will probably have before us a picture not greatly exaggerated of the primitive Semites. On many points, they are, of course, far in advance, but as regards their manner of life in general, as well as their mental characteristics, it is equally certain they are capable of assisting us to form right ideas of the life and character of the Semitic people, at that far away time, before the great northern migration commenced. Every one has read more or less about the nomadic tribes of the Arabian desert, and of their strange combinations of good and bad qualities, which show themselves in both mental and moral directions.

Living in a healthy climate and passing most of the time in the open air, it is not singular that the Arabs are fine specimens of physical manhood.¹ Their size is about the average of men in general, their figure robust and elegant.² They are capable of prolonged exertion. Their intellectual faculties are good, we must never forget that from them came the wonderful Civilization of the Saracenic Empire, but, in common with all Semitic people, there is "poverty of thought, with sharp observation of details, an understanding of the calculating kind, always directed to the practical, thus the imagination is held in subjection, and the flight of fancy in unknown regions is restricted."³ This quality, therefore, renders them not fitted for original research, though capable of carrying to practical ends the investigations of others.

They are very good examples of a people in a tribal state of society. The several tribal divisions, with almost

¹ Palgrave calls them "one of the noblest races of earth." "Travels, etc.," Vol. I., p. 24.

² Clark: "Arabs and Turks," Boston, 1876, p. 31.

³ Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 262.

perfect individual freedom, are fully developed. They have various orders of chiefs, but the power they possess is very limited. The poorest member of a tribe regards himself as the equal of the chief. As to their moral qualities, we are given accounts which do not agree. The explanation



The Architect.

is probably not difficult to find. The Arab is still in that state of society in which all who are not bound to him by tribal ties have no rights he is bound to respect. Towards strangers, he may act with great cruelty, he may even rob or murder with complacency, but within his tribe his actions are regulated by another standard alto-

gether. "Outside of his tribe, the true Arab has little conception of any moral duty or relation whatever, except as the result of a voluntary compact. But within that narrow circle his conduct was often governed by a high and delicate moral sense."¹

In matters of religion, we find much of interest. The Arabs, and the Semitic people in general, are no exception to the general law of religious development we have already pointed out. We need not go over the ground again. Monotheism, or the belief in one God, was no more instinctive with the Semites than with any other people.² In the case of the Arabs, this religious development was affected by local circumstances which we will try to point out. They seem to have started with Ancestor worship³ and Fetichism. We read that they worshiped "trees, stones and mountains, which were regarded as occupied by souls."⁴ Some of the greater fetich gods made their appearance. Fire was an object of worship among them, if we may judge of the reverence shown to it on many occasions.⁵ The worship of the sun seems to have been very ancient, the names of the sun god, Illa and Shamash, occur among all the Semitic people.⁶ So of the moon. The light moon was worshiped as Allat, the dark moon, as Manat; or the two united, as Al-Uzza.⁷

¹ Clark: "Arabs and Turks," p. 34.

² On this point, see Goldziher: "Mythology Among the Hebrews," p. 260.

³ Plain traces of Ancestor worship still exist among them. Palgrave says: "Sacrifices in which sheep or camels are devoutly slaughtered at the tombs of their dead kinsmen are of frequent occurrence." Their dead, they think, are not only pleased with but require "sacrifices at their tombs, and the blood there shed nourishes and satiates them." "Travels, etc.," Vol. I., p. 10 and 33.

⁴ Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 63.

⁵ Crichton: "History of Arabia," New York, 1855, p. 189.

⁶ Tiele, *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

It has been shown several times in this volume that tribes in the nomadic state assign the highest importance to the personified night sky. "In their journeys and expeditions with caravans or for plunder," says Sprenger of the Arabs, "they generally traveled during the night. When one rides on a camel at a slow pace through the monotonous desert, the nights seem very long. But the heart is filled with quiet delight by the stillness of the night and the enjoyment of the fresh air, and the eye involuntarily looks upwards. Hence we find even in the Koran and in the poetry of the Bedawi frequent allusions to the starry heaven and its motion."¹ It is then no wonder that religion among the primitive Semites took the form of Sabeism, worship of the "hosts of heaven." The stars generally were regarded as fetiches. Some became of more importance than the others. Nearly all the constellations in the Zodiac were thus singled out.² The Pleiades and the planets were especially objects of veneration. Astronomy, however, was very rudimentary among them, the worship paid being scarcely more than Fetichism.³

We have, in a former chapter, pointed out that in some cases Ancestor worship might lead to Monotheism.⁴ It certainly remains true that the political institutions of partially developed people greatly modify their ideas in this matter.⁵ Let us see how this applies among the Arabs. A recent writer, speaking of their religion before the age of Mohammed, says: "With some vague notion of one supreme god, their worship was chiefly paid to a multitude of sub-

¹ From Golziher, *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

² Crichton: "History of Arabia," p. 191.

³ Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 63. ⁴ Above page 383.

⁵ Goldziher: "Mythology Among the Hebrews," p. 264.

ordinate deities, called *Djinn* or genii, of which each tribe, and family had its own."¹ This is a direct result of Ancestor worship, the gods peculiar to each family and tribe and division of tribe, are nothing more nor less than the results of worship, once paid to deceased chiefs.² To this let us add that tribal life is, at least theoretically, well developed; the several divisions of the tribe recognize, at least nominally, the authority of the tribal chief. The tendency is, then, for each tribe to have a tribal god. Further still, the influence of the old customs would show itself whenever a number of tribes coalesced so as to form a nation. Over all of the subordinate tribal gods, there would be ranged a supreme god. The difference between the development of Monotheism amongst Semitic people and surrounding people is largely to be found in this. The Semitic people approached Monotheism through Ancestor worship, the surrounding people approached it through the stage of polytheistic nature worship.³

When in the course of time, migrations carried more or less united tribes, more and more to the north and east, and they commenced impinging on the more highly cultured Turanian tribes of Mesopotamia, we can quite readily picture the probable course of events. With their superior energy, greater mental endowment and greater capacity of endurance, the Semites would surely though gradually gain the supremacy. To this we must add the further fact, al-

¹ Crichton, *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

² Palgrave tells us that he never met a Bedouin who had any idea of the spiritual nature of God. He was for them simply a powerful chief. "Travels etc." Vol. I., p. 33.

³ It need not surprise us that the Semites did not develop a rich polytheistic system. We need but recall what was said above, as to the mental traits of Semitic people. It requires differently constituted people for this work.

ready pointed out, that Turanian people seem to be very susceptible to culture influences from other races. They speedily became Aryanized or Semitized as the case may have been.¹ So in the course of time, all Mesopotamia, partially as the result of conquest and partially by virtue of the fact just pointed out, became Semitized. This result was reached at an early day in Northern Chaldea, but was not apparently completed in Southern Chaldea till about the time of Hammurabi. In this section of country, the Turanian influence was very strong.

Now, no two people thus coalesce without the resulting culture showing plain traces of this mixture. The law of the survival of the fittest here comes into play. The old, perhaps already stagnant culture of the Turanians, sprung into new life, when it became the possession of a Semitic people, and at the same time, was modified by the former Semitic culture. This result is to be seen in several different directions. In social organization the more completely developed state of tribal society among the Semites would cause every department of government to become more strongly marked off, but would retain largely the organization already effected by the Turanians. Hence the fact that the titles of many officials are derived from Turanian words.² A new energy was imparted to all the departments of government, and now first arose what might be called kingdoms. The whole country was generally, nominally at least, under the rule of one tribe; now it was Accad in the North, now Ur, Karrah or Larsa in the South; finally Babylon, which was made the capital.

In arts and sciences, the Semites had but little to impart to the Turanians. In one direction only were they

¹ Above page 388.

² Above page 375. Lenormant: "*Chaldean Magic*," p. 354.

capable of imparting information. That was in the field of astronomy. To their former fetichistic worship of the stars, and practical knowledge they had gained as to their movements, names, etc., was now added notions of magical influence from the Turanians and the result was the science of astronomy; or, as it was in its first stage, of astrology, which seems to have been practiced in Chaldea, only as Semitic influence was extended.¹ The Semites adopted the cuneiform system of writing, and along with it the literature of the Babylonians. In other branches of knowledge the new culture was the result of a mixture from both sources.²

It is not at all singular when we reflect on the new energy and blood imparted to the old Turanian culture, that we should detect what might be called a revival of learning springing up in the wake of Semitic occupations. It seems from all the evidence attainable that from the age of Ur-ba'u of Ur to Hammurabi was a period of great literary activity. Each city that rose to the dignity of a royal city had what might be called royal libraries, and these were evidently well supplied with books, which were nothing but clay tablets. The subject matter of these books were the old mythical stories and legends, vast collections of magical formulae and astrological tablets, long poems of the creation and deluge, descriptions of the underworld, and collections of the folk-lore stories in which occur numerous fables of speaking animals.³

Probably in the field of religious culture this mixture

¹ This view is different from that sometimes stated. See Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 106. But see also Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic," p. 364, also Bertien, in J. R. A. S. for 1886. p. 410.

² "Chaldean Magic," p. 329.

³ Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," p. 23 *et seq.*

of the two people is most noticable, and here is where it suddenly becomes to us of great interest, since among these Semitic people were probably the ancestors of the Hebrews.¹ The simple system of Semitic religion (that is Ancestor worship, Fetichism, which paid especial attention to the heavenly bodies, and a vague conception of Monotheism) was suddenly brought in contact with the religion of Chaldea. The result was that they adopted this religion almost entirely, though in some important respects it was modified by Semitic thought. We must examine this point more in detail.

The belief in magic and sorcery, and the potency of invisible spirits everywhere swarming about them was common to both, since it is a necessary consequence of Ancestor worship. The Semite may not have reduced this belief to a system, as the Turanian had, but they believed in it just the same. To this day the Arab, though nominally a Mohammedan, and says his prayers with his face turned toward Mecca, bows to the right and to the left to propitiate the spirits he believes to be everywhere about him. It is not strange, then, that they at once accepted all the Turanians had to say on this subject; nay more, that they treasured up the numerous incantations as a most valuable inheritance. The language in which they were written became a sacred language, and the words used were regarded as inspired. Copies were made only with the greatest of care.²

In the main, they had also accepted the Turanian Polytheism, though changes are noticable. In some cases, they adopted the name and culture of a god with almost

¹ This point will be discussed further on.

² Any mistake in pronouncing these magical formulae would render them useless, hence the extreme care. Sayce "*Assyria*," p. 67.

no change. This was the case with the god Hea, more so in this instance than in any other, since he and his wife kept their old Accadian names in the new religion. In some cases, the names were but slightly changed. The Turanian Ana re-appears as the Semitic Anu, but here comes in a principle in Semitic religion, each god must have a goddess, and so as companion for Anu we have the goddess Anat, not known in the earlier period. In other cases, the old Chaldean god was replaced by a Semitic one entirely analogous. Shamas, the sun god of the Semites, taking the place of Ud, or Babbar, Sin the moon-god, the place of Uru-ki. Some times, again, the old gods are replaced by Semitic ones, not the exact analogous, but similar to them. Thus the Semites worshiped the planet Venus as Ishtar. She drove out the old goddess Ninni. Even the old favorite Mirri-dugga was gradually replaced by Merodach, a local solar god of Babylon.

A portion of the old pantheon, the numerous water-gods as set forth a few pages back, is lost to sight, such as remained, together with the new Semitic gods are recast in a new and more philosophical system. In the first place, the monotheistic tendency was satisfied by placing Shamas, the sun god, at the head. He was addressed as Bel or Baal, meaning the supreme lord, and worshiped under various forms. It would be tedious and unnecessary to extend this part, we give in a note some further remarks concerning the twelve greater gods of the new pantheon.¹

¹ The twelve greater gods of the new pantheon are the following: Anu, Hea and Bel; gods respectively of the heaven, surface of the earth and the under-world. [The Bel here mentioned must not be confounded with Bel or Baal, the title of the sun god.] The next are Sin, Shamash, [who was indeed the most important of all] and Raman; gods of the moon, sun and atmosphere. Then we come to the planetary gods, this

In another direction, it is supposed that Semitic influence worked for good. Believing with the Chaldeans that all evils were the work of spirits, they had advanced to the further thought that the gods were abundantly able and willing to protect them from these evils, consequently whenever sickness or other trouble came upon them, it must be because they had sinned. There was then but one course to pursue; to confess his sins, declare his good intentions, and seek reconciliation with his god. This was certainly an advance over the older conceptions. In the first stage, morality was not a part of religion. Here we find morality and religion approaching each other.

So, when in distress, through a calamity or any other cause, the Babylonian would fain ask himself such questions as these: "Have I estranged father and son, brother and brother, or friend and friend? Have I not freed the captive, released the bound, and delivered him who was confined in prison? Have I resisted my god, or despised my goddess? Have I taken territory not my own, or entered with wrong motives the house of my fellows?"¹ With many similar questions he sought to know the reason of his sufferings. He enumerated every relation and circumstance of life. "He besought the forgiveness of the gods and prayed with sobs and tears for reconciliation with them."²

Sometimes this longing found expression in beautiful penitential psalms. Let us quote one, which was written

arrangement being probably true only of a late period. Nindar, Mero-dach, Nergal and Nebo, or Nabu; gods of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars and Mercury. The goddess Ishtar, a very famous goddess, was god of the planet Venus

¹ Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 14.

² Delitzsch, from Hommel: "Babylonien und Assyrien," p. 264.

before the use of the Turanian language had entirely died out:¹

“My lord in the wrath of his heart has punished me.
God in the strength of his heart has overpowered me.
I lay on the ground and no man extended the hand.
In tears I dissolved myself, and none my palms took.
I cried aloud; there was none that would hear me.
The feet of my goddess I embraced.

To my god, who knew, though I knew not, I made
supplication.

To my goddess, who knew I made supplication.

How long, O my god?

How long, O my goddess?

O my god, seven times seven are my transgressions,
my transgressions are before me.

My transgressions are before me, may thy judgment
give me life.”²

The union of morality with religion had not gone to the extent of enabling the Semites to form the conception of a life beyond the grave, which was to be a recompense for the life led here. On this point they could teach the Chaldeans nothing. All they believed in was of a shadowy existence in a shadowy land, which they called *Shu-alu*, the origin of the Hebrew *Sheol*.³ This is not singular, since the Semitic tribes of the desert are not at all given to speculations.⁴ They had not developed a rich mythological system. Therefore it is not at all singular that they should have adopted the mythology of

¹ Sayce: “Records of the Past,” Vol. VII., p. 151.

² Budge, *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

³ Hommel, *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁴ On this point, see interesting remarks by Palgrave, “Travels, etc.,” Vol. I., p. 68-9.

the Chaldeans, to which we must now make a brief reference.

It seems that at a very early date there were extant in Chaldea long poems on the creation of the world and kindred topics. These doubtless existed as oral traditions long before they were reduced to writing.¹ Some of the scenes depicted on the cylinder seals of the very earliest times are now known to refer to these subjects.² When the great revival of learning took place, of which we spoke some pages back, these numerous poems were reduced to writing. Many copies of them were made and they formed a large part of the literature in the various royal libraries. We have recovered almost nothing of this literature. It is to be hoped that at least a portion of it may yet be discovered in the mounds of ruins which dot the plains of Chaldea, in many cases all that remain of once prosperous cities.

Asurbanipal, king of Assyria in the seventh century B. C., took great pains to build up the royal library of Nineveh. For this purpose, his agents made thorough search in the yet existing libraries of Chaldea for copies of those ancient "books," for so we may call them, of which the leaves were clay tablets. Such tablets were copied for Assurbanipal's library. In the ruins of this library building, discovered by Layard, were found thousands of fragments of these tablets. These have been most laboriously compared and pieced together, and thus we have at least the outlines of some of these grand old poems. We may hope that some day more perfect copies will be obtained and that we may fill out the details.

¹ Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," p. 29.

² See above cuts, page 654-5. Reference is there made to what are known as the Izdubar legends.

But as it is, most important and interesting results have been obtained. It must be remembered that the Assyrian tablets claim to be copies of older Babylonian tablets, and further, in one or two instances, we have actually found the older tablets from which they were copied.¹ There can be little doubt that the various poems and stories were cast in the forms in which they now exist, at least as early as 2000 B. C. There is, further, no reason to doubt that, in their origin, these stories go back very much further in time. We have no reason to suspect they are of Semitic origin, or even that Semitic influence greatly modified the original accounts. They are poems and stories of Turanian Chaldea which the Semites received along with so many other elements of Turanian culture.

There were three, slightly different versions of the Creation. The one, of which we have perhaps the fullest account, consisted of several tablets, none of them exist entire, and even of the best we have but few fragments. As the account of the Creation as given in Genesis bears a great likeness to the account set forth in these tablets; we will spend some time with them. It is, indeed, interesting thus to find such an early copy of the Creation-poem, of which the writer of Genesis saw fit to retain at least the outlines. It seems to us that one of the strongest arguments that the writer of Genesis was in some way assisted in his work by Divine guidance lies in the fact that he rejected so many details, set forth in the Babylonian account. What he has compiled for us is a brief account from an old poem, one of the very oldest in the world, from which we draw the conclusion that God created all

¹ Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," p. 29-33.

things. All hail the day when we will cease to draw any scientific conclusions from this account, or insist on giving any literal meaning to the words.¹

The first tablet begins as follows: "When above were not raised the heavens; and below on the earth a plant had not grown up; the abyss also had not broken open their boundaries; the chaos (or water) Tiamit (the sea) was the producing mother of the whole of them." "These waters at the beginning were ordained, but a tree had not grown, a flower had not unfolded. When the gods had not sprung up, any one of them; a plant had not grown, and order did not exist." The tablet then goes on to tell of the creation of the gods. We must notice how much simpler is the condensed account given in Genesis: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was waste and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep." The tablet we notice speaks of the sea water as Tiamit. In the original Hebrew, in the verse just quoted, "the deep" is *T'hôm*.² We see we have here not only an exact agreement in sense but even the same word is used.

Of the second, third, and fourth tablets, we have at present only a few small fragments, as far as we can judge they seem to refer to the creation of a firmament, and of land. The fifth tablet is a valuable one. We have made out the following, from the fragments we have. "It was delightful all that was fixed by the great gods. Stars, their appearance (in figure) of animals he arranged to fix the year through the observation of their constellations,

¹ This account is mainly drawn from Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," London, 1876. Prof. Sayce in "Fresh Light, etc.," 1885, gives another version, but no changes of importance occur.

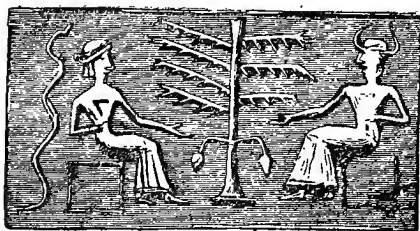
² See also Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 142.

twelve months (or signs) of stars in three rows he arranged, from the day when the year commences unto its close." "He marked the positions of the planets to shine in their course, that they may not do injury, and may not trouble any one. . . . And he opened the great gates in the darkness shrouded, the fastenings were strong on the left and right. In its mass (the lower Chaos) he made a boiling, the moon he caused to rise out, the night he over shadowed, to fix it also for the light of the night, until the shining of the day, that the month might not be broken, and in its amount be regular. At the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night, his horns are breaking through to shine on the heaven. On the seventh day to a circle he begins to swell, and stretch toward the dawn further When the god Shamas (the sun) in the horizon of heaven, in the east, formed beautifully and . . . to the orbit Shamas was perfected... the dawn Shamas should change"

The fifth tablet was as we see taken up with the creation of the sun, the moon, and stars. We notice some astrological references to the influence of the stars and planets. In true barbarian style, the moon is represented as of more importance than the sun. The gradual growth of the moon is noticed. The fragment becomes too broken to read when we come to the creation of the sun. We must compare this account with the greatly condensed account in the Bible. "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons, and for days and years . . . And God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night."

We have two fragments which probably belonged to the seventh tablet. They seem to refer to the creation of

animals, and possibly to the creation of man. It will be noticed that, at the end, two very important creatures, before whom the animals had to go, are mentioned. The inscription with many breaks reads as follows: "Were delightful the strong monsters . . . they caused to be living creatures . . . cattle and creeping things of the city they fixed . . . the assembly of the creeping things, the whole which were created . . . which in the assembly of my family . . . and the god Hea (the lord of noble face) caused to be two . . . The assembly of the creeping things he caused to go." Here unfortunately the tablet stops. Still the parallelism between this and Genesis will be noticed. The account in Genesis being much the more simple of the two.



Ancient Cylinder.

Mr. Smith supposed he had discovered in the fragments of this royal library an outline account of the fall of man. That, however has been called in question.¹ So we cannot certainly say that the Chaldeans had this

legend. The subject of a very ancient cylinder is by some supposed to refer to the temptation in the Garden, perhaps however this is a forced interpretation.² Prof. Sayce thinks that this series of tablets ended with an account of the institution of the Sabbath. At all events, this was an institution among the Chaldeans. It was called "a day of completion of labor." It was enacted that on that day "flesh cooked on the fire may not be eaten, the clothing of the body may not be put on, a sacrifice may not be offered, the king may not ride in his chariot, nor speak in

¹ Sayce: "Fresh Light, etc." p. 25.

² See "Art in Chaldea and Assyria," p. 95, note 2.

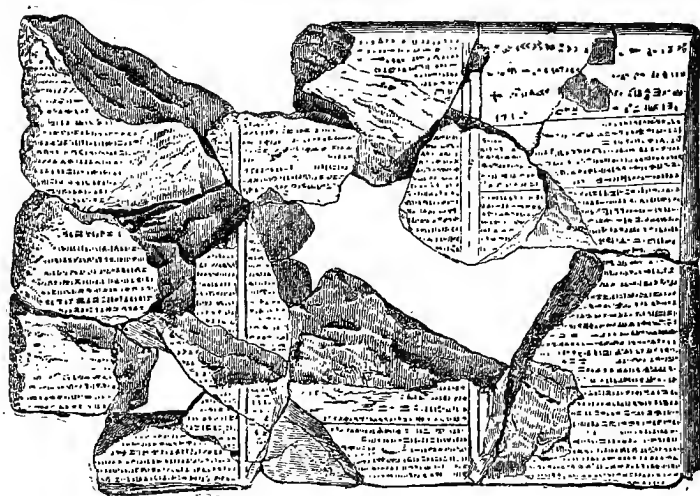
public.”¹ A few words as to this account in general. No one conversant with the facts, seriously doubts that the account in Genesis was drawn from the same original as this. As Prof. Sayce remarks: “Even the very wording and phrases of Genesis occur in it.” Both accounts are, beyond a doubt, drawn from ancient Turanian sources. But we must equally notice how the account in Genesis has been purified from Polytheistic coloring, and made to conform to Monotheism. It will be observed further that each tablet corresponds to some day’s work in Genesis. Possibly this arrangement in tablets suggested the idea of days or divisions of time to the author of Genesis. One point more let us notice. It was long ago pointed out by Sir Henry Rawlinson that the Babylonians believed in two principal races; the Adamu, or Brown race, and the Sarku, or light race. These probably referred to the swarthy Turanians, and the lighter Semitic people. From numerous inscriptions we know that the Adamu were considered as the first created men, and as being under the especial care of the gods. A fragment reads: “May he be established, and may his will not fail in the mouth of the dark race which his hand has made.” After the Semitic conquest, the Semites naturally gave themselves the honor of being the first created men, and so the phrase “Adamites” came to mean the white race of Semitic descent.²

We have scarcely made a beginning in this interesting field of Chaldean literature, but we must desist. In

¹ Sayce: *Op. cit.*

² Sayce: “*Fresh Light, etc.*,” p. 27. Let us pause to observe how sadly the cause of Biblical interpretation has been hindered by an effort to read into the beautiful poetical language of Genesis a literal meaning. We all ought to be glad to see this burden lifted off of its pages. Once more the truth is taught us, that the mission of the Bible is infinitely higher than to teach us the petty details of science. Let us not strain the poetry of the Orient above what it will bear.

the long poems of the conflict of Mirri-dugga and the dragon Tiamit, the journey of Ishtar to the under-ground world to claim her husband and the Izdubar legends, we would find the original of much of the mythology and poetry of the Greeks. The Izdubar legends was a mythical poem on the year. Izdubar is a solar hero, who performs a succession of feats. It was divided into twelve tablets, one for each month. It becomes of very great interest to us since the eleventh tablet of the series, cor-



Deluge Tablet.

responding to the rainy month of the Chaldean year, gives a quite complete copy of an early form of the flood-poem. The correspondence between this cuneiform account and the Genesis account is very striking. The difference is one of detail only.

With very great care, all fragments of this important poem have been pieced together. The preceding cut gives us an idea of the work involved. We are to make the same remarks on this legend as on the others. It is a part of an ancient poem, retained by the author of Genesis, but

freed from all traces of Polytheism and teaches the power and omnipotence of God. We regret that want of space prevents our tracing out the close parallelism that exists between these two accounts. The Izdubar legends belong to the very oldest periods of Chaldean antiquity. Prof. Sayce and others think that Izdubar is the Nimrod of the Bible.

We must now take our leave of ancient Chaldea. It is indeed a most interesting country. The period of which we have treated is one that has only been recovered by the exertions of modern scholars. A few years ago, all was darkness where now we have considerable historical light. Let us hope that much greater results will reward the labors of our present explorers. We find in Chaldea the place of contact between the Semites and the Turanians. We have seen the country remain finally in the hands of the Semites. But the resulting culture is a mixture of the culture of the two people. We have paid especial attention to the religious culture, since in this direction the Turanians exerted perhaps their greatest influence, one which still makes itself felt. We will now turn our attention to other branches of the Semites, as they continued their further migrations in Asia Minor, carrying with them in all their wanderings this new culture, the origin and development of which we have now considered.

CHAPTER X.

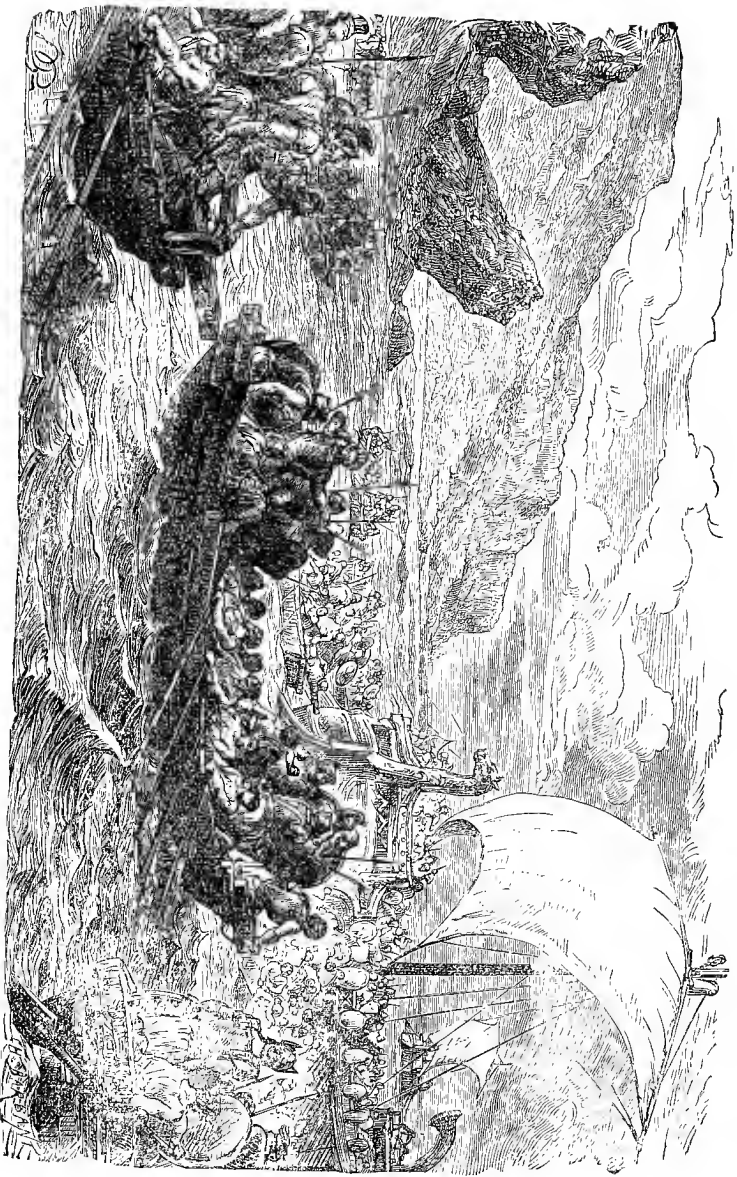
THE SEMITES.—Continued.

INTRODUCTION—The Syrians—The Egyptians and the Syrians—Syrian Culture—Syrian Religion—The Phoenicians—Date of Phoenician Migration—Phoenician Cities—Phoenician Art—Phoenician Commerce—Phoenician Influence on Civilization—Phoenician Colonies—The Canaanites—Ethnology of the Canaanites—Canaanite Culture—El—Baal—Ashtoreth—Ashera—Sacrifice among the Canaanites—The Hebrews—Their Divisions—Chemosh Worship—The Israelites—Peculiar Relations of the Israelites—Outline of Israelite History—The Egyptian Period—Their Final Settlement in Palestine—Their Union with the Canaanites—Outline of Israelite Religion—The Popular Belief—Not different from that of the surrounding People—Rise of Judaism—Conclusions.



THE STUDENT of culture, when he takes a mental survey of the past, can trace the course of some people steadily forward in the career of Civilization until their sad decline commences. Of no people is this remark truer than of the several branches of the Northern Semitic people.

Thanks to the labors of scholars in many departments, we can conceive their condition as they move out of the Arabian desert; a nomadic people, in many respects like the nomadic Arabs of to-day; with strongly developed ideas of tribal life, which exert a great influence on all branches of their culture, including even their religion. We can follow these several people as they come in contact with the culture of the Turanian people surrounding them; see them absorbing that culture, ex-



PHENICIAN SHIPS.

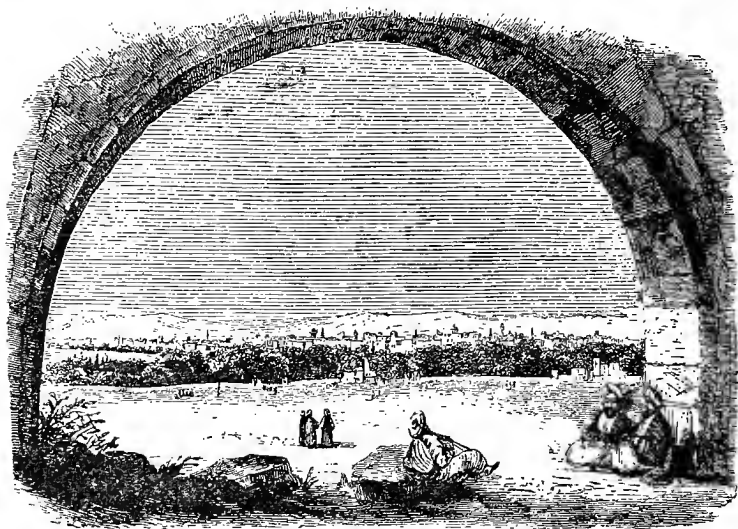
tending and developing it, until they assume the commanding position in the Ancient World. From this position they are driven only by the superior energy of the Aryan people.

We have traced, in the preceding chapter, the contact of a Semitic and Turanian people in Chaldea. We have seen this extending over some centuries of time, ending finally in the triumph of the Semites, but have also noticed that the resulting culture was largely a mixture of the culture of the two people. But while all this was in progress in Chaldea, other movements were going forward amongst other branches of this people. We are not yet able to say when the Syrians commenced to move into the country afterward known as Syria. From linguistic considerations, we judge them to be one of the first to leave, and this migration probably took place before much of any contact between the other members of the northern branch and Turanian Chaldea.¹

Still we are not able to say when this was. The Syrians called themselves, in ancient times, Arameans. The country they took possession of was, taken all in all, a fertile one, and some portions, as for instance the plain of Damascus, very rich. Probably in very early times, the Arameans extended over a larger section. The name given in very ancient times to Mesopotamia was *Aram-Naha-rain*, *i. e.* "Aram of the rivers." When the Syrians commenced their movements into this section, the country was probably in the possession of the Hittites. In all probability, the course of events in this section was not essentially different from what it was in Chaldea, save that the Hittites were not as cultured a people as the Accadians.

¹ Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II., p. 167. Schrader, *Z. D. M. G.* for 1873, p. 423.

But of all this conflict, we have no details whatever. We know that after the expulsion of the Hittites, and when the Egyptians entered on their career of conquest, they found Syrian tribes in firm possession of the country, and, further, they seemed to be second only to the Hittites in importance. The Egyptian name of Syria was *Rutennu*. Thothmes I. invaded Syria, but his greater son, Thoth-



View of Damascus
[From a Tomb.]

mes III., made expedition after expedition throughout that country. All the great conquering Pharaohs mention the Rutennu. The point to be noticed at present is that at as early a time as the sixteenth century B.C., the Aramean tribes were in firm possession of the country afterward called Syria. There was no strong, well-developed government, but numerous petty, independent tribes divided the country between them.

Furthermore, they had arrived at a settled mode of life, and had made considerable progress toward Civiliza-

tion. Thothmes III. levied on them as tribute "a great quantity of grain, corn, barley, incense, fresh dates, wine, fruit," all the agreeable things of the country.¹ The Pharaohs failed, however, to secure any lasting supremacy over the Rutennu. Our next source of information is the historical books of the Bible. We notice that concentration of government has gone forward. In the time of David we find several petty principalities in Syria. In the northern part, extending quite to the Euphrates, was Zobah.² Hamath seems to have been the capital.³ Ancient Palmyra (Tadmour) seems to have been situated in this province.⁴ Damascus was at the head of another important principality.⁵ Of still smaller provinces we will mention Maachah⁶ and Rehob,⁷ both to the south-west of Damascus.⁸

In the process of time, Damascus became the recognized head of the Syrian power, and, under the rule of the Hadads, it was the most influential kingdom of Western Asia. The kingdoms of Israel and Judah more than once felt the weight of their oppression. But the end was near. About the middle of the eighth century B. C., Damascus was overrun by the Assyrians, and became simply a province of that great empire.

It is very difficult to decide what part the Syrians took in the work of advancing Civilization. From the position of their country, we see they held the great trade routes from Chaldea to the West. It is therefore not at all singular that we detect a brisk trade with Babylon.⁹ Now trade

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 23. Duncker: "History of Antiquity," London, 1877, Vol. I., p. 342.

² II Samuel x. 16.

³ II Chronicles viii. 13.

⁴ II Chronicles viii. 4.

⁵ II Samuel viii. 5.

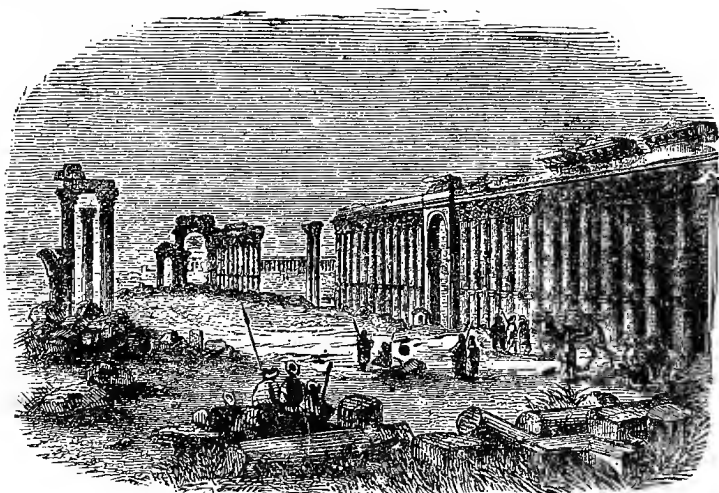
⁶ I Chronicles xix. 6-7.

⁷ II Samuel x. 6.

⁸ Deut. iii. 14. Compare with Judges xviii. 28.

⁹ Josh. vii. 21.

or commerce is one of the foremost agents in advancing Civilization, and, in this direction, we have no doubt the Syrians took a leading part. In matters of religion, it is almost impossible to speak with certainty. It is not to be expected that there was any great difference between them and the other Semitic people. We know that at Damascus Raman,¹ was worshiped as chief god. We must observe further that they seem to have understood the nature of



Ruins of Palmyra.

prophecy, doubtless there was in their population people claiming to possess prophetic power.²

Brief and unsatisfactory as is the foregoing, it is about all of importance that can be gathered of the Syrians. Turning now to the western branch of the Northern Semites, let us consider the Phoenicians, and here we have to regret the limited space at our command. It will be seen in the sequel that Civilization owes a great deal to the Phoenicians. Strabo found among them traditions of their

¹ Above page 707, II Kings. v. 18.

² Kings v. 1-19, vi. 12, viii. 7-16.

migration from the shores of the Persian gulf, and the Islands of Bahren are named as the starting point.¹ It is a question when we first have historical notice of these people, some think that the Egyptian monuments of the sixth dynasty speak of the Phoenicians;² others would connect Phoenician with the land of Punt of the Egyptian inscriptions.³ When the Egyptians commenced their invasions of Asia, they found the Phoenicians in secure possession of their coast cities. An Egyptian officer of the time of Rameses II., in an account of his travels, mentions the Phoenicia cities. He knows that Gebal was a holy city, wherein was the shrine of a famous goddess. Of Tyre, he remarks: "Water is carried to it in barks, it is richer, in fish, than in sands."⁴

So we see that we are not yet able to say when the Phoenician first migrated from the Persian gulf. According to Lenormant, an Egyptian officer of the twelfth dynasty⁵ made an expedition to the Dead Sea. In his report no Canaanite towns are mentioned.⁶ We have already suggested that the Elamite invasion of the twenty-third century B. C., was the real cause of this up-turning of people in Western Asia. When the Phoenicians commenced their movements, Syria was probably already occupied by the Aramean tribes, their near allies, the Canaanites, pressed them out of Palestine and they had to be content with the sea-coast.

If ever a people made the most of its opportunities, that people was the Phoenicians. Their territory was a

¹ J. R. A. S. for 1879, Herodotus speaks of their migration from the Red sea, i. 1 and vii. 89. ² "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. I, p. 15, note 1.

³ Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 222, note 3.

⁴ "Records of the Past," Vol. II., p. 3.

⁵ About 2500 B. C., Brugsch.

⁶ "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 15, note.

mere strip about one hundred and thirty miles in length along the shore, from the island of Aradus on the north, to the Crocodile river south of Mt. Carmel.¹ Along this distance, but a few miles from the coast, rise the precipitous flanks of the Lebanon mountains. About the middle of this coast-line was located the ancient city of Gebal, this seems to have been the first Phoenician city. As is so often the case in other localities, this ancient city became in time the holy city. We have seen that in the time of Rameses II. this holy character was attached to Gebal. There was a famous temple to Astarte, which we find figured on some of the later coins of the place. The cone of stone rising from the center of the enclosed court represents the goddess.



Coin of Bybylos.

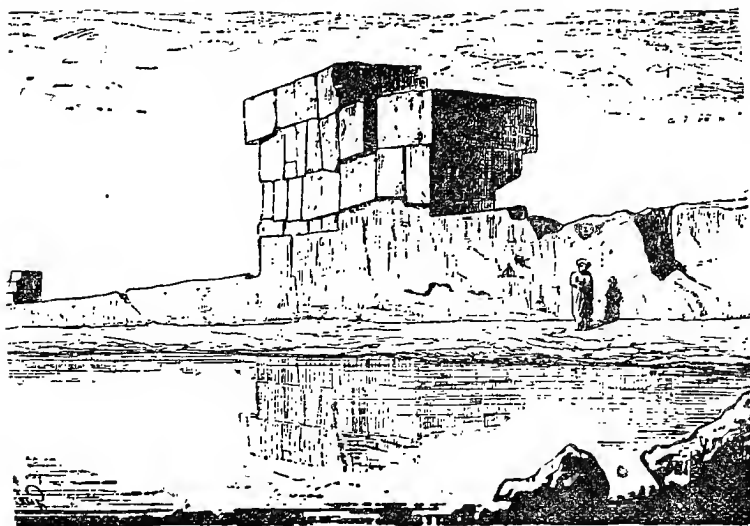
ded by the boar of Winter, this as we shall soon show, was but a variant of that older myth of Ishtar and Izdubar. But whatever supremacy Gebal enjoyed, it was soon taken

A few miles to the south, flowed the ancient river sacred to Adonis. When in the Fall its waters plunged into the sea, tinged with red from the in-washed earth, the Phoenicians of old pretended it was reddened by the blood of Tamuz, the sun god, wound-

¹ Conder: "Heth and Moab," p. 87.

from her. Sidon, further to the south, became at an early date an important city and soon was the recognized head of Phoenicia. At first this was but a fishery, but it had a good harbor, and the surrounding plain is fertile.

In the meantime, two other Phoenician cities were rapidly rising to importance. These were Arvad on the north, and Tyre on the south. Tyre, in time, came to be the principal city of Phoenicia. Both were built on islands a short distance from the main land, and consequently



Walls of Arvad.

could bid defiance to an enemy that did not command the sea as well as the land. Without specifying the order, we may say that when we begin to catch historic glimpses of Phoenicia, we find nine principal cities on their coast. The sites of all were well chosen, and even at present they are not deserted. Nor have modern nations discovered any better locations for their cities. They have simply continued to build on the sites selected by the Phoenicians.

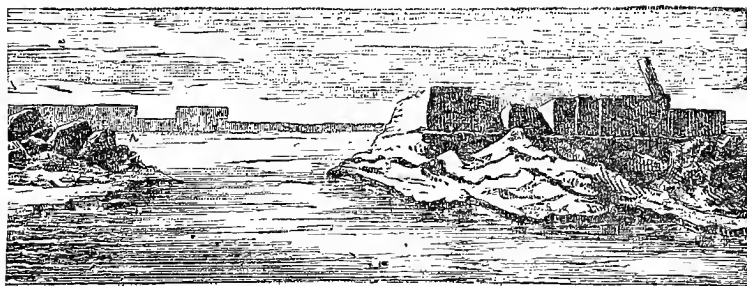
From the very circumstances of their location, the Phoenicians were driven to the sea. They became fishermen, then traders, and then colonists on a grand scale. The practical trading instincts of the Semitic race here found full expression. They were not great artists themselves, but they understood to perfection how to take the artistic products of others, and, with them as models, perhaps improve in their own work, but all the improvement that was put forth was with the sole desire to make salable wares.

Take, for instance, the potter's art, or ceramics. They undoubtedly brought this art to great perfection, but it was for the sake of building up a trade with the yet uncivilized tribes of Europe, settled along the northern shores of the Mediterranean. What the Phoenicians did was to combine in a very skillful manner the art of Egypt and Chaldea.¹ From very early times, Egypt knew how to make a kind of enameled pottery called Egyptian faience. The surface of the pottery was covered with a mixture of powdered glass, of various colors, and gum, and then exposed to a heat intense enough to vitrify the mixture. This art was so peculiarly Egyptian that the Greeks called it Egyptian stone. This was a most profitable article to trade with. It was like the glass beads, with which modern traders bought valuable cargoes from the savage people with whom they came in contact, but, in this matter, the Phoenician articles were "got up to sell," the enamel being less brilliant and solid.

And so in many other departments of industry. They knew how to work metals, and made exquisite articles in gold, silver and especially bronze. At this time,

1 "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., Chap. V.

European tribes were probably in the later stages of the Bronze Age, and Phoenicia flooded certain parts of Europe with articles of bronze.¹ And the same is true of the manufacture of glass. This was probably an invention of the Egyptians, its origin perhaps dating as far back as the Ancient Empire.² But here again, the Phoenicians were too well aware of its value as an article of trade not to attempt its manufacture. The pupil soon surpassed the teacher, and for centuries this art was of the very highest value to the Phoenicians.



Walls of Tyre.

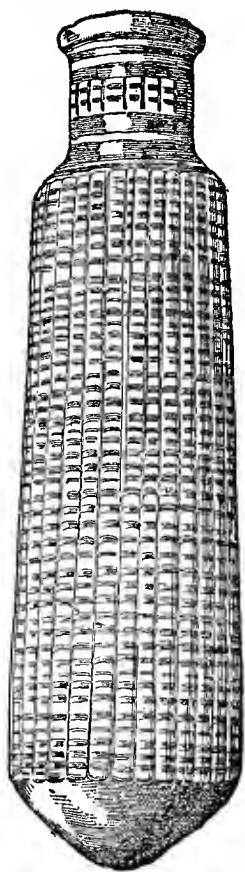
Probably the one article that did more than any other to advance the interest of the Phoenicians, was the knowledge of how to dye woven fabrics all shades of purple. The profits drawn from this industry were simply enormous. The dye stuff is said to have been worth its weight in silver.³ It was obtained from a small mollusc, which abounds in the Mediterranean, about one drop from each little body. This was the celebrated Tyrian purple, and garments dyed with it were in great demand in the ancient world.

¹ Consult Dawkins: "Early Man in Britain," p. 410, 412 and 457 *et seq.*

² "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 326, note 3. The oldest dated object of glass is of the eleventh dynasty. [Sayce.]

³ "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 424.

Now if we recall their location, stretched for about a hundred miles along the shore, with no chance to develop themselves on the land, we can see how with their trading instincts and practical abilities, they would turn to the sea. All primitive people were afraid of the sea, but the Phoenicians must soon have made themselves familiar with it. Their boats which at first would creep up and down the coast, and only occasionally venture from one headland to another, would gradually be trusted farther and farther from land, until, in time, the Mediterranean was explored from one end to another.



Phoenician Bottle.

At that time, Europe was in the culture of the Bronze Age. All their primitive arts and industries were rude indeed compared to what the Phoenicians knew, profiting by the knowledge of Egypt and Chaldea. The pottery and the glassware of Phoenicia, the gorgeously colored woven fabrics, and the articles of cunning workmanship in gold, silver and bronze, must have seemed priceless treasures to the barbarians of Europe, for which they cheerfully gave in exchange many times their value in raw material. And some of this raw material was greatly prized in the Orient; such as amber from the Baltic, and tin from Spain or even Britain, and thus in both ways the thrifty trader reaped his profit. What wonder, then, that the Phoenician cities became famous

throughout the ancient world for their wealth. The wealth of Tyre is strikingly described by the prophet Ezekiel.¹

But all this took many centuries of time. Only by slow advances was a chain of trading posts established up and down the shores of the Medeterranean. It was perhaps as early as 1100 B. C. that the foundation of what afterward was known as Carthage in Africa was laid, which was destined to become the most famous city of all the Phœnician colonies. At length, but just when is not known, the Phœnicians came to Spain: This became one of their most famous trading countries. They established



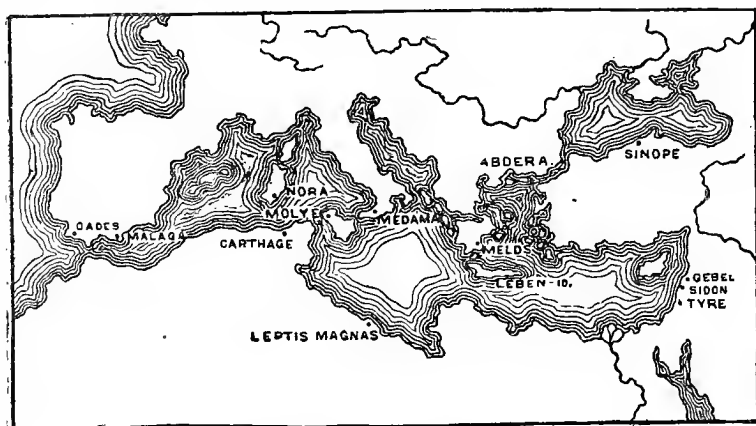
The Shell-Fish from which the Phœnicians obtained their Purple Dye.

their trading stations in the south of Spain, and called the country Tarshish. At that time, the country was rich in metallic wealth. Gold, silver, tin and copper were abundant, and some centuries of careful mining were required to exhaust them. The country was also fertile. Fabulous stories were in circulation throughout the Oriental world of the wealth of Tarshish, but no one knew just where the happy country was; the Phœnicians guarded their secret well.

But this is not all we can say for the Phœnicians. Every one knows that Cornwall in England and the Scilly Islands off the coast were rich in tin. At a very early

¹ Ezekiel, Chap. xxvii. and xxviii,

date indeed the Phoenicians were aware of the fact; and, long before the foundations of Carthage were laid, they drew from thence supplies of tin. At first the tin was probably brought overland through France.¹ Afterwards, they ventured out into the Atlantic and so reached the shores of England by sea. It is even said that they established a station on the Isle of Wight.² Here again, as time passed on, the utmost pains were taken to prevent the other nations of the Mediterranean, who were beginning



Map of the Mediterranean.

to show a maritime spirit, from learning the secret of the Tin, or Cassiterides Islands, as the Scilly Islands were then called. Strabo gives us an interesting account of a Carthaginian captain, whose ship was pursued by the Romans, and, to avoid capture by them, he deliberately wrecked his vessel, preferring to cast it away rather than allow the Romans to learn the secret of the way to the Cassiterides.³

We have, in several places, pointed out that the victories of peace, as far as advancing Civilization is concerned, are far more important and lasting than those of war. It

¹ Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," London, 1874, Vol. I., p. 10.

² Ragozn: "Story of Assyria," p. 91. ³ Strabo iii. 5.

was just in this respect exactly that the Phoenicians were able to do so much for Civilization. They have never had justice done them in this respect. The Greek and Roman writers were probably ignorant of the fact that the foundations of their Civilization were due to the Phoenicians. They inherited from their ancestors, an extreme dislike of these Semitic traders. The reason for this is not far to seek. Part of it is founded on racial antipathy, of all antipathies the most unreasonable. The Aryans and the Semites never did have much love for each other. "Between the two races, there has been from the beginning of things both constant and fertile communications and a perpetual misunderstanding; they have never been able to let each other alone, and they have never agreed."¹

Undoubtedly the Phoenicians were to blame for some of this dislike. "They were moved neither by the passion for truth nor by that for beauty; they cared only for gain, and, thanks to the condition of the world at the time they entered upon the scene, they could satisfy that lust to the full. In the barter trade they carried on for so many centuries, the advantages must always have been for the more civilized, and the Phoenicians used and abused that advantage. Tyre and Sidon acquired prodigious wealth; the minds of their people were exclusively occupied with the useful; they were thinking always of the immediate profit to themselves in every transaction; and to such a people the world readily denies justice, to say nothing of indulgence."²

At this distance away, we ought to be able to calmly sum up the results. The simple fact is Civilization is greatly in debt to the Phoenicians, quite independent of

¹ "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 429.

² *Ibid.*, 430.

the spirit with which the Phoenicians did their work. To illustrate, they gave the world the alphabet. It is needless to dilate on the importance of this invention. The mere fact that they invented it as an aid in keeping their books, has nothing to do with its value. When they commenced to cautiously feel their way from point to point, and from island to island along the Mediterranean; the tribes of Southern Europe were not farther advanced than Upper Barbarism, they knew but little of each other, and all their arts and industries were crude and feeble: when the Phoenician period ended, great nations had arisen, commerce was active, international law had made its appearance; arts, science and industry were all flourishing. "The seamen of Tyre and Carthage, the Hannos, Hamilcars, and a crowd of others whose names have long ago been forgotten, played on the narrow stage of the Mediterranean and the threshold of the Atlantic a part analogous to that of the great voyagers of later centuries, of those who discovered America and Australia, of the missionaries who have buried themselves among savage tribes, and of those indomitable explorers who are now spending their lives in laying bare the interiors of unknown continents to the Civilization of modern Europe."¹

We must speak of one more result wrought out in Phoenicia. We have pointed out that Civilization is simply a process of differentiating the individual from the mass. Savagery knows only of groups; Civilization, of individuals. It is claimed that Phoenicia was the first to arrive at this stage. It is said that Phoenicia, "created what the great Oriental states, or rather agglomerations of men, had never known, namely, the citizen, the individual citizen, full of

¹ "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. II., p. 430.

pride in the independence of his narrow fatherland, full of ambition for himself and for her. By enforcing on each individual a sense of his own personal value, this regime made him capable at certain critical moments of extraordinary devotion and energy."¹

We will, for the time being, pass by the question of religion. Before passing on to consider the Canaanites, let us dwell a minute on the duration of Phoenician supremacy. Seen from a distance, houses miles apart seem near each other. It is just so in history, events that are in reality separated by long periods of time, seem to be but little removed from each other. Yet time went by no faster then than now, and a hundred years was the same length of time as at present. We have been a nation a little over one hundred years. It becomes us to be modest when we reflect that for more than one thousand years, the Phoenicians were the masters of the Mediterranean. Their base of operations was a country about as large as two average counties in an average state. Yet from this as a starting point, they exerted an influence on nascent Civilization such as was the lot of no other nation in antiquity. Only within the last few centuries have the Anglo-Saxons and their descendants enacted on a larger scale, and possibly with more momentous results the *role* of the ancient Phoenicians.

The Phoenicians had probably been driven to their location on the sea-shore by pressure from tribes of the Canaanites; a people very closely related to the Phoenicians, who probably marched with them from the common home-land on the Persian Gulf. Perhaps it would be better to consider the Phoenicians and the Canaanites as

¹ Ibid., Vol. I., p. 27.

really one people; or, if we wish to make any distinction at all, call them respectively Canaanites of the North and Canaanites of the South. "In language, race, culture, and above all religion, they differed only as one Greek state differs from another."¹ We will understand, then, when we talk about Canaanites, those Semitic-Phoenician tribes who settled in that portion of the country afterward known as Palestine.²

Of these tribes, we have almost no political history. We know them only by scattered notices of the Egyptian writers, and slight notices here and there in the Old Testament. We can form some conclusions, however, of them which are not devoid of interest. The date of their migration into Palestine must have been somewhere between the twentieth and twenty-third century B. C. According to Lenormant, at the time of the twelfth Egyptian dynasty; they were not in possession of the country around the Dead Sea.³ But the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty found them in secure possession of the land.

When the Canaanites entered Palestine, they, of course, found it in the possession of other people, and undoubtedly centuries of inter-tribal warfare passed away. In some places, the aborigines probably held their ground; in others, the Canaanites were successful; while in others still, the two people coalesced. Even as late as the time of the Israelites, these aborigines still remained in places. We shall probably not err if we conclude that, ethnically, these aborigines were Turanian, akin to the Hittites on the north, though it is also probable that, in course of time, they had become intermixed with the Arabs from

¹ Sayce: "Contemporary Review," 1883, p. 386.

² Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 181.

³ "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. I., p. 15, note 1.

the south, and so more or less completely Semitized.¹ We can see how it would be that such of the aborigines as maintained their independence would be given the credit of being great warriors and fighters, in fact, something altogether above ordinary men. In the Bible they are generally spoken of as giants.² We need simply remark that these people were more numerous in Southern Palestine. Hebron seems to have been their head-quarters.³ The Amalekites were probably the descendants of these people.⁴ The position of the Amorites is still a matter of dispute, they were probably Canaanites, who had intermixed considerably with the aborigines.⁵

In the great battle of Megiddo, between Thothmes III. and the Hittites, the Canaanite tribes were present as allies of the Hittites. Thothmes gives us a list of one hundred and nineteen towns of the Upper Rutennu. In a number of them, we recognize the names of towns of Palestine. This shows us that at that time Palestine was in the possession of a number of tribes, whose kings, or chiefs, dwelt in the fortified towns. Fully in keeping with this conclusion, are the Old Testament accounts. Quite often these people are referred to, in a collective sense, as Canaanites.⁶ In some cases the

¹ While this is conjecture, there are good reasons for it. Originally all the northern part of Asia Minor was Turanian. In the long course of time, when the Northern Semites were diverging from the head of the Persian Gulf, it is extremely likely that the Southern Semites, the Arabs proper, were also pushing north. Nothing is to hinder the idea that they came in contact, and intermixed with the Turanian inhabitants of Palestine.

² II Samuel xxi. 16-22.

³ Ewald; "History of Israel," Vol. I., p. 229.

⁴ Ibid., p. 230.

⁵ Sayce: "Contemporary Review," 1883, p. 386. Compare with "Ancient Empires," p. 181. Ewald makes them nearly pure aborigines: "History of Israel," Vol I., p. 235.

⁶ Genesis xii. 6.

name Amorite is used with this same extensive meaning.¹ In other cases they name one or more tribes, and the number ranges from two to eleven.² We have almost no details of the home life of these Canaanite tribes. They seem to have led a quiet agricultural life,³ owning and selling land⁴ and acquainted with the use of money.⁵ In the main, the tribes must have been mutually independent of each other, governed by their tribal councils,⁶ and in times of war led by their chiefs to battle.⁷

In matters of religion, we come to a most interesting field which we will now briefly outline. This branch of the Semitic folks, although they were to some extent, influenced by the Turanian religion of Chaldea, remained much nearer the original Semitic system of religion. We notice clear survivals of Fetichism. They worshiped mountains, or indeed any striking feature of nature; grottoes, mountain vales, caverns, springs, rivers and trees. The cavern from which rushes the Adonis⁸ has for thousands of years been considered one of the most sacred spots in Syria. Especially was this culture shown in the worship of stones, aerolites and strangely shaped stones were objects of veneration. We must not forget that at this day the fanatical Mohammedans regard with the greatest veneration the sacred stone at Mecca.⁹

Though thus plainly presenting traces of Fetichism, the Canaanites had advanced considerably beyond that stage. It is, however, with the utmost difficulty that we

¹ Genesis xlviii. 22. Numbers xxi. 13. Amos ii. 9-10.

² This latter number is given in Genesis xv. 15-19, but it includes the Phoenicians and some people, as the Hittites, who were not Canaanites. See Genesis xv. 19-21; Exodus iii. 8, 17, xxiii. 23, 22; Deuteronomy vii. 1.

³ Judges xviii. 7.

⁴ Genesis xxiii.

⁵ Ibid., verse. 16.

⁶ Josh. ix. 11.

⁷ Joshua xii. 9-24.

⁸ See above page 726.

⁹ "Art in Phoenicia," Vol. I., p. 57 *et seq.*

can form any conception of their religion. We must constantly recall the Semitic foundation on which Turanian influence would build. And, in the structure thus reared, we are sure to find traces of some confusion in thought.



Source of the Adonis.

Along with all the rest, is that mythic tendency in thought, by virtue of which names of some attributes of the supreme god loose their primary significance and become

the names of distinct gods. We have before pointed out that all branches of the Northern Semites worshiped the sun. Hence it is, that whatever god was recognized as the supreme god partakes of the nature of a solar god.

The general name for god among the Semitic people was El. At Gebal the sun was worshiped as El. As Elyon, the "most high god," he seems to have been known among some of the Canaanite tribes, for we read that Melchizadek was priest of "Elyon."¹ But at Gebal, El was simply a name of the sun. Hence we understand the mythic story told of El how "he rent his father, the sky, into pieces, filling the streams and rivers with the blood that flowed from the mangled corpse;" this is the rain spilled upon the ground, when the sun pierces the storm clouds of the sky.

Baal, meaning "lord," was another word used several different ways. Often it meant about the same as our word god. "We hear of Baal-Peor, the god of the mountain of Moab; of Baal-Berith, the covenant god of Shechin; of Baal-Zebub, the god of Ekron . . . of Baal-Hamman, "of Carthage, who represented the fierce heat of summer." In addition to these, there were innumerable local "Baalim." "Wherever the high place had been consecrated on the sacred summit of the hill; wherever the temple had been founded in the midst of the populous town, there was the special Baal, who looked after the interests of his adorers, hating their enemies and loving their friends." This is a plain trace of fetich worship of an earlier stage, only we must notice that now the idea prevails of one universal fetich; but observe, further, that this cult was local and tribal.

¹ Genesis xiv. 18.

Another title of this sun god was "Melech," king. At Tyre he was worshiped as "Melkarth," "king of the city," or as "Moloch," in still other places. But the sun god did not stand alone. The goddess Ishtar of old Accadia was adopted into the Canaanite religion as Ashtoreth or Astarte, she was regarded as the wife of Baal;



Baal-Hamman.

and, just as Baal represented the sun, so did Ashtoreth represent the moon. She was sometimes addressed as the "Queen of Heaven." She was not the only goddess whose worship was wide spread among the Canaanites. The goddess Ashera was also known. She "was the goddess of birth and growth; the season over which she presided was the season of Spring, and to her the first-

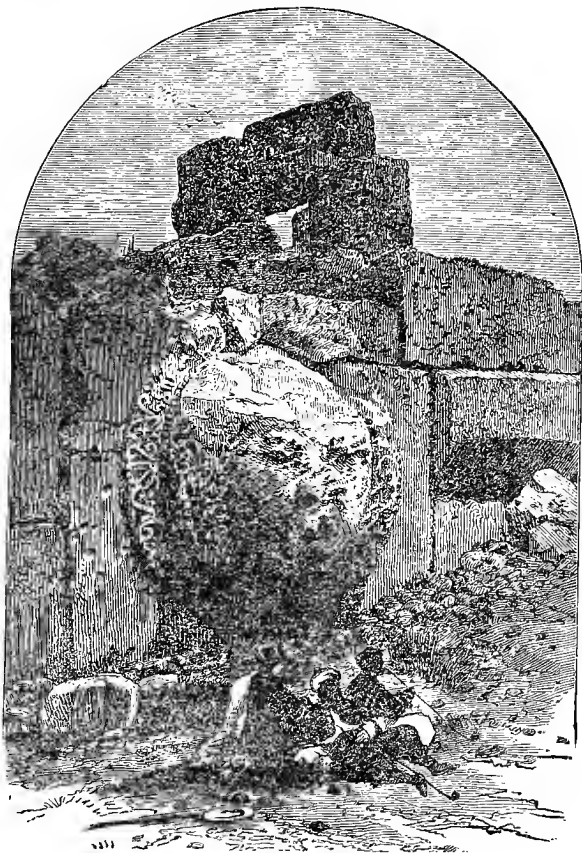
fruits were offered. She was symbolized by an upright cone of stone, or the trunk of a tree which had been chipped of its branches." She also was the companion of Baal. Near every altar to the god, there was raised also a symbol of the goddess. The Old Testament writers confounded the goddess and the symbol.¹

Religion among the Canaanites exerted an unhealthy influence in two directions. The worship of the goddess was at times the occasion of the exercise of rites which seem to us very strange to have been practiced in the name of religion. In a former chapter, we have suggested, that possibly here was a faint echo of a still earlier state of society.² Their ideas in regard to sacrifice led them to another extreme as well. To trace the rise of the idea of sacrifice is a most interesting procedure, but one to which we cannot give the necessary time. Beginning with the offerings of material objects buried with the deceased, it passes into the form of feasts for the dead: and, finally in the Barbarian world, whenever any important concession is wished from the gods, or whenever any calamity would be averted, or curse removed, it is deemed necessary to approach the gods with sacrificial offerings.

So among the Canaanites, we find that the first fruits of the harvests, cakes, milk and cream; or if animals, oxen, kids, rams, lambs, goats and birds were placed on the altars. We have found tables enumerating the various objects of sacrifice suitable for Baal, and the price at which

¹ Most writers decide that Ashtoreth and Ashera were different goddesses. See Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol I. Sayce: "Contemporary Review," 1883, p. 392. Tiele: "History of Religion," p. 82. Ragozin regards them as the same: "Story of Chaldea," p. 112. Nothing is clearer than that Ishtar was worshiped in two different ways in Assyria. We should not be surprised if it should finally be decided that both of these names referred to Ishtar. ² Above page 141

each could be commuted. There is no question but at times human beings were offered up in sacrifice ; and these victims were not simply slaves and captives of war, but included sometimes the children of the noblest families of the



Baal of Baalbeck.

land. The victims were burned alive, an offering unto the stern Moloch. At a later date, circumcision probably took the place of human sacrifice.

If we will compare this sketch of the religion of the Canaanites with that of the Babylonians, we will notice that it is much nearer the original Semitic religion. It

was but little influenced by the Turanian religion. They borrowed, however, some mythology from the Accadians. They knew of the descent of Ishtar to the underground world to release her husband Tamuz. They had also formed a myth to explain the origin of human sacrifice. The inhabitants of Gebal told how El adorned his only begotten son, Yeud, with emblems of royalty, and took him to the highest peak of Lebanon, and there offered him up in sacrifice to appease the angry gods. But, as we have pointed out, the Semites were not given to forming mythological stories. We must further notice that nothing worthy of Monotheism was known to the Canaanites. Each local tribe had a local god, who like their local chief was supreme in local affairs. But he had no voice in what happened outside of his bounds. It matters not that these local gods were but varying names of the sun. Going along with all this, there was a scarcely concealed belief in Fetichism.¹

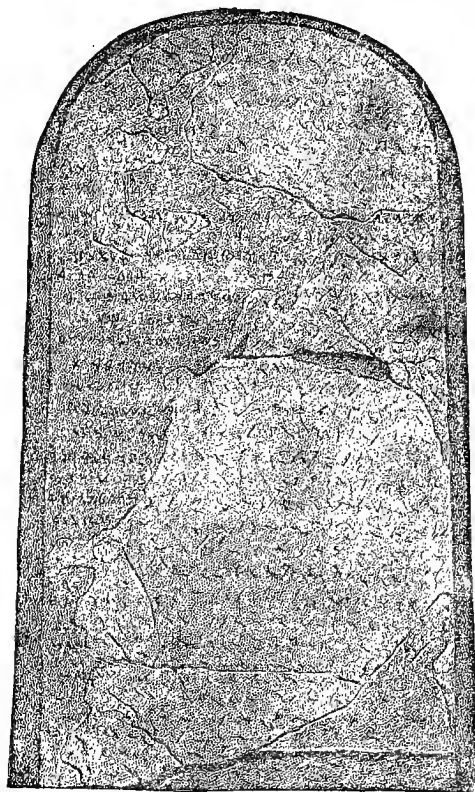
We have now before us an important branch of the Western Canaanites. We refer to the Hebrews. "The Hebrews" is the general name for four closely related bands: the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites and Israelites. We will first give what little there is to be said of the first three people. They seem to have moved to the west at some date, later in time than the Canaanites. The Ammonites settled to the east of the Jordan, the Moabites to the east of the Dead Sea and the Edomites south of Palestine; the Canaanites being too strong to be dispossessed. Ancient history knows almost nothing about these people; and they are unimportant, as far as the development of Civilization is concerned. Their chief interest lies in their association with the Israelites.

¹ For this sketch of Canaanite religion, we have drawn quite freely from Rev. Prof. Sayce's article in "Contemporary Review" for 1883.

When they first appeared in the west, they probably were not as far advanced in Civilization as their near relatives, the Canaanites. In all that goes to make up their religion, they must have been very similar. They had their innumerable local "Baalim,"¹ and some were of celebrity, such as Baal-Peor.² Among the Ammonites they

worshiped, as their peculiar god, the sun under the name of Milcom, a variant of Malech,³ while the Moabites worshiped the sun as Chemosh; but both people knew of other names of this deity, such as Moloch.⁴

A great deal of interest has been excited, of late years, in the discovery of what is known as the Moabite stone, a cut of which is here shown. It is covered with inscriptions and turns out to be an account of the suc-



The Moabite Stone.

successful rebellion of Mesha, king of Moab, against the kingdom of Israel, mentioned in the Bible.⁵ The interesting

¹ Numbers xxii. 41.

² Numbers xxv. 3.

³ Above page 741.

⁴ Judges xi. 24. I Kings xi. 5., xii. 33.

⁵ II Kings iii.

point about it is that it was written in nearly pure Hebrew, and it abounds in expressions showing the nature of Chemosh worship. It ascribes the victory of the Israelites to the fact that "Chemosh was angry with his land." Spoils taken in war are offered before Chemosh. War is declared in accordance with his command. "Chemosh said to me: Go take Nebo against Israel." If successful victory is ascribed, to Chemosh. "Chemosh drove him out before me." The goddess Ishtar is mentioned, and women and maidens taken in battle were dedicated to her.¹

Passing now to the Israelites, a few words of explanation are necessary. An entire volume could be devoted to this interesting people, their history, culture and religion. Practically, however, they cut but very little figure in the Ancient World. Only once in their checkered career, and then for a brief period only, did they occupy a commanding position. The greater portion of the time they constituted but one of the petty nationalities of Western Asia, the vassal of Egypt or Assyria. Their importance lies altogether in the field of religious culture. Religion, assuming that form peculiar to the Israelites known as Judaism, remained nearly stationary among the people who founded it. That modification and enlargement of the Jewish religion known as Christianity, becoming the religion of the European Aryans, has had a wonderful growth and exerted a very great influence on the culture of the Medieval and Modern Worlds. Christianity, however, being unknown in the Ancient World, we need not here discuss it.

All we deem necessary to give is a brief outline of their political history, and some points in the history of

¹ Sayce: "Fresh Light, etc.," p. 74 *et seq.*

their religious culture. This is, however, a very difficult task to perform. Probably no two minds see things in exactly the same light. Statements in regard to the culture and history of the Jews, which would be at once assented to if made of any other people, are examined very closely; and sometimes the party who makes them finds, to his great surprise, that statements that seem to him very moderate and reasonable are bitterly excepted to by others. But the world moves, and every day we are learning more and more of the past and probably, at no very distant day, our scholars will come to an understanding among themselves on this and other points.

We trust that few will be found to take exceptions to the following statements: God—who is no respecter of persons, and is near to every one of us, and hath in every nation those who fear him—has at all times and all places done all that he could for all people. We may be very sure that the Israelites formed no exception to the general rule. Their national development, their growth in every department of culture, including religion, must have been by substantially the same stages as those of all other people of antiquity, they seem to have been the first to form worthy conceptions of God, and were the first to develop a Monotheism in any just sense of the term, and this conception existed among the leaders of the people, if not among the mass, as early as the eighth century before Christ. At this early date, the Persians only, of all the people of Asia, had made any advance in this direction.

The outline which we shall give of their history and culture seems to us to be clearly indicated in the books of the Old Testament. Biblical criticism is such a vitally important point that only those should enter on it who have devoted years of study to the work. Those who are

versed in the intricacies of Hebrew grammar, and thoroughly posted, not only in Old Testament literature, but in Semitic literature in general. But few come up to this requirement, the great mass of us must wait patiently for final results in this discussion, which, when reached, let us fearlessly accept.

At present, we have to admit that our scholars are not agreed among themselves, and we may have to change the outline which we have to present of Israel's history. We believe, however, that not only is this outline, as drawn from the Old Testament, in accordance with the book itself, but has on its side the very best scholarship of the day, and we believe as these critical studies continue, it will become more and more clear that no people have been an especially favored people, but that all have had to advance by slow degrees, with many a halt, to their present position in the scale of culture. If the Author of All, in His infinite wisdom, has seen fit to so order the course of events, we may be sure it was for the best.¹

One who will reflect on the manner in which tribal people split up into branches and sub-branches, would naturally conclude from what he had already learned as to the location of the several Hebrew people, that the Edomites and Israelites were not only younger in time than the Ammonites and Moabites, but, further, that the Israelites were a later separation still from the Edomites.

¹ Consult Wellhausen: "History of Israel," Edinburgh, 1885. Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," London, 1875. Bishop Colenso: "The Pentateuch," London, 1862. Ewald: "History of Israel," London, 1869. Savage: "Beliefs about the Bible," Boston, 1883. The above represent one side of the case. Among the many presenting the opposite view, we would name Bissel: "The Pentateuch," New York, 1885. Here is found an excellent historical review of the discussion. Of less value is Green: "The Hebrew Feasts," New York, 1885.

This is in accord with all the beliefs of the Israelites on this subject.¹ Now, when tribal divisions take place, the migrating bands that form the new people, simply leave the old home land and journey on in search of a new country. In this case, the Israelites must have parted company with the Edomites after they were in possession of Mt. Seir and the country round about.²

Now, it is interesting to inquire where would they go? The country in their immediate vicinity was very dry and poorly suited to the wants of herdsmen. Canaan, at this time, was in the firm possession of the Canaanite tribes, probably the superior of the various Hebrew people in the scale of Civilization. But we may rest assured that attempts would be made to invade and conquer this much coveted land. The Moabites and Ammonites doubtless made similar efforts from their location.³

So the Israelites must have made an attempt to establish themselves in Southern Canaan, and, as far as we can judge, some success must have attended their efforts; and Hebron, near the center of Judea, seems to have been the seat of their power.⁴ Though their relations with the Canaanites are sometimes represented as friendly,⁵ yet such could not have been the universal rule.⁶ They could only

¹ Thus, the Ammonites and Moabites were descendants of Lot, Genesis xix. 37-8; while the Edomites and Israelites were descended from Isaac; the Edomites from Esau, the older brother. Genesis xxxv. 1.

² Genesis xxxii. 3. Observe that the Israelites, under Jacob, are leading an unsettled life; but the Edomites, under Esau, are settled. That is what we would expect since the Edomites are the older people.

³ Genesis xiii. 10. Lot is said to have chosen the plains of Jordan, *i. e.* the country opposite Moab and Ammon.

⁴ Hebron was the home of Abraham. [Genesis xiv. 18.] Here was the burial place of Sarah. [Genesis xxiii. 17.] Nearly all the places mentioned in connection with the life of Abraham and Isaac are in South Palestine; Hebron, Gerar [Genesis xx. 1,] Beersheba [Genesis xxvi. 37.] It is especially mentioned of Isaac that he "dwelt in the south country." [Genesis xxiv. 62.]

⁵ Genesis xxiii.

⁶ Genesis xxxiv.

have held their own by subjecting the neighboring people, and for this they were probably too feeble.¹

Be this as it may, their stay in Southern Palestine was probably not very long. For some thousands of years, the Semitic, Turanian and mixed tribes in Western Asia had been, from time to time, making forays into Egypt. Whenever Egypt was torn by internal convulsions, the Delta was sure to be over-run by nomadic tribes, eager to pasture their flocks in that fertile section. When order was once more restored, these tribes were either expelled or placed under tribute. In the course of time, these subjects were Egyptainized. In this manner, wave after wave of Asiatic folks had swept over the Delta. Probably the most successful being that mysterious Hyksos invasion, when for some centuries Egypt was under the rule of these invading tribes and their descendants. This wave was probably set in motion by that great upheaval of folks in Western Asia about the twenty-third century B. C.

The reign of the Hyksos was, probably, long past when the Israelites parted company with their Edomite brethren. According to the belief of the Israelites themselves, as the result of a severe famine, they also sought the plains of the Delta.² It is as yet premature to decide when this move was made. Judging from what light we have at present, we conclude it was early in the nineteenth dynasty, perhaps in the last quarter of the fifteenth century B. C. We must recall that the nineteenth dynasty was a Semitic one,³ and that the first pharaohs were engaged in war with the Canaanites, Phoenicians and Hittites, the very people who had probably expelled the Is-

¹ They are represented as giving away before the Canaanites. *Genesis* xxvi. 17-26.

² *Genesis* xlvii. 4.

³ Above Chap. vii.

raelites from Canaan; such a dynasty would be apt to grant an asylum to the fleeing Israelites.

Being but few in number and but a portion of the somewhat numerous Semitic people in the Delta, the probabilities are that the Egyptians never distinguished between the Israelites and other Semitic tribes subject to them. This is, probably, one reason why we search in vain for any mention of the Israelites, as such, in hieroglyphic records of Egypt. The common Egyptian word *Shasu* probably includes them all. Some have thought the expression *Aperu*, used of some captives or slaves of Rameses II., referred to the Israelites; this is, to say the least, doubtful.¹ The belief of the Israelites is that after a time the Egyptians changed their friendly attitude and treated them with great oppression.² This would be quite in accordance with Egyptian custom. We must further recall that the third pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty entered into treaty relations with the Hittites;³ and, further, that the immense public works he executed called for the employment of vast bodies of men. It is possible that, as a matter of policy, he deemed it wise to exact a severe tribute from them in the shape of public labor, with the object of keeping them in subjection, and of preventing them uniting with the enemies of Egypt.⁴

This oppression being harder than the freedom loving Semites cared to endure they left Egypt, and in this "mixed multitude" who left were the various tribes of the Israelites.⁵ Quite a number of Egyptian scholars think this departure from Egypt occurred in the reign of Menephthah. This would make it near the end of the fourteenth century

¹ See Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. I., p. 171. Compare with Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 88 and 128-9

² Ex. i. 8-13. ³ Above, Chap. vii. ⁴ Ex. i. 10. ⁵ Ex. xii. 138.

B. C. It is barely possible that Manetho refers to this exodus, but it probably cut no very great figure in Egyptian history. The Egyptians had been used, from the very earliest times, to Semitic tribes coming and going in the Delta; and, even in the reign of Menephthah, we know that some tribes asked and obtained permission to pasture their flocks in the Delta.¹

The probabilities, then, are that by the end of the fourteenth century B. C., the Israelites, in company with some other tribes,² had resumed a more or less nomadic life in the vicinity of Kadesh.³ This would make their stay in Egypt some over one hundred years, and this we find to be in accordance with their belief. They generally reckon about four generations for the Egyptian period; but the first were in the prime of life when they went into the country; and they left in the life-time of the fourth.⁴

The Israelites could not yet have been very numerous. We may suppose that they made an attempt to force their way into Palestine, but whatever success may have attended their first efforts, they were, as yet, no match for the Canaanites.⁵ As before observed, this country was not at all suited to their wants. It is a dry and semi-desert place, besides there were other wandering tribes to dispute with them for possession; their relations with these tribes are sometimes represented as friendly,⁶ and sometimes hostile.⁷

¹ Above, page 601.

² Numbers xi. 4.

³ Numbers xx. 1 *et seq.*

⁴ Gen. xv. 16. If we examine the various genealogies in the Pentateuch, it will be found that, counting the children of Jacob who went down to Egypt, as the first generation, Moses, Aaron and their contemporaries are the fourth generation. Compare Ex. vi. 16-20. Liv. x. 4, Numbers xxvi. 7-9. Colenso: "The Pentateuch," Vol. I., p. 96 *et seq.* Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. I., p. 159.

⁵ Numbers xxi. 1-4. We must observe, however, that the final conquest of this place was later. Compare Judges i. 17.

⁶ Numbers x. 29-33.

⁷ Numbers xxxi. 1-4.

We are, therefore, not surprised that they soon abandoned the country, and we learn of their presence on the east bank of the Jordan.

Let us now stop to inquire into contemporaneous movements in Palestine. The Amorites, under which name the Canaanites generally are sometimes referred to,¹ had succeeded in wresting from the Ammonites a considerable part of their territory.² The tables were, however, suddenly turned against the Amorites by the Israelites, who dispossessed them of their recently conquered land and took it for their own use.³ But this is not all the change that had come over Canaan. The nineteenth dynasty in Egypt had come to an end and, after some years of confusion, the twentieth had succeeded. In the interval of confusion, Egypt had undoubtedly been exposed to invasion from Asia. Whem Rameses III. took the reins of government, he at once took summary vengeance on Asia.

One of his first moves was against the tribes in the vicinity of Mt. Seir.⁴ To reach this place, he must have come in contact with the tribes at Kadesh. It is at least possible, that this invasion had something to do with the further migration of the Israelites and their sudden appearance on the east of the Jordan. But this is not all; if we may trust the records, this valiant king swept Palestine and utterly defeated the Hittites and the Amorites.⁵ In the Old Testament accounts of these early times, we seem to have a clear reference to this invasion of Rameses III.⁶

¹ Above page 738.

² Numbers xxvi. 26.

³ Numbers xxi. 24-5.

⁴ Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 140.

⁵ Brugsch: "Egypt," Vol II., p. 150. Also above page 605.

⁶ Exodus xxiv. 28-29.

The Israelites seem to have settled down in Gilead, where they soon commenced to affiliate with the surrounding people, and especially with their near relatives, the Moabites.¹ This result, we would certainly expect to follow from the customs of the people generally. A portion of the Israelites made the land of Gilead their permanent home.² But another portion crossed the Jordan and established themselves in the land of Canaan. It is at least possible that the terrible defeat that the Amorites sustained at the hands of Rameses III. made this attempt a success. We must understand of this conquest, what we understand in general of tribal invasions and conquest. It was a long, slow process. The two people had much in common, there were no racial antipathies to overcome, they were not widely separated even as regards religion. The Israelites crowded in wherever a chance offered itself. In many places, they were successful and got the upper hand. In other places still, the Canaanites maintained the supremacy.

We must reflect that time went by no faster then than now; as generation after generation passed away, the two people, who were thus confronting each other, must have inevitably approached each other more and more, the line of separation must have grown fainter and fainter; and, finally, the inevitable result stands before us; we learn of one united people, with one common culture. In the case before us, this formative period extended over two centuries of time.³ At its commencement, we know of a few tribes forcing their way into Canaan. During its continuance, we know only of the gradual co-

¹ Numbers xxv. 1-4.

² Numbers xxxii.

³ It was the belief of the author of Chronicles that seven generations of the ancestors of David lived during this period, I Chronicles ii. 1-13.

alescing of these tribes and the Canaanites, the development of a culture common to the two people, and a gradual growth of the idea of political unity. At its conclusion, we see before us a united people, with tribal lines, however, very distinct, under the rule of a king, with the capital city at Jerusalem.¹

Without further argument for the credibility of this historical outline, we will leave it to the judgment of each individual reader whether we have not fully established one of our main propositions—that the national development of the Israelites forms no exception to that of other people. Neither do we deem it necessary to extend this outline further. As far as the Ancient World is concerned, they played but an insignificant part. It is true that under David they became an important people of Western Asia, but this importance disappeared in the reign of Solomon; and at his death, two petty kingdoms took the place of David's kingdom. Henceforth they were often at war with each other, and generally one or both were under tribute to their stronger neighbors, until, finally, both disappeared as independent people before the resistless march of the Assyrians to whom we will soon turn.

Let us briefly consider the development of religion. Here, owing to the very great interest taken by the whole Christian world in the subject, no one should presume to discuss it until after years of study. In this matter, also, considerable depends on the date and historical order of the various books of the Old Testament. We have already referred to the fact that a great dispute is at present waging over this very point, a dispute mostly confined to theological fields, but its waves swing in an ever widen-

¹ The entire account, as given here, is fully in keeping with the book of Judges. The gradual coalescing of the two people is there indicated.

ing circle. Into that question, we can not possibly enter, but we can take a general view of the whole field.

It is a matter of history that, about eighteen hundred years ago, Christianity made its appearance in Palestine, at first but a Jewish sect. Only by slow degrees, did it become apparent to the Apostles that they were at liberty to depart from Jewish traditions on many points. The stone which the builders rejected has since become the head of the corner; but, if Christianity thus arose from a foundation of Judaism, we are at liberty to ask from what did Judaism itself arise? What religious culture was it of which Judaism took the place? And what were the probable steps of advance. We feel perfectly at liberty to ask these questions, feeling sure that our scholars will some day be able to answer the same fully and to the satisfaction of all. In the meantime, we will indicate what we think was the line of advance.

In this inquiry, we must state, first, that we are here concerned only with the belief of the *mass* of the Jewish people; what some of their leaders, their prophets and priests believed, taught and urged this "stiff-necked people" to accept, lies outside of our quest. What we want to know is the first stage of *popular* Jewish belief on this subject. The Bible was not written to afford us light on this point. Still, a careful reading of it will show, in the clearest possible manner, what that belief was. It is surely worth our while to understand this point, and to see under what difficult circumstances the great leaders of the Israelites struggled to bring their people up to a higher plane of thought.

We have dwelt with sufficient emphasis on the religious conceptions of the western branch of the Northern Semites. It is scarcely possible that, at the start, the re-

ligious views of the Israelites were materially different. Even a very superficial reading of the historical books of the Old Testament clearly establishes this position. Of king after king, it is told how he built high places, which were nothing but altars to the local Baal; and set up the Ashera, that is the symbol of the goddess Ashera; we are told, time and again; that these emblems were on every high hill, and under every green tree; and when we recall the lascivious worship of the goddesses Ashtoreth and Ashera, we know what to make of some verses in the Old Testament.

The above is not true of simply one period of history. From the opening chapter of Judges to the closing chapter of the historical books, including the writings of those prophets who wrote before the captivity, stronger language than we have used is employed to depict the religious culture of the people of Israel. These things are not glossed over one whit by the writers of the Old Testament books. All should understand, however, that what we have had to say, we apply only to the *mass* of the people. We fail to see any essential difference between the first stage of *popular* belief of the Israelites, and that of other branches of their kin-folks. The Phoenicians mourned the untimely death of Tamuz; so did the Israelites.¹ The Phoenicians worshiped Ashtoreth as the "Queen of Heaven" and offered cakes and fruits; so did the Israelites.² Each city of Phoenicia had its local Baal; so had each city of Judah.³ The surrounding people sacrificed their children to Moloch by fire; so did the people of Israel.⁴ The common Semite belief was in witch-

¹ Ezekiel viii. 14.

² Jeremiah vii. 18.

³ Jeremiah xi. 12.

⁴ Hosea xiii. 2; [R. V. Marginal reading] II Kings xvii. 17, xxi. 6; Judges xi. 30, 31, 39; II Kings xviii. 10, and other places. Compare with

craft, magic, divination, the evil spirit theory of disease, and they had their household gods; passage after passage in the Old Testament shows that the mass of the Israelites held all these superstitious notions.¹

This is not all that we are at liberty to say. Bearing in mind that we are talking only of the *popular* idea of the *masses* of the people in the first stages, we have no hesitation in saying that their conception of Monotheism was similar to that of their kin-folks. We have seen that the Semites, generally, held a qualified Monotheism. Each important branch had a national god, who, as far as that branch was concerned, was regarded as the supreme god, but he was not considered as exercising any jurisdiction in the affairs of the other people, save that national vanity in each case claimed that each individual national god was the strongest god. Such was the Assyrian conception of Ashur; the Moabites, of Chemosh, and the Ammonites of Milcom. Now, losing sight entirely of whatever conceptions the priests and prophets may have entertained of the nature of Yaveh,² the general mass of the people held exactly the same view of him as above set forth.

Hear how Jephthah answers the children of Ammon: "Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever Yaveh, our god, hath dispossessed from before us, them will we possess."³ So when Sennacherib sent his representatives to demand that

I Samuel xv. 33. Agag was hewn in pieces "before Yaveh." Also consider the symbolical sacrifice of circumcision.

¹ Of the many passages, consult II Kings xvii. 17, xxi. 6, xxiii. 24; I Samuel ix. 9, 13, 16; Judges xvii. 5, xviii. 14; Genesis xxxi. 19, 30, 32, 34; Zechariah x. 2. [R. V.]

² Such seems to be the original form of the word translated Jehovah. See Sayce. "Contemporary Review," 1883.

³ Judges xi. 24 [R. V.] The word "Lord" here is Yaveh.

Hezekiah should surrender Jerusalem, the wily diplomat proceeded to harangue the Jews in their own language, taking occasion to institute comparison between Yaveh and the gods of the surrounding people. Hezekiah's ambassadors begged him to speak in the Syrian tongue. They knew well enough that the common people would be impressed by his argument.¹

But enough has been said. As far as we are authorized to draw any conclusion at all from the Bible as to the religious culture of the mass of the Israelites, it is exceedingly plain that it was not materially different from that of the other branches of this people. If any one thinks we have overstated the case, we advise them to consider the severe denunciations of the Israelites by the prophetic writers, such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea and Amos. Let us now turn to consider that higher stage of culture, known as Judaism, to which the prophet had been laboring to bring the people.

It is not expected that we should enter into any analysis of Judaism, nor are we concerned as to where the leaders of the people got their ideas. All that we need inquire about are some of the main points wherein they wished to correct the popular mode of thinking; and when this change was fairly effected among the mass of the people. First as to the idea of Monotheism. The qualified Monotheism, of which mention was just made, was really nothing but Polytheism. The prophets of the eighth century B. C. were almost in despair because their people refused to accept their teachings—that Yaveh was their only god. Their writings abound with denunciations of the people for their actions in this matter. It was their belief that the impend-

¹ II Kings xviii. *et seq.*

ing political ruin was the punishment of Yaveh on their country for this sin. A people, however, very slowly change a matter of religious belief. It was not until during the captivity that the people accepted this view.

But a belief in but one God necessarily denies the existence of other gods; therefore Yaveh was not only their sole national God, but was God of the whole universe as well. This conception, which is strongly urged in the Old Testament, was accepted by the Jews generally, when they gave up their idolatrous observances. But the further idea, that God's loving kindness was extended to all nations, that he was as much their god, by whatever name they might worship him, provided they worshiped him in spirit, as he was of the Israelites, was not adopted by the Jewish people. Even some of the Apostles in New Testament times could scarcely believe that the gentiles had a part in their inheritance.¹

The second point, of which we will speak, consisted in attaching morality to their religion. We must remember that, in the earlier stages of society, morality and religion were not at all connected, religion was simply a mass of ceremony. The Old Testament writers urge on the people a reformation in this respect. It is scarcely necessary to cite examples on this point. Jeremiah tells the people that circumcision of the heart is what is wanted,² and Joel tells them to rend their hearts and not their garments.³ Ezekiel eloquently writes to show that the ceremonial observances are nothing compared with doing "that which is lawful and right."⁴ Isaiah enumerates their sacrifices, their feast

¹ Isaiah and Micah do teach that the worship of Yaveh was to extend to all the earth. Isaiah ii. 2-3. Micah iv. 1-2.

² Jeremiah iv. 4, Compare, ix. 26.

³ Joel ii. 13.

⁴ Ez. xviii. *et seq.*

days, their Sabbaths and New Moons, and explains that Yaveh is weary of them but rather: "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of the doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."¹ His contemporary, Amos, just as emphatically condemns their ceremonial observances; but tells them to "let judgment run down as water, and righteousness as a mighty stream."² Micah answers the supposed inquiries of an anxious Jew, with the remark that Yaveh requires nothing of him "but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."³

When, now, did the popular mind begin to respond to this urging on the part of their leaders. The answer of the Bible is very clear: not until after the captivity. What went back from Babylon to Jerusalem, was not a nation but an organized church. Then, first, was Judaism, as far as the *mass* of the people was concerned, established. A result not brought about until the dawn of the fifth century B. C. So we conclude—entirely independent of the beliefs and teaching of the leaders of the Jewish people, with no inquiry whatever into the source of their ideas, and speaking only of the mass of the people—that the first stage of *popular* belief of the people of Israel was in all respects similar to that of their kin-folks in general; and it was only after some centuries of time, centuries of slow advance in Civilization, that they occupied that more elevated plane of thought known as Judaism.

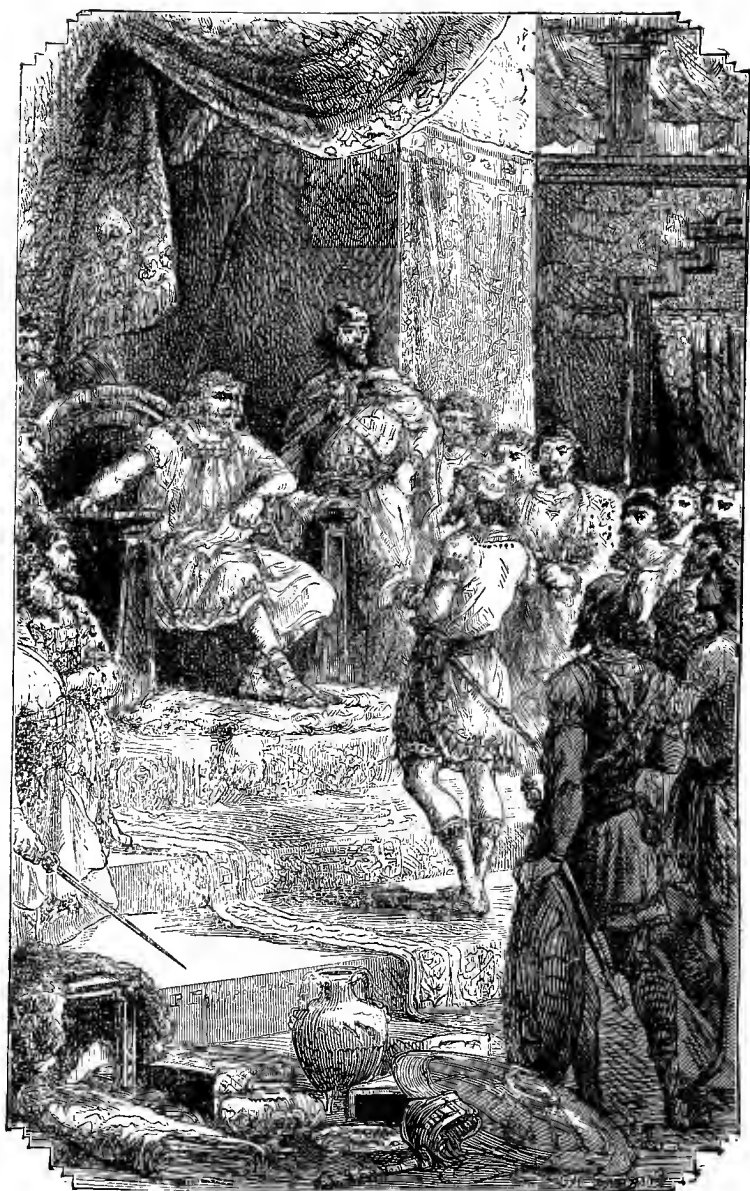
We will leave the forgoing result to the good judgment of each individual reader. We have paid more attention to the Israelites than their importance deserves,

¹ Isaiah i. 10-17

² Amos v. 21-24.

³ Micah vi. 6-10.

speaking of the Ancient World in general. For the greater portion of time, they formed two feeble nationalities, scarcely known beyond the bounds of Palestine. We deemed it best to examine into their case to some length, since we wish to make it clear that they formed no exception to mankind in general. Everywhere men have had to advance by parallel lines, with many a halt, from plane to plane of culture. Some have achieved more in one direction, some in another; the People of Israel achieved theirs in the field of religious culture. After weary years of patient waiting, the cactus bursts into a profusion of blossoms. After some centuries of time, Judaism underwent a still greater transformation, and became the religion of the Aryan World, and is by them being carried unto the uttermost bounds of the earth. We may look forward to the time when the prophetic utterances of Isaiah of old shall come to a happy fulfillment, when many nations shall say: "Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob: and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths."



CHAPTER XI.

THE SEMITES CONTINUED.

INTRODUCTION—Location of Assyria—Early History of Assyria—Egyptian notices of Assyria—Relations between Assyria and Babylonia—Tiglath Pileser I.—Historical Break—Asshur-natsir-pal—His campaigns—Shalmaneser II.—Growth of Assyria—Wars with Syria—The Second Assyrian Empire—Tiglath Pileser II.—Assyrian Commerce—Wars in Syria and Palestine—Sargon—Conquest of Israel—Conflict with Egypt—Sennacherib—His defeat in Palestine—Comparison with the Biblical account—Esar-haddon—Conquest of Egypt—Assur-banipal—Conquest of Egypt—Elamite War—Conquest of Babylon—The Decline of Assyria—Rise of Aryan Power—The Scythic Invasion—Fall of Nineveh—Outline History of Egypt and Babylonia—Assyrian Religion—Assyrian Literature—Conclusion.



WE WILL now return to Mesopotamia, "the land of the two rivers," and learn of the history and culture of the remaining branch of the Semitic people, the Assyrians. In many respects, the fortune of this people was peculiar. If we may say that the *forte* of the Phoenicians was commerce and trade; that of the Israelites, religious culture; then we may assign to the Assyrians the field of statesmanship and war. Tiglath Pileser II. really built up an empire. The first worthy of its name to appear in the ancient world, since it did not rest on tribal society as a basis. The whole policy of Assyria was in this direction. With remorseless energy, they proceeded to crush the life out of the petty nationalities of Western Asia, to break up and

scatter their constituent elements, and to re-arrange them into one compact whole.

Assyria was that part of Mesopotamia lying to the north of Chaldea. From what faint light we possess, we can but dimly make out a few points in the early history of the country. All they teach is that for a long time, indeed, a mixture in culture went forward in that section. At first, that country was roamed over by numerous Turanian tribes. They were spoken of collectively as the Gutim, or Goim, a word translated "nations" in the Bible.¹ At a very early date, the Accadians seem to have



Emblem of Asshur.

established a colony on the Tigris midway between the Greater and the Lesser Zab. They called their principal city Asshur,² a word significant of their location, meaning, perhaps, "water-boundary,"³ or "well-watered plain."⁴

In process of time, the Semitic tribes succeeded in establishing themselves in all that country. They slightly changed the old name of the city and called it Asshur, with the meaning of "gracious." It so happened that in their system of mythology they worshiped the visible sky as a god under the name of *Sar*.⁵ In process of time, this

¹ Genesis xiv. 1.

² Ragozin: "Story of Chaldea," p. 2.

³ Sayce.

⁴ Ragozin.

⁵ Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," p. 50, 69.

became their national, supreme god¹ and his name was changed to that of the country of Asshur, which again was the source of the words Assyria and Assyrians.

But it was some time before the town or city of Asshur became of sufficient importance to give its name to a section of country and to a distinct people. We do not possess any notices of Asshur or its people until comparatively late in the history of Chaldea. According to an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., about the middle of the nineteenth century B. C., the city of Asshur was ruled by patesi. The names of two of these are known, Ishmi-Dagon and his son Shamas-Raman. Temples had then been erected to the honor of Anu and Raman.² This shows that the government was fully organized. The title patesi is generally thought to indicate that the people were tributary to Babylon.

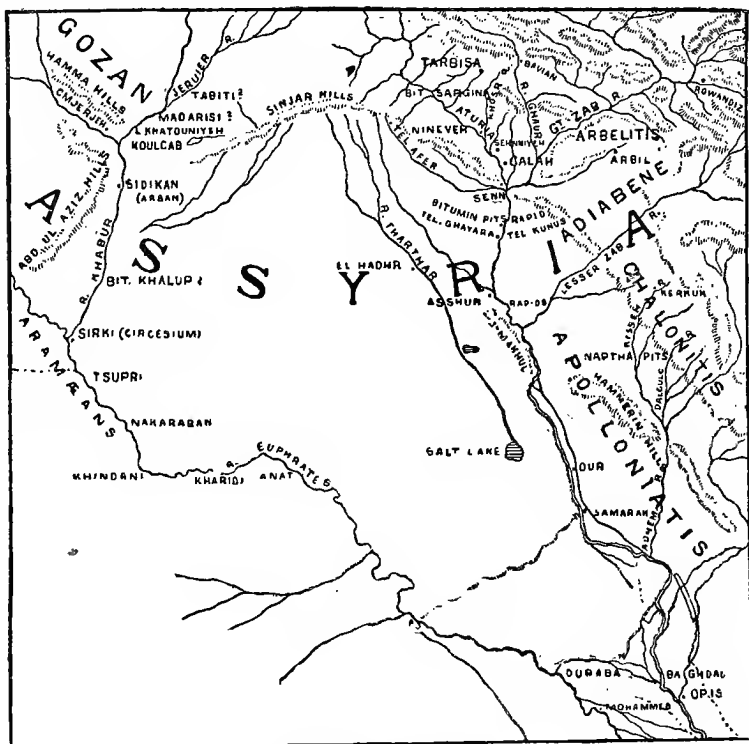
The people prospered and occupied the country farther up the Tigris, and, finally, the seat of power was transferred to a section of country about sixty miles above Asshur. Here, in very ancient times, stood two important cities, in close proximity to each other, known as Nineveh and Resen; the site of the latter has never been satisfactorily determined; on the ruins of Nineveh, stands the modern town of Kouyunjik. We might remark, in passing, that Asshur is now represented by the modern town of Kalah Sherghat.

From Egyptian monuments, we learn somewhat of the condition of Assyria in the reign of Thothmes III. In the annals of that king, we read how he set out to "plow the country of the vile Mesopotamia," an account of his victory follows. We read: "His majesty then

¹ See remarks page 758.

² Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 104.

came to the city of Nineveh on his return." A list of tribute then follows. The tribute brought especially by the chief of the *Assuru* is mentioned, this must refer to the Assyrians.¹ These events happened in the sixteenth century B. C. We gather from this source that the Assyrians were simply one of the several people living in Mesopotamia.²



Map of Assyria.

We discover from other sources that the Assyrians were the growing power in Northern Mesopotamia. Perhaps as early as the sixteenth century B. C., the title of

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol II., p. 17 *et seq.*

² It is well to see Max Duncker's criticism on this Egyptian account. "History of Antiquity," Vol. II., p. 29.

their ruler was changed from patesi to "Lord of countries" or king, and they began to dispute with Babylon about the boundaries of their land.¹ About the middle of the fifteenth century, it required a treaty to settle this point. A fragment of an ancient tablet mentions this fact in the following words: "Kara-Indas, king of Kar-dunias² and Assur-Bel-Nissu, king of Assyria, a covenant in their borders with each other covenanted, and a pledge concerning those boundaries to each other gave." Another fragment, dating about the beginning of the fourteenth century, tells of the renewing of this treaty.³

A few years later, and we discover that Assyria has grown stronger than Babylonia. The tablet just referred to tells us that the Babylonian king married the daughter of the Assyrian king, but when the child of this marriage ascended the throne, he was murdered by the party opposing Assyria; thereupon, the Assyrians interfered, and placed a king of their own on the throne. This may be considered the turning point in the history of these two kingdoms, from this time, for many centuries, Assyria was the greater power in Mesopotamia. About 1320 B. C., there was a king in Assyria named Rimmon-nirari I., who has left us an inscription, in which he speaks of wars with the surrounding people. Calah is supposed to have been founded by his son Shalmanesar I.

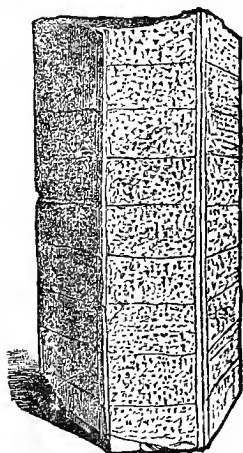
Quite a long time now passed away, and about all we know of it is that Assyria is steadily growing stronger. Late in the twelfth century B. C., we come to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I., who is regarded as the founder of the

¹ Sayce: "Assyria," London, 1845, p. 27. Compare with Smith: "Early History of Babylonia," in "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 8.

² Babylon.

³ "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 82.

first Assyrian empire. When we are dealing with ancient history, we sometimes fail to note the length of time of which we are speaking. In the case before us, let us not forget that eight centuries are included between the first glimpses of Assyria and the formation of the first monarchy. For all that time, we have only here and there a few facts. During that time, Egypt had been the great power, and second to it was the Hittite confederacy in Asia Minor. During that time, the Phoenicians had become the great traders of antiquity, and had established their chain of trading stations here and there on the Mediterranean, which became centers of Civilization for the yet barbarian tribes of Europe.



Inscribed Prism of a King.

During that time, life in old Chaldea must have flowed on in the placid channel it had pursued for some thousands of years. In other parts of Asia we detect great movements of people. Such as the invasion of China by the Jung tribes and, at a later date, by the Chows. Whenever the clouds have for a moment lifted, we have seen Assyria occupying a more commanding position than before. The time had now come when it was to assume the leading position in the Oriental World.

We fortunately possess quite long inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I. At ancient Asshur, there was found an octagonal prism covered with the annals of his reign.¹ We must, however, make some allowance for Oriental vanity. Reading these annals we would conclude that he

¹ A full translation of this is given in "Records of the Past," Vol V.

swept everything before him. But in this account, a victory over a few nomadic tribes is described as a conquest of "kings and people." Their fortified encampments are described as "cities." An unexpected raid, a sudden blow and the quick return march of the Assyrians laden with plunder reads the same as the account of a deliberate campaign.

We conclude from the accounts of his times, that the country he had to rule over at the commencement of his reign was a very small area on the Tigris; but, in the course of his active, vigorous, war-like reign, he did succeed in reducing to tribute a great number of surrounding people, and spread the dread of the Assyrians through a wide extent of country. He crossed the Euphrates with his army, but the extent of his conquests in Asia Minor may be somewhat in doubt,¹ though it is generally supposed that he penetrated quite to the Mediterranean.² However, his conquests in this direction were not permanent. He sums up the results of the first five years of his reign as follows: "There fell into my hands altogether between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year 42 countries with their kings, from the river Zab, plain, forest, and mountain, to beyond the river Euphrates, the country of the Khatti, and the upper ocean of the setting sun. I brought them under one government."³

In the next cut we have a rock-hewn image of Tiglath-Pileser set up near Karker at one of the sources of the Tigris. These campaigns were not confined to the first five years of his reign. Near the end of his reign, he became involved in war with Babylon, and it seems on the whole to have end-

¹ See "Duncker's judicious remarks in" *History of Antiquity*, Vol. II., p. 41 *et seq.* ² Sayce: "Assyria," p. 28.

³ "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 20.

ed with the advantage in favor of Babylon, since Sennacherib, over four hundred years later, speaks of recovering the images of the gods which the Babylonians took from Assyria in the wars with Tiglath Pileser I.¹



Tiglath-Pileser I.

The immediate successors of this king were not able to keep the benefit of his conquests. Two centuries pass by in which but little is known of Assyria, which seems to have shrunk to its former, rather limited, area. Not until near the beginning of the ninth century B. C., did Assyria once more become a formidable power. In the meantime the Israelites had risen to the height of their power under David, and had entered on their decline. These were

centuries of progress in the world's history. The fires of Civilization in Europe, after long languishing, were now burning with a clear and steady glow. The great Mazdean system of belief took form and shape and commenced to exert an influence in the Oriental world. At length, Assyria once more rouses from her lethargy and becomes the greatest power in Western Asia.

Early in the ninth century B. C., we find Assyria ruled by



Asshur-natsir-pal.

¹ Smith: "History of Sennacherib," London, 1878, p 134. Prof. Sayce gives a different account of this Babylonian war. "Assyria," p. 28. Compare with Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p.

an energetic king, Asshur-natsir-pal. [This name is spelled several different ways.] We have also a long account of his reign.¹ From it we gather that far and wide he carried the Assyrian arms. He took care to leave lasting impressions of the dread of the Assyrians on the people into whose territory he marched: "I overthrew, I demolished, in fire I burned" is the way he says he treated their cities and forests. He then calmly relates how he treated those unfortunates who fell into his hands: "The rebellious nobles who had revolted against me, and whose skins I had stripped off, I made into a trophy." Of another place, he says: "3000 of their captives I consigned to the flames." Of still another, this terrible account is given; "Many soldiers I captured alive; of some, I chopped off the hands and feet; of others,

the noses and ears I cut off; of many soldiers I destroyed the eyes; one pile of bodies, while yet alive, and one of heads, I reared up on the heights within their town."

The son and successor of Asshur-natsir-pal was Shalmaneser II., and in his long reign of thirty-five years, the first Assyrian empire reached the height of power.

The records of his reign are quite full, contained on three principal monuments. The first is the Black Obelisk. A square pillar of hard, black stone, about seven feet high. The sides are covered with



Supposed statue of Asshur-natsir-pal.

393. Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. II, p. 40.

¹ A translation of his annals is given in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 37.

sculpture and writing. The second¹ is a monolith from Kurkh. The full-length figure of Shalmaneser is sculptured upon it, and the surface is covered with inscriptions.



Black Obelisk.

The third monument are the plates of bronze (See cut page 778) that formed the covering of two large gates or doors found at Balawat a few miles from Nineveh.

One fact, made apparent by the reading of these inscriptions, is that the various people in South-western Asia were now aroused to the danger threatening them from Assyria. Accordingly, a coalition was formed to oppose Assyria. These people ceased their fighting against each other and ranged themselves under the leadership of Hadad-idri.² This probably explained the somewhat sudden patching up of difficulties between Ahab, of Israel, and

Hadad-idri.³ In this league, there were soldiers from Israel under Ahab, Hittites from Hamath, Phoenicians from Arvad, Ammonites and, strange to say, Egyptians.⁴

¹ Full translations of the inscriptions on the Obelisk and Monolith are given in "Records of the Past," Vol. III. and V., by Prof. Sayce.

² The Ben-Hadad of I Kings.

³ I Kings xx.

⁴ Kurkh Inscriptions by Sayce in "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 99-100.

If these last were really present, it shows how far the dread of Assyria had then extended.

The most important member of this league was probably Syria; and, under the skillful leadership of Hadad-idri, Syria was no mean opponent of Assyria. In the sixth year of Shalmaneser, a great battle was fought at a place called Karkar. In the following account from the Kurkh Monolith inscriptions, we must make due allowance for Oriental exaggeration. "The city of Karkar, the city of his majesty, I threw down, dug up (and)



Shalmaneser II.
Monolith from Kurkh.

burned with fire... From the city of Karkar to the city Gilza-u, a destruction of them I made. 14000 men of their troops with weapons I slew. Like the air-god, over them a deluge I poured, (with) their flight the surface of the waters I filled.

"All their hosts with weapons, I laid low..... In the midst of the battle, their chariots, their magazines (and) their horses trained to the yoke, I took away from them." As a matter of fact, this contest was more nearly a drawn battle.

For, though the confederates were defeated, yet the Assyrians were too badly crippled to follow up their victory; and they returned to

Assyria without the tribute they exacted when successful.

Five years now passed by, the principal event marking them being the subjection of Chaldea. Now Chaldea was always regarded by the Assyrians with romantic interest. There was the home of their gods, and from hence their ancestors had come. It was, in fact, their father-land.

In the inscription on the Balawat gates, this conquest of Chaldea is dwelt upon with exultation. "The triumphant entry into Babylon—a city described as the foundation of heaven and earth, and the seat of life—is spoken of as a solemn occasion, upon which sacrifices were made to all the deities whom the king worshiped."¹ In his eleventh year, Shalmaneser again marched against the Syrians, again was he confronted by Hadad-idri and, though the inscriptions claim a victory, by reading between the lines, we are confident he was repulsed. Three years later this experience was repeated. Still all these attacks were weakening to Syria. The various nations who combined to oppose the Assyrians seemed to feel that their case was hopeless, and so presented no united front. They were even at war among themselves.²

In the meantime, Hadad-idri (Ben-Hadad) had been assassinated, and Hazael succeeded him.³ When, four years later, the Assyrians again appeared on the scene, Hazael with the forces of Syria alone confronted him. The Syrians were defeated in a great battle fought near Mount Hermon.⁴ Damascus was besieged and the country ravaged, and the various petty nationalities of Asia Minor hastened to make their peace with Shalmaneser. The cut next presented is one from the Black Obelisk and is of

¹ Harkness: "Assyrian Life and History," p. 17.

² II. Kings viii. 28-29: x. 32-33: xii. 17-18. ³ II. Kings viii. 15.

⁴ Called Senir in the inscriptions, compare, Deut. iii. 9.

considerable interest to us. Among the people who hastened to send tribute to the Assyrians was the kingdom of Israel. It represents the tribute bearers of Jehu. It is accompanied by the following inscription. "The tribute of Yahua (Jehu) son of Khumri (Omri): silver, gold, bowls of gold, vessels of gold, goblets of gold, pitchers of gold, lead, scepters for the kings hand, (and) stones: I received."¹

Thus, by the middle of the ninth century B. C., the Assyrians had reached the most commanding position in Western Asia. From the Mediterranean on the west, to Persia and Elam on the east; from the country of the Al-



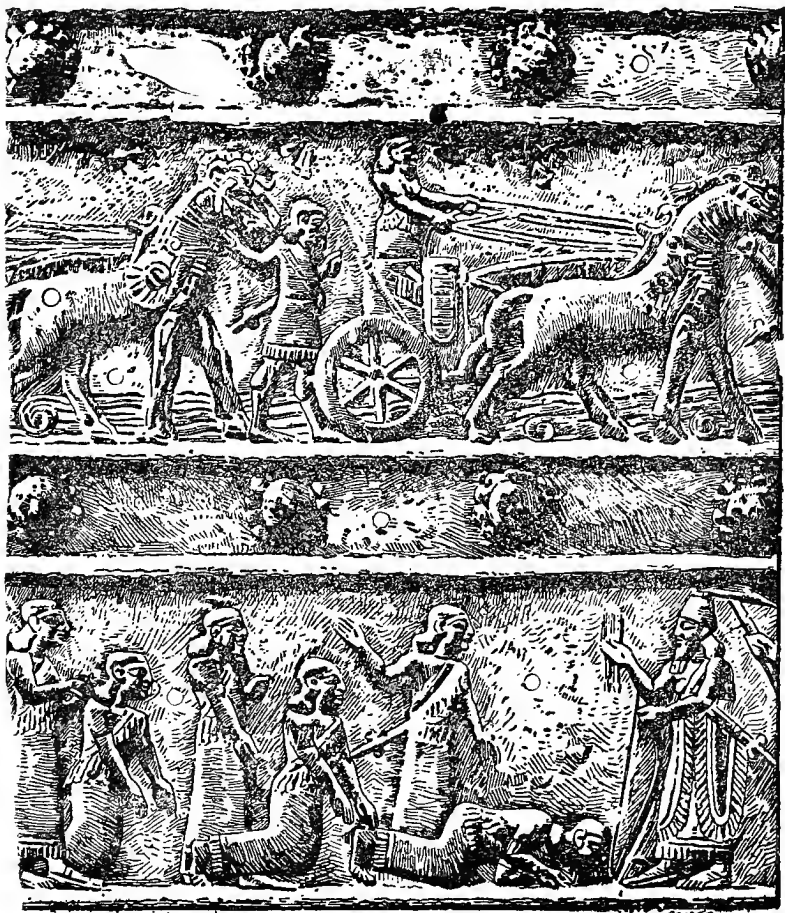
Jewish Tribute Bearers.

arodians around lake Van on the north, to the Persian Gulf on the south, they were masters. We will now hurry along. A hundred years pass by, the events of which we know but little about. It seems to be much such a period as we have noticed on a larger scale in regard to Egypt. On the whole, it seems to have been a prosperous time for Assyria. Its bounds remained about the same. Its power was probably increased by the more thorough subjection of Babylon. In the West, Damascus was occupied and such distant nationalities as Judah and Edom sent tribute.²

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 41. It will be observed that though Jehu did not belong to the house of Omri, the Assyrians did not make that distinction.

² The payment of tribute by Judah is not generally mentioned but

It is somewhat singular that, during such a period as this, when tribute must have poured into Assyria from all quarters, no great advance in arts and Civilization took place. But no such advance is to be noted. The latter



Portion from the Balawat Gates.

half of this obscure century seems to have been a troublous time. The reigns were short. No monuments of any kind are known to survive of this period. The

compare with Sayce; "Fresh Light etc.

more distant provinces resumed their independence. Revolts broke out in the more important cities. In B. C. 746, such an insurrection occurred at Calah, in the course of which the king either died or was put to death. Thus closed what is known as the First Assyrian Empire. Every one must see that we have before us just such a period as terminated each important epoch of Egyptian history. It must point to a common cause; and, in our opinion, the explanation is to be found in the fact that, in both cases, the empires rested on tribal society as a basis.

Tiglath-Pileser I. founded the First Assyrian Empire: the chieftain by the name of Pul, who siezed on the vacant throne and founded the second empire, assumed this ancient name and became known to history as Tiglath-Pileser II. We know nothing with certainty of this personage before he came to the head of affairs, but he must have been a person of no common resources, or he never would have held his high position. Perhaps it was not until some years later, that he assumed the throne-name of Tiglath-Pileser. One or two references to him call him Pul.¹ Tiglath-Pileser II. was an organizer and one of the greatest warriors and statesmen of his times.

It is interesting to trace the course of events in Syria and Palestine. This section of country was coveted by the Assyrians. The first expedition of Tiglath-Pileser was against Northern Syria. Arvad was taken and the kingdom of Hamath destroyed. It was at this time that Menahem, of Israel, deemed it best to make his submission.² But he was not alone in this matter. Nearly all

¹ II Kings xv. 19. In the list of Babylonian kings from the year 747 B. C. to the time of Alexander the Great, he is called Pul. Compare Rawlinson's discussion of this in "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 423 *et seq.*, with Smith's discussion: "Assyrian Canon," p. 76.

² II Kings xv. 19.

the small nationalities of Palestine did the same, and among this number was Azariah of Judea.¹ All this was by way of preliminary. The real conquest was yet to come. It is interesting to complete the short historical notices in the Bible with the new light from Assyrian sources. Human nature was the same then as now. In all those little states there were two parties. One party, who could see before them nothing but a blotting out of their national existence at the hands of the Assyrians, hoping against hope, endeavored to secure some sort of an alliance to head off Assyria. The other party counselled submission, they believed that the only chance. It was, in truth, a terrible time for these weak provinces, who vainly sought some way to escape from the fatal grasp of Assyria.

From what we can learn from the few notices at our disposal, the majority of the small states of Palestine concluded to unite their forces under the lead of Damascus, and so present a united front. In the kingdom of Israel, Menahem had paid tribute to Assyria. We read that his son, Pekahiah, was murdered and Pekah reigned in his stead.² It is, at least, probable that this occurrence points to a contest between the two factions of this kingdom. Judah refused to enter this alliance. The peace party there was in the ascendant. It was probably owing to this refusal to join the league, and for classing themselves as vassals of Assyria, that the various nations of Palestine went to war with Judah. They wished to compel her to join the league.³

¹ This event is not stated in the Bible, but see "Records of the Past," Vol. V., p. 46.

² II Kings xv. 23-26.

³ II Kings xvi. 5. Compare with II Chronicles xxviii. 17-18, where we notice that the Edomites and Philistines are also at war with Judah.

It is no wonder that the people of Judah were sorely dismayed at this sudden onslaught.¹ They, however, called on Assyria for assistance, to which as faithful vassals they were entitled. The response of Tiglath-Pileser was prompt and decisive. The Syrians were defeated and Damascus besieged. The cities of the Philistines were ravaged. One of their kings committed suicide to escape falling into their hands, and another fled to Egypt. The Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites were severely punished; Israel was overrun, and Samaria captured. Pekah was put to death, and Hosea given the throne. After a siege of two years, Damascus was taken, Rezon slain and the principal part of the population taken captives to Assyria. Ahaz of Judah went to Damascus to meet his master and renew his fealty.²

In a former chapter, we have shown how after some centuries of confusion, the twenty-fifth dynasty of Egypt had once more united the country, and was endeavoring to make it a strong and prosperous power. We have now reached the same period of time from the Asiatic side. It was but natural that the new dynasty in Egypt should carefully study the "Palestine problem." They knew enough of the Assyrians to know that if they remained

There is an error of copyists in the number of years given to Jotham. It should be six instead of sixteen. We fail to see any evidence of the view supported by Ragozin: "Story of Assyria," p. 229, that Judah had sought to form an alliance with Edom, Moab and Ammon, and had refused tribute to Assyria in 738 B. C. True, Judah does not appear in the tribute list, but all evidence shows that she had remained true to her obligations as a tributary vassal from the time of Azariah.

¹ It was at this time that Isaiah comforted the king and people of Judah. Isaiah vii. 2-10.

² Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 282 *et seq.* II Kings xvi., 7-10. It is possible that the inhabitants of Samaria put Pekah to death and raised Hosea to the throne, as a sort of peace offering to the Assyrians. [II Kings xv. 30] The inscriptions, however, state the other way.

inactive until Assyria had converted all Palestine into an Assyrian province, their turn would come next. Hence it is, that we begin to detect evidence of Egyptian diplomacy in the relations of Assyria with the petty nations of Palestine. On the other hand, we can see how gladly the party, in all these several states opposed to Assyria, would welcome the help of Egypt. They could not bring themselves to think they were to become but a fractional part of Assyria. They still dreamed of independence and power.

Tiglath-Pileser was succeeded in the year 727 B. C., by Shalmaneser IV., who was probably a successful general. In fact, it would seem as if the first kings of the second empire were elected to the office, which probably accounts for the number of energetic kings that made their appearance.¹

The death of Tiglath-Pileser was the signal for revolt. In Palestine, the kingdom of Israel took the lead in this matter. The Assyrians took prompt steps to crush this revolt. Israel was overrun, Hosea taken prisoner and Samaria besieged. The city of Tyre, which had joined in this revolt, was also besieged.

Shalmanesar IV. reigned but five years when he was succeeded by Sargon,² who was a successful general and probably on that account elected to the throne. He it was that completed the conquest of Israel. Samaria was taken, and the principal people taken captive to Assyria.³ But now Sargon had to turn his attention to other parts of Assyria. The Elamites were stirring up trouble in the South-

¹ Most authorities speak of these kings as siezing on the throne when it was made vacant by death. We believe that the new monarchy was an elective one, though the tendency would be for this office to pass by inheritance.

² 722 B. C.

³ II Kings x. xii. 6.

east. In the Eponym Canon, this expedition to Elam occupied the year 721 B. C. This interval of time must have been well employed by Egypt in forming a league of the states of Palestine.

We are somewhat surprised to read the names of some of the cities joining this league. Samaria and Damascus appear on the list. This shows how the Orientals are given to exaggeration. We have just read how Samaria was utterly destroyed, and its people carried away captives two years before.

The next year Sargon turned his attention to this confederacy, and, after defeating the confederates in Syria, he pressed on toward Egypt. At Raphia, near the confines of Egypt, was fought the first great battle between Egypt and Assyria, to which we have already referred, and which



Sargon.

ended in the defeat of the Egyptians.¹ This campaign quieted matters in Syria, and Sargon turned his attention in other directions. We will only note in passing that, in the campaign of 717 B. C., the Hittites, as an organized

¹ See page 619.

power, disappear from history. Carchemish was taken by assault, and their country was converted into an Assyrian province. We will pass by the war waged with the Alarodian tribes of the Van.

For some years, Babylon had been in open revolt. Merodach-Baladin, who was at the head of affairs there, endeavored to form a new alliance of the little states of Palestine and Syria. Probably Egypt was assisting in this matter. The chances must have seemed good since the kingdom of Judah, which had stood aloof from these leagues heretofore, entered into this alliance. The arrival of the embassy from Babylon at Jerusalem is mentioned in the Bible.¹ We also see what precautions were taken to hide from Sargon the real meaning of this embassy. It was under the pretense of congratulating king Hezekiah for recovery from his sickness. We also notice how strongly Isaiah was opposed to this alliance. He represented the Assyrian party of which we spoke some pages back.²

Sargon came down upon the allies in the West, and crushed them before full arrangements could be made. He took Asdod and shattered the confederacy before it was fairly started.³ Sargon must have moved with unexpected swiftness, he says he crossed the Tigris and Euphrates at their flood. The reinforcements from Egypt

¹ II Kings xx. 12.

² Isaiah xxxix. 1 *et seq.*

³ That Judah at least took some steps toward joining this confederacy, see Smith: "Assyrian Discovery," p. 291. Prof. Sayce thinks that at this time Sargon overran Judah and captured Jerusalem, and that Isaiah refers to this siege and conquest [Isaiah x. 28-32 and xxii. 1-15.] In all the inscriptions of Sargon to which we have had access—"Records of the Past," Vol. VII, IX; "Assyrian Discoveries," Chapter XV.; "Assyrian Eponym Canon," p. 125-131,—we have failed to find any statement of Sargon to this effect. The majority of writers on Assyrian topics do not mention such a conquest by Sargon. Compare Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 91 *et seq.*, with Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 129.

did not have time to put in their appearance. After thus disposing of the allies in the West, he crushed out the revolt in Babylon.

Sargon first held his court at Calah, but he built for himself a very noted palace and city called Dur-Sargina, now known as Khorsabad. This is the best preserved Assyrian ruin and has been carefully studied and described. The walls were covered with sculptures, and winged bulls guarded each entrance. It is asserted that considerable advance in the arts took place during his reign.¹

Sargon was murdered, probably by his soldiers, in his new city, 705 B. C. Sennacherib, his son, was made king in his place. In this case, although the son succeeds the father, we are reasonably sure that Sennacherib was not the oldest son. This is shown by the meaning of his name, which is "the moon-god has increased the brothers." We have quite full details of his reign, and his selection was a wise choice for the people.²

Sennacherib had no easy work ahead of him. The death of Sargon was the signal for the tributary states to rebel, and Sennacherib's first years were years of almost continual warfare. We now come to that most interesting invasion of Palestine, a small part of the details of which is given in the Bible.³ The inscriptions complete this account. We gather from them that Phœnicia and the various small states in and around Palestine entered into an alliance with Egypt to throw off the Assyrian yoke. In this alliance, Judah takes a prominent part. Not until his fourth year (B. C. 701) did Sennacherib march to break

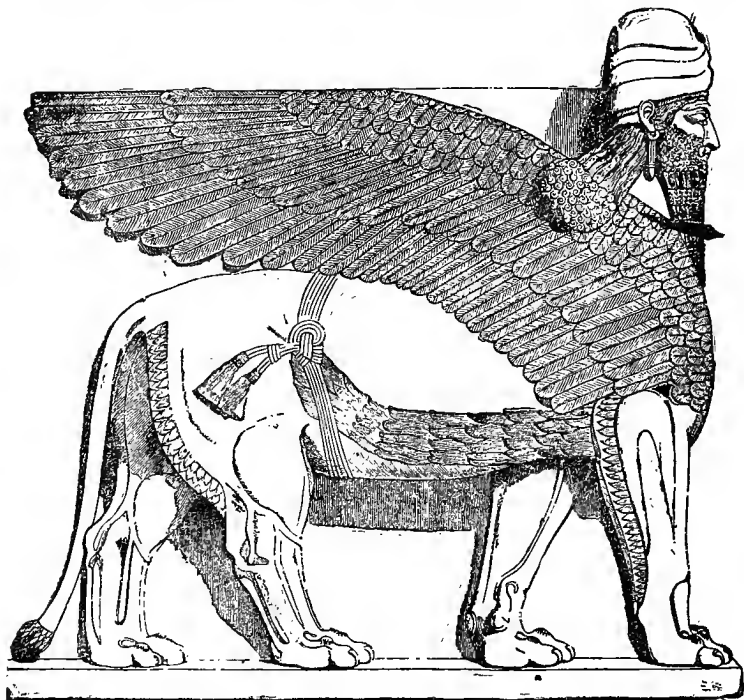
¹ Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 445.

² Prof. Sayce thinks less favorably of him: "Assyria," p. 41,

³ II Kings xviii. and xix.

this new coalition. From a reading of the inscriptions giving an account of this war and the account in the Bible,¹ we draw the following account of this invasion.

The Assyrian army made its appearance in Phoenicia, and, one after another, the Phoenician cities submitted. He marched south, taking all the coast cities. He then

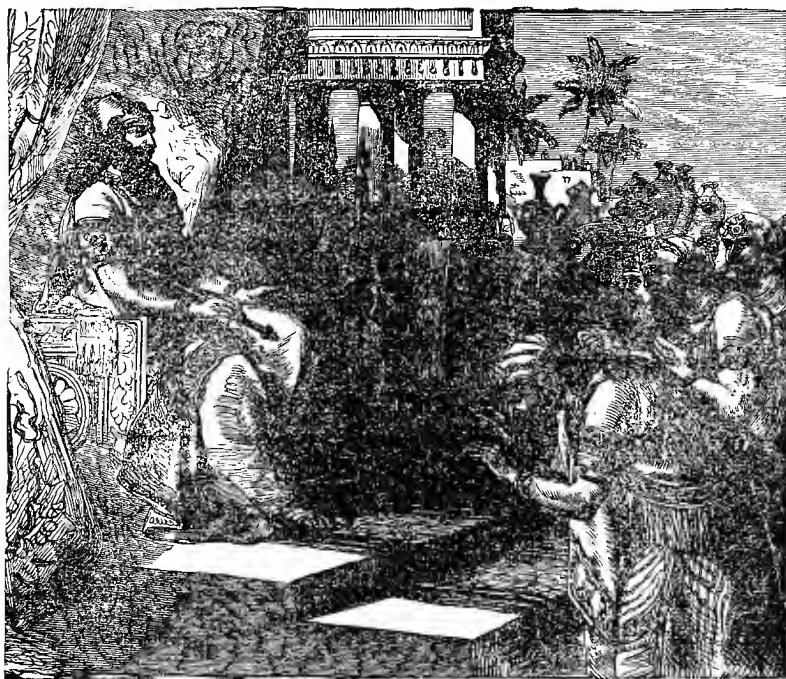


Winged Bull, Palace of Sargon.

received the submission of most of the allies. The list of those who sent him tribute is—Samaria, Sidon, Arvad, Gebal, Ashdod, Ammon, Moab, Edom and Syria. It is somewhat surprising to meet with Samaria. But Judah still refused tribute and so did Ekron, and a few cities near,

¹ The inscription in the original Cuneiform characters, and a translation of the same into Assyrian and English are arranged in order in "History of Sennacherib," Part IV.

such as Lachish and Libna. A detachment of the Assyrian army overran Judah, taking all the small places, while Sennacherib reduced Ekron and laid siege to Lachish. It was at this critical time that Hezekiah concluded he had made a mistake in entering the confederacy, and so he sent his ambassadors to Lachish to sue for peace.¹ A heavy tribute was imposed upon him by Sennacherib, and one ar-



Tribute to an Assyrian King.

ticle, not named in the Bible, was the surrender of Padi, king of Ekron. It seems that Padi wished to keep on good terms with Assyria, but his subjects had revolted against him and sent him in chains to Jerusalem. In the meantime, Sennacherib heard of the approach of the Egyptian

¹ II Kings xviii. 14.

army under Tir-ha-ka (See page 620) and he now demanded the unconditional surrender of Jerusalem, which was refused by Hezekiah and a siege commenced.

Lachish was at length taken by the Assyrians. We have a representation of Sennacherib on his throne and the spoils of Lachish passing before him. Libna was next besieged, and, from this place, Sennacherib sent once more to urge Hezekiah to surrender.¹ He probably wished to withdraw his army from before Jerusalem so as to concentrate it to meet the now rapidly approaching army from Egypt. We read in the Bible how Hezekiah, encouraged by Isaiah, refused. Soon after occurred the decisive battle between the Egyptians and the Assyrians at Eltekeh, about ten miles from Libna. The Assyrian inscriptions claim the victory, but, as has been pointed out,² many little incidents connected with the account make it almost certain that the Assyrians were completely defeated.³

At any rate, the Assyrians at once abandoned the country, and Sennacherib never cared to invade Syria or Palestine again, though he was king for twenty years longer. A portion of this time, he was waging war in Babylon but most of the time he was at peace. He rebuilt Nineveh and built for himself a magnificent palace there. After a reign of twenty-five years, Sennacherib was assassinated and one of his sons (not the oldest) was made king in his place. We possess a very curious monument of Sen-

¹ II Kings xix. 9.

² Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 138-9.

³ Probably this battle is referred to in II Kings xix. 35. The "Angel," mentioned in this verse, might have been any instrument of destruction, and an Egyptian army will answer this description as well as anything. It may be, however, that the Assyrians were, as they claimed to be, victorious in this battle, and that the sudden calamity that fell on them was an outbreak of the plague. See Ragozin's ingenious explanation in "Story of Assyria," p. 311.



nacherib. It is generally spoken of as his will, but it is difficult to believe that the Assyrians had reached the point of allowing property to pass by will. It is an acknowledgment of a gift to his son, Esar-haddon, of "chains of gold, stores of ivory, a cup of gold, crowns and chains, besides all the riches of which there are heaps."¹



Sennacherib.

It is quite probable that Sennacherib was partial to this son, Esar-haddon, and this led to his assassination by his two older sons.² The Assyrian inscriptions, that probably refer to that event, are badly defaced at the point where they become legible. We learn that, at the time of his father's murder, Esar-haddon was in command of an army in Armenia. The army had gone into winter quarters, and everything must have seemed favorable to the conspirators. But Esar-haddon was not the one to sit quietly by and allow his brothers to divide the empire between them.

He says: "From my heart I made a vow Immediately I wrote letters (saying) that I assumed the sovereignty of my father's house." He broke camp, and marched for Nineveh. On the way, he fought a battle, presumably with the troops of his brothers, and was victorious.³ According to some accounts, on the field of battle itself, the soldiers proclaimed Esar-haddon king.⁴

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. I, p. 136.

² II Kings xix. 37. ³ "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 103.

⁴ Sayce: "Fresh Light, etc.," p. 128.

He himself piously ascribed his success to the great gods to whom he had "lifted up" his hands. He had been assured of their favor before leaving Armenia. An oracle had been sent him saying: "Go, fear not! We march at thy side! We aid thy expedition!"¹

Esar-haddon proved to be one of the best kings of Assyria, he was not only an excellent soldier, but he had great political tact. It is said of him that he was the only king of Assyria who endeavored to conciliate the nations he had conquered;² and, in his inscriptions, when he speaks of conquered kings, he often adds: "I took pity on him." It is not surprising, then that under his reign, Assyria reached the very zenith of her power. He quickly recovered whatever had been lost during the troublous times that followed the death of Sennacherib, and, in most cases, he seems to have retained them by kindness. He gave back lands and provinces to conquered kings, and assisted them in rebuilding their cities and temples. We are not told by what means he conquered Syria and Palestine; but he commanded the obedience of twenty-two kings in that section, and, among the number, we read: "Manasseh king of Judah."

Perhaps the most notable event of this king's reign was the conquest of Egypt. The details of this event and the causes leading to it are lost, but still we can outline the course of events. It had been the policy of Assyria ever since the formation of the second empire, to extend her rule over Western Asia, and she longed to lay Egypt under tribute. Two battles had already been fought between the Egyptians and the Assyrians, but neither had decided the question of supremacy. The battle of Elte-

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 102.

² Sayce: "Assyria," p. 47.

keh, for the time being, crippled the authority of Assyria in Palestine; but, as we have just seen, early in the reign of Esar-haddon this had been recovered, possibly all this had been regained in the life-time of Sennacherib.

But we gather that Tirhaka was scheming to form a new union of the petty states in Western Asia. Strange to say, he was successful. In the year 673 B. c., Esar-haddon conducted a campaign against Egypt and her allies. The allies' names are not given in the fragment we possess, but Tyre and Judah were probably among the number. The fragment, probable date of which is 672 B. c., reads: "Esar-haddon, king of Assyria, his forces sends against Tarqu, king of Kush, and the men his allies."¹ The Egyptians were defeated and Tirhaka retreated in haste to Egypt. Then came the subjugation of Judah; Manasseh being carried captive to Babylon.²

Tyre, owing to its insular position, was able to withstand a siege. The next year, 672 B. c., Esar-haddon built fortresses "over against it" and "cut off" its food and water. Then he marched for Egypt. The difficulties of the march are described. He seems to have penetrated into Nubia in pursuit of Tirhaka, who probably eluded him; but Egypt, from Thebes to the sea, passed under the power of Assyria, and was divided into Satrapies. As far as possible, Esar-haddon recognized the old division of nomes, and the chiefs of the nomes were made the Assyrian viceroys. This shows the kindness and tact of

¹ Smith: "Assyrian Eponym Canon," p. 141. Notice that Tirhaka is styled "King of Cush," and recall that his dynasty was Ethiopian. See, also Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 155.

² II Chronicles xxxiii. 11. Esar-haddon had built a palace at Babylon, and resided there a part of the year. This conquest and the woe it brought upon Jerusalem seem indicated in II Kings xxi. 12-17. but, somewhat strangely, the carrying away of Manasseh captive to Babylon is not mentioned by the author of Kings.

Esar-haddon. Tyre probably soon submitted and probably received very easy terms. And we note the further fact that Manasseh was soon released and permitted to return to his kingdom and crown.¹ Esar-haddon could say of Manasseh as of another king: "I had mercy on him. I washed out his rebellion."²

We have seen that both the father and grand-father of Esar-haddon had been murdered, and, in one case at least, the result was due to the intrigues of the king's sons. As if to provide against such a deplorable result as this, Esar-haddon associated with him as co-ruler his son Assurbanipal. Assurbanipal was probably regent during his father's absence on his Egyptian campaign.³ Shortly before death, Esar-haddon resigned almost all the cares of government into Assurbanipal's hands, and retained for himself only the government of Babylon. In 668 B. C., death made Assurbanipal sole king in Assyria. His reign was long and, on the whole, brilliant, but the rapidly setting sun of Assyria had already become obscured in clouds when his reign was brought to a close.

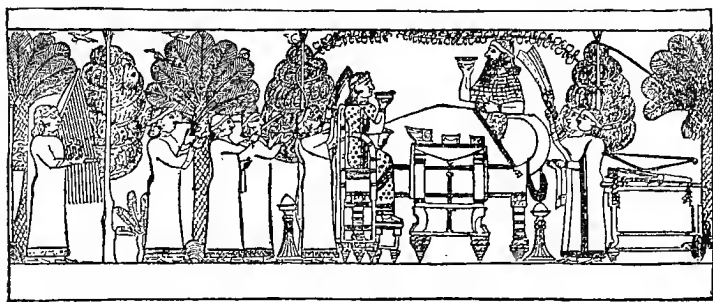
The records of the first period of Assurbanipal's reign are very full and complete. All that we need is an outline, so we will simply remark that it required two expeditions, led by the king in person—besides which his generals quelled one revolt—to thoroughly subdue Egypt. In his second expedition, Thebes, the great city of Upper Egypt, was given up to plunder. The details of this sack are dwelt on to some extent. Among the objects carried away were "two lofty obelisks covered with beautiful carv-

¹ II Chronicles xxxiii. 13.

² "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 117; Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 312-14; Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 157.

³ Smith: "Assyrian Eponym Canon," p. 163-4.

ings, twenty-five hundred talents their weight (over ninety tons), standing before the gate of a temple.” During the reign of Assurbanipal, the Assyrians overthrew the ancient kingdom of Elam. We have not space, nor is it necessary, to give the details of this conquest. The Elamites and the Babylonians united their forces; and, at the head of the Babylonians, was the younger brother of Assurbanipal, Saulmugina, whom he had made viceroy of Babylon. It took four years of almost constant warfare to quiet matters in this section. The issue of the conflict was the downfall of Elam and the complete subjugation of Chaldea, but this result was only achieved after great exertion by Assyria.



Assurbanipal's Feast with his Queen.

During the course of this war, Egypt had revolted and the Assyrians made no attempt to renew the conquest of that country. In spite of this loss, Assyria was still the greatest power of Western Asia. Assurbanipal, as if grown weary of wars, contented himself with preserving his empire as it was after the conquest of Elam but loss of Egypt. It is just at this point that our historical light suddenly fails us. We know that quite a number of years now pass by of apparent peace and prosperity for

¹ "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 328.

Assyria. During which, the arts and sciences flourish, and Assyrian literature entered on its most glorious period.

Yet, at this very moment, causes were at work, which were destined, in the course of a few short years, to completely overthrow the Assyrian power. A change was now about to take place; the political power in the Ancient World was about to pass from the hands of the Semites to those of the Aryans, and they were the ones who were destined to carry forward the Civilization of the world. The wisest ruler in Assyria could probably not have long stayed the gathering storm. Assyria suffered no long and lingering death as did Egypt. 650 B. C., Assurbanipal was at the height of his power, and Assyria was probably as formidable as it ever was. Twenty-five years later, it no longer existed as a great power, and, before the beginning of the sixth century B. C., Nineveh had been plundered by a foreign army, and its palaces and public buildings were falling into ruins. In short, the hour had struck, and Assyria was no more.

We have but briefly spoken of the growing belief in the minds of all classes of scholars that the birth-place of the Aryan race was in Europe.¹ We have pointed out that the great upheaval of people in Western Asia, in the twenty-third century B. C., was probably caused by Aryan tribes forcing their way among the Turanian people to the east of the Caspian. We have seen this eastward migration of the Aryans extending even to China. We have also suggested that the Alarodians were Turanian tribes more or less Aryanized by Aryan people coming from Europe through the passes of the Caucasian mountains. We shall, in the future, show that Aryans had

¹ This subject will be fully considered in Vol. III., Chap. i.

early crossed the Bosphorus and Aryanized the western portion of Asia Minor. In the meanwhile, a portion of the first Aryan invaders to the east of the Caspian had wandered to the south, and had split up into two divisions, one of which finally penetrated to India. The other, marching west, had forced themselves among the Turanian tribes of the Zagros mountains, and was subjecting them to Aryan influence.

The Assyrian monuments mention Aryan tribes in that somewhat illy defined section of country known as Media, to the south-west of the Caspian sea, as early as the middle of the ninth century. By the middle of the sixth century, there had grown a somewhat close confederacy of tribes in that section of country. The Assyrian kings from Sargon down had held these tribes under tribute, though they were doubtless very restless vassals.



Enlarged View of the
Queen.

This confederacy was formed the same among the Medes as among other people. One tribe gradually growing in power and compelling the surrounding tribes to range themselves under their standard. Some indistinct historical figures appear on the scene about the middle of the seventh century B. C. We hear of Phraortes as king, and of his greater son, Cyaxares.

When Assurbanipal devoted himself to a life of ease, after his victory over Chaldea and Elam, this Median tribe, under the lead of Phraortes, was strengthening its power in Media. At length, mistaking quietness for feebleness, they ventured to invade Assyria itself;

they were, however, repulsed, and among the slain was Phraortes himself. The Medes, however, under the lead of Cyaxares, who reorganized his forces and probably secured new allies, made a second attempt and it is supposed that they were in the high tide of success, when they were suddenly recalled to their own country, by a new invasion of half-savage Aryans from Europe, by way of Caucasias, which invasion must have dealt a terrific blow to the already tottering power of Assyria.

To understand this movement, we must study the situation of affairs in Asia Minor. We have seen that, from very early times, Aryan tribes from Europe exerted a pressure in that section of country. Probably great waves of migrating people rolled into the country of which we have no record. We catch sight of one such wave about the middle of the eight century B. C. The Cimmerians, a primitive Aryan people from the great Germanic stock, crossed the Bosphorus and ravaged the country to the south of the Black Sea. Sinope, on the coast, was the seat of their power. From this section of country, marauding expeditions were continually starting out to plunder the more settled portions of Asia Minor and Western Asia.

About this same time, the Scyths, a Sarmatian people, must have crowded down into Caucasias, by the Western coast of the Caspian; seating themselves in the mountain fastnesses, they commenced also to send out their marauding expeditions to whatever section of country seemed open to invasion. The terror of these half-savage tribes must have extended far and wide. The prophet Ezekiel, in distant Judah, knew of them, and foresaw the important part they were destined to play.¹ The very word used in the

¹ Ezekiel xxxix and xl.

Bible, Gog, occurs in one of the inscriptions of Assurbanipal under the form of Ga-a-gi.¹ The Assyrian power for a time held back this Aryan torrent. Esar-haddon speaks of defeating a band of Cimmerians, and utterly destroying their army.² Assurbanipal boasts of defeating Gog, a chief of the Scythians, capturing his two sons, and taking seventy-five of his cities.³ Gyges, king of Lydia, when his country was overrun by the Cimmerians, thought to gain the protection of the Assyrians by making voluntary submission.⁴ The relief was but temporary. When Assyria was closely pressed by Cyaxares the Mede, the Scythian hordes, no longer dreading Assyria, marched their marauding bands in all directions in Western Asia.

We know almost nothing of these devastating inroads. The monuments are silent. Tradition has it that Cyaxares hurriedly abandoned the siege of Nineveh, and returned to defend his own country. Probably many of the cities of Assyria were plundered, the palaces and the temples destroyed. Palestine, in the west, was overrun. The ancient town of Beth-shan, has since their time been called Scythopolis. According to report, the Egyptian king purchased the safety of his own country by liberal presents. But the fury of the tempest soon passed. The torrent may roll down the mountain, working havoc on its way, but it soon loses itself in the level expanse of the plain. So these Scythic bands, that from the highlands of Caucasia poured down into Western Asia, lost their energies under the more ardent sun of Syria and Palestine, and the luxurious living that attended their too

¹ "Records of the Past," Vol. IX., p. 46.

² "Records of the Past," Vol. III., p. 113.

³ "Records of the Past," Vol. IX., p. 46.

⁴ "Assyrian Discoveries, p. 331.

successful expeditions. They soon disappear from history, either driven back to their mountain home, or lost among the masses of the people they for a time held in terrified submission.

When the storm clears away, we are conscious that old landmarks have been greatly changed. The larger part of the provinces of Assyria are free from her yoke. Egypt not only pays no tribute but is preparing to take the offensive. Judah, at this time under the rule of a young and energetic king, Josiah, is extending its authority over such of the immediate contiguous provinces as seem most desirable, and the ancient kingdom of Israel has already been annexed.¹ The two Aryan powers, Lydia in Asia Minor and Media to the north-east of Assyria, appear with greatly increased power. Babylonia, on the south, is still, nominally, an Assyrian province, but undoubtedly but half-concealed preparations for revolt were under way.

It seldom falls to the lot of a human being to experience such vicissitudes of fortune as Assurbanipal. At the head of his victorious army, he sacked Thebes and firmly held Egypt to tribute. It was his armies that subjugated Elam, yet when he died, probably in the year 626 B. C.,² Assyria had ceased to be an object of dread, and was probably contending for its very existence with the Scythians. His successor was probably Bel-zakir-iskun, and his reign was probably very brief.³ He was succeeded by Assur-ebil-illi-kain. Here we lose sight of history. We do not know how many kings, mere shadows of their

¹ This explains the operations of Josiah in and around Samaria. II Kings xxiii. 15 *et seq.*

² Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III, p. 284.

³ Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 382-40.

former greatness, succeeded each other in rapid succession. The name of the last king was Esar-haddon II.

We gather that the viceroy of Babylon, Nabopolassar, threw off the yoke of Assyria about 625 B. c.¹ We gather further that the two Aryan states, Lydia and Media, had divided between themselves the various provinces of Armenia and Asia Minor, and had engaged in war themselves to test the question of supremacy. According to tradition, this war was terminated by an eclipse occurring in the midst of a battle. This event is supposed to have happened about 610 B. c.² Be this as it may, the Medes and the Babylonians now united their forces. The result of that league was the invasion of Assyria, the siege and capture of Nineveh and the complete disappearance of Assyria as a political power.³ Here we might bring the historical outline to a close, but, in order to round out the story of the Ancient World, let us briefly outline the course of events in Egypt and Western Asia for a century following the fall of Assyria. As already pointed out, we detect the immense power of Assyria in process of division among several of her strongest vassals, not for the present regarding the Aryan powers, we seek to learn of Egypt and Babylonia.

Egypt at this time was under the rule of the twenty-sixth dynasty; which was a rise to power on the part of the Delta. The Pharaohs of this dynasty were the heads of the Saitic nome, Psammetichus, the founder of this dynasty, was one of the satraps of the Assyrians. When Assurbanipal was engaged in his wars against Elam and

¹ Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 139. Duncker would place this event later.

² Duncker, *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

³ The exact date of this event is not known. It lies between the three years of 606, 607 and 608 B. c.

Babylonia, Psammetichus, with the help of the Greek mercenary troops, drove the Assyrian forces from Egypt, and firmly established his own power. We want to notice the presence of the Aryan Greeks in this war since it shows the rising importance of the Aryans. Egypt was greatly exposed to Greek influence at this time, which influence made itself felt in a great many ways.¹

As Assyrian influence declined, the rulers of Egypt once more commenced to indulge in pleasing dreams of foreign conquest. With no very positive evidence to guide us, it seems quite probable that they invaded the coast region of Palestine and, perhaps, reduced the cities of Phoenicia to a sort of vassalage.² The Scythic invasion probably checked his movements in this direction. The second king of this line, Necho, was an energetic one, and he endeavored to establish Egyptian control over all of Western Asia as far as the Euphrates. He spent some time raising a navy to aid in his undertaking.

At this time, Assyria was in her death struggle and was powerless to oppose his advance. But, as pointed out, Josiah of Judah, was equally bent on enlarging the boundaries of his kingdom, and increasing her power and influence by annexing the contiguous provinces. We have seen that he had already taken possession of the territory of the old kingdom of Israel. It is also supposed that he had reduced the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites and neighboring tribes to tribute.³ In short, on the wreck of Assyria, he was endeavoring with rapidity and success to advance Judah to the high position held by the Jewish nation in the days of David and Solomon. A conflict,

¹ Rawlinson: "Egypt," Vol. II., p. 465.

² Ibid. Compare with Duucker, Op. cit. p. 305.

³ Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. IV., p. 241.

then, was bound to come between Egypt and Judah. A brief mention is made of this war and the result of its one decisive battle in the Bible.¹ The rapidly rising hopes of Judah were doomed to a bitter disappointment. They had but exchanged the Assyrian vassalage for the Egyptian. For many years, the people of Judah mourned the death of their brave young king, and the cause he had espoused.²

The triumph of Egypt was but short lived. Her dreams of glory and conquest were to be as rudely broken as were those of Judah. When Nineveh fell, Babylon received as her reward, the territory of Assyria lying to the west of the Tigris river.³ The Babylonians could not look with complacency on the occupation of Syria by the Egyptians. Egypt and Babylonia had to settle by force of arms the question of supremacy. The battle of Carchemish, 605 B. C., was one of the great pivotal battles of the world. Here the forces of Egypt and Babylon contended for the supremacy of Western Asia. The result of that battle was the complete defeat of the Egyptians. Babylon succeeded to all the power of Assyria in Western Asia.

Nabopolassar, viceroy of Assurbanipal, indeed laid the foundation of this new Babylonian kingdom, but his son, Nebuchadnezzar, was the one who succeeded in carrying out his designs. He it was who carried Babylon to the very height of her glory. We need not recite in detail how he overrun Palestine, extinguished the independence of Judah, carried away the inhabitants of Jerusalem as captives to Babylon, crushed the life out of the Phoe-

¹ II Kings xxiii. 29-30.

² II Chronicles xxxv. 24-25.

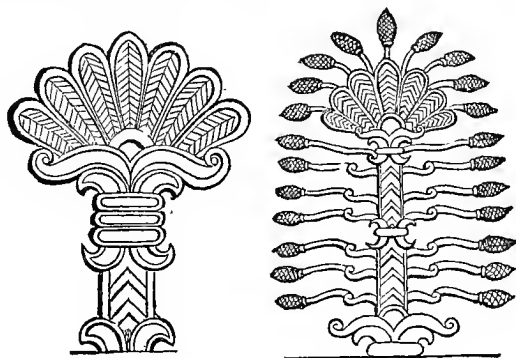
³ Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. III., p. 321.

nician cities, and finally overrun Egypt itself, and reduced that proud country once more to a state of vassalage. He it was that beautified and enlarged Babylon, until it became one of the wonders of the Ancient World. Yet the life of the empire he built up outlasted his own but twenty-three years. After a long and glorious reign of over forty-two years, he died in 562 B. c.; the Babylonian empire was brought to an end by the conquest of Cyrus, king of Anzan or Elam, in B. c. 539. The fall of Babylonia was as sudden and complete as that of Assyria. With the fall of Babylon, we have something more to record than the mere extinction of one kingdom by another. Semitic supremacy in Western Asia passed away. But even more is to be said. We are here brought to the end of the Ancient World in culture. From this point we will study the development of Aryan culture, and the scene is no longer laid in Africa or Asia, but in Europe. Let us now study some of the especial points of Assyrian culture, and make a general summary of Semitic Civilization.

In studying the culture of Assyria, we have a most interesting field before us, and one, for the full elucidation of which a volume would scarcely suffice. We can only glance at some of the main points and compare them with Semitic culture in general. They constituted the most important branch of the Semitic people, and were, for centuries, the most powerful. As time passed on, the language of Chaldea became a classical and even a sacred language. The Shamans, magicians, and sorcerers of Chaldea became the priests, seers and prophets of Assyria. The magical formulae, incantations, and songs became inspired writings. They were copied with the greatest of care, the original language was retained; and the priests, to derive the fullest

benefit from them, must repeat or chant them in the original tongue. A similar reverence was felt for the poems and stories of that primitive long ago. And thus the Turanian mythology of Chaldea was adopted *en masse* by the Assyrians.

But the Monotheistic tendencies, inherent in all Semitic belief, arising as we have seen from their consistent Ancestor worship, led to the same result in Assyrian belief as it did among the other branches of Semitic people. It led to a qualified Monotheism. Along with their belief in the



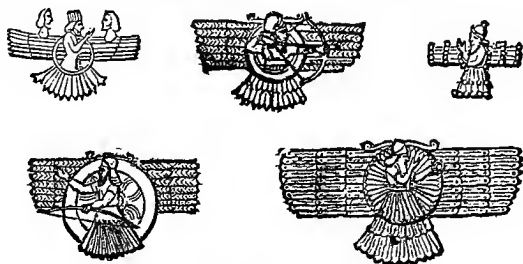
Sacred Tree of the Assyrians.

existence of other gods, they believed in their own local, national god who, as far as they were concerned, was supreme; and national vanity ascribed to him dominion over other gods. This was the god Asshur, and the name probably points back to a time when the sky was regarded as a great fetich, since the word is probably derived from a root "sar" meaning sky.¹ The inscriptions of the Assyrian kings often mention the aid of other gods with reverent gratitude. But Asshur is nearly always the first one mentioned, and always in such a way that we at once detect his superior importance. An inscription of Shalmaneser

¹ Sayce: "Assyria," p. 21.

I. begins: "Asshur, the great Lord, King of all the assembly of the great gods."

Wars are generally asserted to be by his commands. The king, on his expeditions, is "in the service of Asshur." Victory is ascribed to him, some such an expression as this is sure to occur: "Exceeding fear of Asshur, my Lord, overwhelmed them." One king after another complacently excuses his deeds of cruelty, since they were done by commands of Asshur, and for his honor and glory. The other gods, as far as important events are concerned, are supposed to assist in carrying out the commands of Asshur,



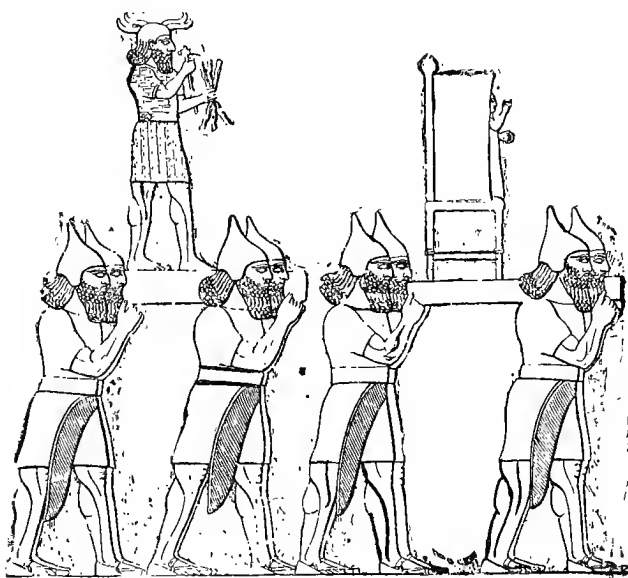
Representation of Asshur.

each in his own particular way, for, as already stated, each of these gods had, so to speak, a special department. These gods, though inferior to Asshur, were still powerful, and, in a certain way, seem to have been nearer to the hearts of the rulers and people than their great national deity.

The goddess Ishtar seems to have been quite a favorite. Her temples were to be found in all of the principal cities. She had a two-fold nature. She was the goddess, not only of love, but of war. As the "Lady of Battles," she was quite a favorite with the Assyrian kings. Esarhaddon, when in trouble about the Elamite war, prayed Ishtar, and received from a prophet the following comforting assurance:

"Fear not, O Esar-haddon,

I am (as) Bel, thy strength,
 I will ease the supports of thy heart.
 Each of the sixty great gods my strong ones
 With his life will guide thee.
 The moon god on thy right hand, the sun god at thy
 left.
 Upon mankind trust not, bend thine eyes upon me,
 I am Ishtar, of Arbella."



Gods Carried in Procession with their Arks.

The Assyrians built temples to their gods. There are many points of resemblance among Semitic temples wherever built. They had outer and inner courts, as well as an inner sanctuary where the priests only were permitted to go. Before this sanctuary a veil was hung. An inscription of Nebuchadnezzar reads: "Before the curtains of His sanctuary I bowed down my head." In this "holy of holies," there was an altar approached by steps, as well as an ark, regarded as the especial home of the god, in whose honor

the temple was built. We sometimes see this ark carried in a procession by priests, analogous, in this respect, to Egyptian usage. Mr. Rassam discovered in the ruins of the temple at Balawat two inscribed tablets of stone placed in this ark or coffer.¹ In the outer court, there was placed a large basin (called a "sea") filled with water for religious purposes. The gods were worshiped by prayers, songs and sacrifices. Each temple had its corps of priests who were especially devoted to the service of the god of the temple. Minute directions for the guidance of these priests were given.

The priests were provided with a regular prayer book containing prayers suitable for all occasions. The following prayer for the good of a king is really a beautiful one: "Length of days, long lasting years; a strong sword, a long life, extending years of glory, pre-eminence among kings, grant ye to the king, my lord, who has given such gifts to his gods! The bounds, vast and wide, of his empire and his rule, may he enlarge and may he complete! Holding over all kings supremacy, and royalty, and empire, may he attain to gray hairs and old age! And, after the life of these days, in the feasts of the silver mountain, the heavenly courts, the abode of blessedness; and in the light of the happy fields may he dwell a life, eternal holy, in the presence of the gods who inhabit Assyria."

Their collection of sacred writings contained many beautiful examples of psalms, if we may judge of the few fragments we possess. What is finer than the following address to some unknown deity:

"In heaven who is great? Thou alone art great.

¹ Sayce: "Assyria," p. 74.

On earth who is great ? Thou alone art great.

When thy voice resounds in heaven, the gods fall prostrate !

When thy voice resounds on earth, the genii kiss the dust !!

The thought in the following fragment is certainly noble and beautifully expressed : "The god, my creator, may he stand by my side !

Keep thou the door of my lips ! Guard thou my hands, O Lord of Light."

While on this subject, let us quote this hymn on the death of a righteous man : "Bind the sick man to Heaven, for from earth he is being torn away.

Of the brave man who was so strong, his strength has departed.

Of the righteous servant, the force does not return,
In his bodily frame, he lies dangerously ill.

But Ishtar, who in her dwelling is grieved concerning him,

Descends from her mountain, unvisited of men.

To the door of the sick man she comes.

The sick man listens !

Who is there ? Who comes ?

It is Ishtar, daughter of the moon-god, Sin."

Compare with the foregoing the following brief but beautiful prayer for the departing soul : "Like a bird may it fly to a lofty place ! To the holy hands of its god may it ascend !"

The influence of the priests extended to acts of daily life. Swine's flesh, among some other unclean animals, was prohibited. They had regular fast days, but, in times of public calamity, other days were appointed for fasting and weeping. They also adopted the Chaldean Sabbath,

they called it Sabattu, in the Assyrian this meant "a day of rest for the heart." We have seen that among the Chaldeans it meant "a day of completion of labor," very strict rules for its observance were instituted. They worshiped the gods with sacrifices, a part of the animal only was used for this purpose, the rest being handed over to the officers of the temple. As yet, no evidence of human sacrifice among the Assyrians has been obtained. We may confidently expect to find this, since, as far as we know, all other Semitic people occasionally offered up human sacrifices.



A sacrificial Scene.

Before treating of their mythology, let us briefly glance at their literature. All the ancient capitals of Assyria were supplied with Royal libraries. The "books" of these libraries were clay tablets: all the tablets treating on one subject were of uniform size, the writing employed was, of course, cuneiform. In some cases, the number of tablets in a series amounted to over one hundred. Each tablet in any series was numbered, and the name of the series was given. This name was the first phrase of the first tablet. For instance, the tablets containing the Creation Poem were twelve in number. The first phrase of the first tablet was "When Above;" this was, therefore, the name of the series. The third tablet, for instance, bore this title "Third Tablet of When Above." When a person

wished to consult a "book," he was requested to hand to the librarian (who was always a highly honored official) a writing of the number and name of the tablet he wished.

It is estimated that the Royal library at Nineveh contained ten thousand tablets. Several thousand fragments of these tablets are now in the British Museum, many thousand more remain in the ruins. Assurbanipal made strenuous efforts to build up this library. His agents were everywhere at work, copying the old Chaldean records, contained in the libraries and temples of Chaldea. Many of these were translated from the old Turanian literature of Accad; occasionally the scribe would come across a word he could not translate, so he would write the word *khibi*, "it is wanting," and go on with the text.

A large part of this literature was of the nature of grammars and dictionaries. No Assyrian could call himself educated who could not read the language of Accad, their classical language, and the language of their sacred books. So we find long lists of Accadian characters drawn up, with their pronunciation in Assyrian given. Also lists of Accadian words and grammatical forms, with their Assyrian equivalents. Other tablets contained phrases and sentences extracted from some particular Accadian work and explained in Assyrian. Reading exercises or primers, for the use of the young Assyrian just learning Accadian, were employed.

All branches of knowledge, known at the time, were treated of in these libraries. Mathematics, astronomy and medicine were all represented. Tables of squares and cubes have been found, and tablets covered with mathematical figures and calculations are in existence. Astronomy was well represented. Great collections of recorded eclipses are found, and it is generally stated whether the

eclipse happened "according to calculation" or "contrary to calculation." But, of course, at that early day astronomy was simply an aid to astrology. The Zodiacal signs had been marked out. Every great city had its observatory and official astronomer, who reported to the king every two weeks. Tablets of such reports are in existence. Medicine was generally handed over to the priests, for the Assyrians firmly believed in the evil spirit theory of diseases. Still they had other methods. Here, for instance, is a prescription from a book on medicine: "For low spirits slice the root of the Destiny tree, the root of the Susum tree, two or three other vegetable compounds and the tongue of a dog. Drink the mixture either in water or in palm wine."

We have seen that the Assyrians were a commercial people. It is an error to suppose that the Second Empire was wholly a military one. Commerce was active, and, from Nineveh, great caravans often started out for the commercial centers of Western Asia. One of the most interesting series of remains of Assyria are contract tablets, thousands of them are now in the British Museum. It is interesting to note that while Accadian was their classical and sacred language, and the Assyrian the common language of the land, the Syrian was the language of trade and commerce. "Not unfrequently an Aramaic docket accompanies an Assyrian contract tablet, stating briefly what were its contents, and the names of the chief contracting parties."¹ The subject matter of these contract tablets relates to all sorts of commercial dealings. All deeds and contracts were signed and sealed in the presence of witnesses, who affixed their seals to the documents

¹ Sayce: "Assyria," p. 133.

or, if too poor to own seals, they made a mark with their thumb-nail. There flourished at Babylon for many years, a great banking firm, the house of Egibi. The business descended from father to son. They were the Rothschilds of the Assyrian world. The probable modern equivalent of their name is "Jacob and Sons." Here is one of their contract tablets concerning a loan they negotiated :

" Ten shekels of the best silver for the head of Ishtar of Nineveh, which Bil-lubaladh has lent on a loan in the presence of Mannu-ki-Arbella (here follows three seals), the silver is to have interest paid upon it at four per cent. The silver has been given on the third day of the month. (Dated) the third day of Sebat, in the eponymy of Rimmon-lid-aui." Then follow the names of a number of witnesses.

Mythological subjects occupied a large place in their literature. We have already referred to the Creation Poem, which covered twelve tablets; this was a translation from old Accadian sources for the Royal library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh. Of late years, scholars have collected many scattered fragments of a great epic poem, which once consisted of twelve books, narrating the adventures of a hero by the name of Izdubar. Many of the cylinders given on former pages refer to these legends. It is generally agreed that this epic is a description of the course of the sun through the twelve constellations of the Zodiac. The whole conception is very finely worked out. As each book corresponds to some sign of the Zodiac, its contents are descriptive of that sign.

For instance, the sun entered the constellation of the Lion in the fifth month. So appropriately enough, the fifth legend treats of the victory gained by the hero Izdubar over a lion. From the ninth to the twelfth month is the

Winter season of the year. The books corresponding to these months relate the journey of the hero to the underground world (the spirit world), the adventures that there befell him, and his final return, purified and invigorated, to the world of light. The series of legends is very transparent all the way through. Our interest in them suddenly increases when we reach the eleventh book. This was the rainy season of the year. The month was called "The month of the curse of rain," then the sun entered the constellation Aquaries. We are prepared, then, to hear of the adventures of Izdubar on the water.

It happens that this is the best preserved tablet of all, or rather we have fortunately discovered more fragments of it. To our astonishment, it turns out to be an account of the flood. Izdubar meets in the under-ground world a renowned ancestor of his, Hasisadra, who had been translated alive into the assembly of the gods. He it is who relates to Izdubar all about the flood. Making allowance for the vein of Polytheism in this account, the agreement between it and that given in Genesis is most striking. The copy we have was made for the Nineveh library. There is no reason to doubt that this is a correct copy of an extremely ancient poem, one in the possession of the Accadians long before the Semites entered Chaldea.¹

We have now completed our review of what we might call the Semitic period in the culture history of the

¹ We have extracted our account of the culture of the Assyrians from the following: Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," London, 1885; Sayce: "Assyria," London, 1885; Smith: "Assyrian Discoveries," London, 1883; Smith: "Chaldean Genesis," London, 1876; Harkness: "Assyrian Life and History," London, 1883; "Records of the Past," Vols. I., III., V., VII. and IX.; Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic," London, 1877; Sayce: "Ancient Empires," New York, 1884,

world. Broadly speaking, it is seen to cover the period of five thousand years preceding the Christian epoch. They are seen to be the ones who build, from the foundation laid by the Yellow Races, the superstructure of Ancient Civilization. During that extended period of time, the Aryans had been slowly advancing through the several stages of Barbarism. Those situated on the northern shores of the Mediterranean had entered into the light of Civilization, and there was growing up the Civilization which was destined to take a commanding position in the world. We have now arrived at that epoch in the world's history and so here we bid farewell to the Ancient World.

As we close the lids of this volume and glance away from the busy present adown the long vistas of the past, what strange scenes throng the troubled field of vision! The genial sun of early Tertiary times lights up the scene; and, from the distant East, we see bands of savage men dispersing over the earth. Long ages come and go before the snows of the advancing Glacial Age commence to fall. Then that strange and but poorly understood period of time passes on and off the stage of vision.

During all this prolonged period, doubtless exceeding in duration the subsequent ages, we learn of nothing but tribes belonging to the Black Races in the Paleolithic stage of culture. But the scene now changes, the Yellow Races appear in Northern Asia and spread over the world, carrying with them improved tools and weapons, and possessing a much more highly organized governmental and social system. Every element of our present culture is seen to start from the foundation laid by them.

As in a dream, there passes before us the splendors of that early Civilization in the valley of the Nile; and, more

shadowy and evanescent still, unrolls the history and culture of ancient Chaldea. The petty Semitic states of Western Asia pass in review; and there looms up before us the overpowering greatness of Assyria, followed by the rocket like rise and fall of Babylonia.

In the midst of these confused and shifting scenes of the past, can we not extract some cheering truths in regard to the growth of Civilization in general? Though nations rise and fall, and races come and go, has not human development ever been upward and onward? We can, then, look forward to the dawning of a better day. We can hope that the Civilization of the future will as greatly surpass that of the present, as the light of day exceeds in brilliancy that of moonlit nights.



HISTORY

OF

CIVILIZATION